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THE
 ROYAL
 COMMENTARIES
 OF
 PERU
 IN
 TWO PARTS.

Treating of the Original of their *Incas* or *Kings*: Of their Idolatry: Of their Laws and Government both in Peace and War: Of the Reigns and Conquests of the *Incas*: With many other Particulars relating to their Empire and Policies before such time as the *Spaniards* invaded their Countries.

Describing the manner by which that new World was conquered by the *Spaniards*. Also the Civil Wars between the *Pizarrists* and the *Almagrians*, occasioned by Quarrels arising about the Division of that Land. Of the Rise and Fall of Rebels; and other Particulars contained in the History.

Illustrated with Sculptures.

Written originally in Spanish.

By the *Inca*

And rendered into English, by Sir

K^c.

Printed by Miles Flesher, for Richard Tonson within Gray's Inn-Gate next Gray's Inn-Lane, MDCLXXXVIII.

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August 3.
1685.



JAMES II.

By the Grace of God,

KING of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,

FRANCE and IRELAND, &c.

Defender of the Faith.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

THIS Translation out of Spanish, having the Name of Royal Commentaries, seems justly to claim a Title to Your MAJESTY'S gracious Favour and Protection: And likewise Your MAJESTY'S Dominions being adjacent and almost contiguous to the Countries which are the subject of this History, make Your MAJESTY a Party concerned in the Affairs of the New World, and so supreme an Arbitrator in the Government thereof, that to suppress the Robberies and Insolence of certain Pirates who infest those Coasts, Your MAJESTY'S Royal Arms are called for, as the most proper Means and Power to reduce them. Great also is Your MAJESTY'S Fame in the East as well as in the West-Indies: And may all the World court Your Friendship and Alliance, and doe honour to Your Royal Standard.

(2)

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

May Your *MAJESTY* be still happy with
Increase of Glory and Honour both at home and abroad,
untill such time as that you exchange this mortal Crown
for one everlasting in the World to come. Which is
the fervent Prayer of,

Dread Sovereign,

Your *MAJESTY'S*

most obedient,

most dutifull,

and most loyal

Subject and Servant,

Paul Rycant.

THE

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE Authour of this History was one of those whom the Spaniards called Mezizos, that is, one born of a Spanish Father and an Indian Mother. And though he was a Native of Peru, and by the Mother's side inclined to the simple Temperament, which is natural to that Country; yet it seems the Spanish humour was most prevalent in him, so that he delighted much to tell us, as in divers places, that he was the Son of Garcilasso de la Vega, one of the first Conquerours of the new World, who was by the direct Line descended from that brave Cavalier Garciperez de Vargas, from whom came the valiant Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, the first Count of Feria, his Great-grandfather, and Ynigo Lopez de Mendoza, from whom the Duke of Infantado was descended; who was Brother to his Great-grandmother and to Alonso de Vargas, Lord of the Black-mountain, his Grand-father, from whom came Alonso de Hiestroza de Vargas, Lord of Valde Sevilla, who was Father to Garcilasso de la Vega, of whom came our Authour. Nor less illustrious doth he tell you, that he was by the Mother's side, who was the Daughter of Inca Huallpa Topac, one of the Sons of Topac Inca Yupanqui and of Palla Mama Occlo, his lawfull Wife, from whom came Huayna Capac Inca, the last King of Peru. Wherefore this Authour in all his Writings styles himself Garcilasso Inca, because he derived his Pedigree from the Kings of Peru, who were called Inca's, a name it seems given to none but the Royal Family.

This History is divided into two Parts. The first treats of their Government before the time of the Inca's, which was by the Head of their Tribes and Families called Curacas; and then it proceeds unto the Original of the Inca's, and of their Government, and in what manner that savage People was civilized and instructed in the Laws of Humane Nature, and to live in a Political Society by Manco Capac their first King; How also the Men were taught by him to plow and cultivate their Lands, and exercise some sort of Husbandry: and how the Women, by his Wife Coya Mama, (who by their Law was to be his Sister) were taught to spin, and weave, and make their own Garments.

It is probable that a great part of this History, as far as concerns the Original of the Inca's and the foundation of their Laws, is fabulous: howso-

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ever, being, as our Author says, delivered by Tradition, and commonly believed amongst their People of the better degree, it may contain divers Truths mixed with abundance of Fictions and foolish Inventions. But this is no more than what hath happened to Nations of more refined understanding; for what account can we our selves give of Great Britain before the Romans entered into it? Nay, What can France or Spain say of the Ancient Inhabitants of their own Countries, or of the manner, how they came first to be Christians? Unless it be that which ignorant men have devised, and what the Learned men are now ashamed to believe or say after them? And then, what wonder is it that such poor Salvages, born in a part of the World undiscovered to us, untill the year 1484; and of whose Original we have no certain knowledge; nor have any light besides fancy and conjecture, from whence the Continent of America hath been peopled: How then, I say, can it be expected that these illiterate Creatures should be able to give an account of their Extraction, or of Matters which passed in those Ages; of which the Learned parts of the World acknowledge their ignorance, and confess themselves to be in the dark even as to those Matters which concern their own Histories?

But because it is in the nature of Mankind to use reflect Acts on their own being, and retreat with their Thoughts back to some beginning: so these poor Souls derive the Original of their first being from divers Creatures, of which they had the greatest opinion and admiration: some living near a great Lake which supplied them with store of Fish, called that their Parent: from whence they emerged: and others esteemed the Mighty Mountains of Antis to have been their Parent, and to have issued out of those Caverns, as from the Womb of a Mother; others fancied themselves to be descended from that great Fowl called Cuntur, which spreads a very large Wing, which pleased some Nations of the Indians, that they would look no farther for a Parent than to that Fowl, and in token thereof, upon days of solemnity and festival, carried the Wings thereof fastened to their Armes. But then, as to their Inca's or Kings, whose Original was to be derived from something higher than sublunary Creatures, being of better composition than their poor and mean Vassals, the Sun was esteemed a fit Parent for those who were come from Divine race: so that when they adored the Sun, whom they acknowledged for their God, they gave honour to their Kings who were descended from him. Various have been the opinions amongst Historians concerning the Original of this People; of which the most probable, as I conceive, is, that they proceeded from the Race of the Northern Tartar, whom they resemble in the shape and air of their features, and in their barbarous way of living; but then we must fancy, as some Geographers do, that the West side of America is Continent with Tartary, or at least disjoyned from thence by some narrow strait; of which I am well persuaded we have no certain Knowledge.

But to let these Matters pass, and consider the Condition in which the Spaniards found the Inhabitants of Peru, when they first came amongst them, they were, I say, a naked People, simple and credulous, believing every thing that the Spaniards told and promised them: To which they were induced out of an opinion that the Spaniards were Viracocha's or the Offspring of the Sun, whom they adored for God, and in whom they believed, according to the Light of Nature, that there could be no falsity or shadow of untruth. Wherefore they were strangely surprized, whilst in a peaceable

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able manner they were treating with the good men, and whilst Friar Valverde, with a Cross in his hand, was preaching to Atahualpa their King; that then, without any Cause given, they should be killed with Swords and Lances, and five thousand of them massacred before the face of their Prince; And yet they would not foregoe this foolish imagination; though afterwards, contrary to the faith given, they saw their King imprisoned, and his liberty promised upon a vast ransom of Gold and Silver; which when paid and fully complied with, he was notwithstanding strangled in prison, and no other liberty given him than that freedom which Death bestows upon all mankind. And yet this silly People could not but entertain a high esteem of the Spaniards, as of those who were come to teach them a better Law, and still called them Viracocha's, or People descended from their Father the Sun, imagining that this new sort of People in Beards and Ruffs had received Commission from that glorious Light, which they adored, for punishment of their Offences, to swear and lye, and violate all the Bands of humane kind. And yet that which farther shews the simplicity and good nature of this People is, that in despite of all the ill usage received from the Spaniards, they would prove still faithfull to them, upon a principle they had received, that to whomsoever they had yielded themselves in War, they were to be faithfull, with such uncorrupted Loyalty and Truth, that no consideration either of King, Wife, Father, Family or Countrey could absolve them from the Obligation and Duty they owed to their Countrey (vid. p. 487.) And hence it was that so many Indians fought against their Countrey-men in union with the Spaniards, and served them for Spyes, to give them intelligence of what-sever was designed in the Camp of the Indians.

The Indians have no Beards.

But this flexible and good nature of this People did not soften the haughty mind of the Spaniards towards them, who esteeming the rest of the World Slaves to them, oppressed the Indians with such servitude and slavery as the nature of man was not able to sustain. Of which that wise and good Emperour, Charles the Fifth, taking notice, he dispatched new Orders to Peru, for ease of the Natives, and to exempt them from that inhumane Tyranny which one man ought not to exercise towards another: But this grations Indulgence of the Prince served to raise greater Disturbances amongst the Conquerours, who refusing to quit their Commands and exempt their Indians from their Vassalage and Services, openly opposed the Governours and Officers which were sent to put the new Ordinances in execution: which afterwards proceeded to an open War and Rebellion, which with various successes continued for many years: till at length the King of Spain was forced to moderate the rigour of his new regulations, and condescend to his Subjects, by conferring to them that tyrannical Power which they pretended unto by right of Conquest over the Indians: in which they were so unmercifull, that had not King Philip the Second contrived a supply of Negro's out of Africa to work in the Mountain of Potosi and other Mines, the whole Indian Nation had before this been utterly extinguished.

But God, who is just and compassionate of the Creatures which he hath made, would not suffer these Cruelties to pass unpunished, but caused the Spaniards themselves to be instruments of his vengeance on each other. So Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro, after having conquered the Countrey, fell at variance about sharing the Government and dividing the Spoil, which was decided by the Sword: Then Gonçalo Pizarro pretended to the Government of Peru for his Life, by virtue of the Patent which the Emperour

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perour had given to his Brother the Marquis Pizarro, and in defence thereof, and in opposition to the new Laws before mentioned, he raised Wars against the Justices and the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez, whom, after several Fights and Skirmishes he killed in Battel. And though this Pizarro was afterwards subdued by the wise conduct of the President Pedro de la Gasca, yet things did not continue long quiet before they broke out again into new disturbances. So Don Sebastian de Castilla made a Rebellion and headed the Male-contents, who being disappointed of the reward they expected for the services they had done against Gonçalo Pizarro, endeavoured to right themselves by their own Power, and killed the General Don Pedro de Hinojosa. Then Vasco de Godinez killed Don Sebastian de Castilla, and set up for himself; but was soon subdued, and put to death by Alonso de Alvarado. Then Egas de Guzman, a bold and bloody Villain pretended to be the Head of a Party, but he and his Complices were soon dispersed for want of Associates to abet their Cause. And lastly, Francisco Hernandez Giron, with about twelve or thirteen more began a Rebellion in Cozco, and with that small number killed most of the Magistrates of the City, and put most of the Inhabitants to flight; with whom afterwards many discontented Souldiers joining, they carried on a War against the Government for several years with much blood, and cruelties acted upon each other; for now the common Souldiers were become so mutinous, for want of employment, that they were ready to join with any person that pretended to a resentment: And indeed there was not an ordinary Fellow but who had so great a value for himself on the honour of being a Spaniard and a Souldier, that he swallowed in his vain thoughts all the Riches of the Indies, and fantasied that the whole Government and Wealth of Peru was not a sufficient Reward for a person of his high Merit and Extraction. In this manner was Peru conquered, and with this sort of People hath it been since that time planted, which we have reason to believe have buried themselves in sloth and luxury. How well they have improved that Countrey and used those Riches which God hath given them, and how humanely they have treated the poor Natives; I leave to the Historians of our modern times: and for the Valour and Bravery which of late years they have used in defence of that Countrey; I refer my self to the Relation of the Bucaniers. And so proceed on with this History.

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THE END.

(1)

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

How the New World was Discovered.

ABOUT the Year 1484, a certain Pilot, Native of *Huelva* in the County of *Niebla*, called *Alonso Sanchez*, usually Traded in a small Vessel from *Spain* to the *Canaries*; and there Lading the Commodities of that Countrey, failed to the *Maderas*, and thence freighted with Sugar and Conserve, returned home into *Spain*; this was his constant course and traffick, when in one of these Voyages meeting with a most violent Tempest, and not able to bear sail, he was forced to put before the Wind for the space of 28 or 29 days, not knowing where or whither he went, for in all that time he was not able to take an observation of the height of the Sun; and so grievous was the storm, that the Mariners could with no convenience either eat or sleep: At length, after so many long and tedious days, the Wind abating, they found themselves near an Island, which it was, is not certainly known, but it is believed to have been *St. Domingo*, because that lies just West from the *Canaries*, whence a storm at East had driven the Ship, which is the more strange, because the Easterly Winds seldom blow hard in those Seas, and rather make fair weather, than tempestuous. But God, who is all-sufficient, intending to bestow his mercies, can make causes produce effects contrary to their nature; as when he drew water from the Rock, and cured the blind with Clay; in like manner his immense goodness and compassion designing to transmit the light of the true Gospel into the new World, made use of these unusual means to convert them from the Idolatry of Gentilism, and from their foolish and dark superstitions, as shall be related in the sequel of this History.

The Master landing on the shore, observed the height of the Sun, and so noted particularly in writing what he had seen, and what had happened in this Voyage out, and home: and having supplied himself with fresh water and wood, he put to Sea again; but having not well observed his course thither, his way to return was the more difficult, and made his Voyage so long, that he began to want both water and provisions, which being added to their former sufferings, the people fell sick, and died in that manner, that of 17 persons which came out of *Spain*, there remained but five only alive, when they arrived at the *Tercera*, of which the Master was one. These came all to lodge at the House of that famous Geomorpher, called *Christopher Colon*, because they knew him to be a great Seaman and * Or Columbus, and one who made Sea-carts to fail by; and for this reason he received them with much kindness, and treated them with all things necessary, that so he might learn from them the particulars which occurred, and the discoveries they had made in this laborious Voyage: but in regard they brought a languishing distemper with them, caused by their sufferings at Sea, and of which they could not be recovered by the kind usage of *Colon*, they all happened to dye in his house, leaving their labours for his inheritance; the which he improved with such readiness of mind, that he underwent more, and greater, than they, in regard that they

lasted longer; and at length he so well succeeded in his enterprize, that he bestowed the New World, with all its riches, upon *Spain*, and therefore deservedly obtained this Motto to be inscribed on his Armes:

To Castile, and to Leon,
The New World was given by Colon.

In this manner the New World was first discovered, for which greatness *Spain* is beholding to that little Village of *Helva*, which produced such a Son, as gave *Colon* information of things not seen, or known before; the which secrets, like a prudent person, he concealed, till under assurances of silence he first disclosed them to such persons of authority about the Catholick Kings, as were to be assistant and usefull to him in his design, which could never have been laid, or chalked out by the art of Cosmography, or the imagination of man, had not *Alonso de Sanchez* given the first light and conjecture to this discovery; which *Colon* so readily improved, that in 78 days he made his Voyage to the Isle of *Guanatanice*, though he was detained some days at *Gomera* to take in Provisions.

CHAP. II.

The derivation of the word Peru, and how the Countrey came to be so called.

SINCE we are to treat of the Countrey of *Peru*, it will be requisite to enquire, how it came to be so called, in regard the *Indians* have no such word in their language: to which end we must know, That a certain Gentleman, Native of *Xerez*, called *Barco Nunez*, having in the year 1513, been the first *Spaniard*, who discovered the Sea of *Zur*, or the Pacifick Sea; in reward thereof the Kings of *Spain* honoured him with the title of Admiral of those Seas, and with the government of those Kingdoms and Countries which he should farther discover and conquer. During those few years he lived after these Honours (for his Son-in-law *Pedro Arias de Avila* being Governour, in recompence of all his services, cut off his head) his great care was to discover, and know what that Countrey was called, which from *Panama* runs all along the coast of the Sea of *Zur*; to which purpose he built three or four Vessels, and employed them in several quarters to make their discoveries; every one of which did afterwards return with relations of great tracts of land running along that coast: one of which Vessels stretching farther than the others to the very Equinoctial line, and sailing by the shore, they espied an *Indian*, as he was fishing at the mouth of a River, of which there are many, which in that Countrey fall into the Sea; so soon as the *Spaniards* saw him, they landed four of their men with all privacy imaginable, such as could run and swim well, that so he might not be able to escape them either by land or water. Having so done, they passed with their Ship, as near as was possible before the *Indian*, that whilst he amused himself with the strangeness of the object, he might more easily be taken by the ambush which was laid for him: the *Indian* beholding so unusual a sight as a Ship swimming with all her Sails on the Sea, which he had never before seen or heard of, his eyes were so fixed, and his imagination so taken up with looking, and considering what thing that was, which offered it self to his sight, that he was not sensible of the snare laid for him, until he found himself taken in the Armes of the *Spaniards*, who with great joy and sport brought him to their Vessel; the poor man was so amazed with the surprisal, and to see the *Spaniards* with Beards, and in a different habit to his, and to find himself in a Ship, and under Sails, that it is no wonder if he laboured under the greatest consternation imaginable; but the *Spaniards* using all kind means to treat and caress him, he, in a short time, recovered himself from the distraction of his fear: and then they asked him by signs and words, what Countrey that was, and how it was called? The *Indian* by their motion and gestures knew that they asked him some question, but could not understand what they demanded, but answering readily,

readily, left they should doe him some hurt, said *Beru*, which was his own proper name, and then added *Pelu*; which was as much as to say, if you ask me my name, I am called *Beru*; but if you ask me of the place, where I was, it is *Pelu*; for that signifies a River in the *Indian* language: from which time, which was in the year 1515, the *Spaniards* have ever called this great and rich Countrey by the name of *Peru*; other Historians corrupting the letters, call it *Piru*, instead of *Peru*: and this place, where this *Indian* was surprized, we may certainly denote as the utmost border of that Dominion which was under the Jurisdiction and Conquest of those Kings, which were called *Incas*; and which was ever after named *Peru* from that very place which is over-against *Quita* to *Charcas*, and is the principal Dominion of the *Incas*, containing 700 Leagues in length; although their Empire did reach as far as *Chile*, which contains 500 Leagues more, and is another most rich and fertile Kingdom.

CHAP. III.

The Description of Peru, with the Story of Peter Serrano.

THE four limits and borders of that Empire which the *Incas* possessed before the *Spaniards* invaded them, were these. To the North it was bounded with the River *Ancarmaya*, which runs between the Confines of *Quita* and *Pallas*, and signifies in the common language of *Peru*, the *Azure* River, being situated almost perpendicularly under the Equinoctial line: to the South its limits are confined by the River *Mauli*, which runs East and West through the Kingdom of *Chilo*, before it comes to the *Araucos*, which is 40 degrees of South latitude from the Equinoctial. The distance between these two Rivers they account little less than 1300 Leagues by Land. That which is properly called *Peru*, contains 750 Leagues in length, reaching from the River *Ancarmaya* to the *Chichas*, which is the farthestmost Province of the *Charcas*, and lyes North and South, as also doth that which is called the Kingdom of *Chilo*, which contains about 550 Leagues in length, reckoning from the farthest part of the Province *Chichas* to the River *Mauli*. To the East it is bordered by that Mountain which is inaccessible for men, beasts or fowls, called the *Cordillera*, because it is always covered with Snow, and runs from *St. Maria* to the Straits of *Magellan*, which the *Indians* call *Ritirgu*, and is as much as the Countrey of Snow. To the West it hath the Sea of *Zur* for its Confines, running all along the coast to the Cape *Pallas*, which is under the Equinoctial, and extends to the *Mauli*, which also falls into the Sea of *Zur*; from the East to the West the Kingdom is esteemed but narrow, the broadest place of it Sea-coast, and contains 120 Leagues in breadth, being in the narrowest place, which is from the Port *Arica*, to the Province called *Laricossa*, about the space of 70 Leagues. These are the four bounds of that Dominion which the *Incas* possessed, the History of which we intend, by divine assistance, for to write. But before we proceed forward, it will be requisite to recount the Story of *Peter Serrano*, for which we have place sufficient in this short Chapter.

Peter Serrano escaped from shipwreck by swimming to that desert Island, which from him received its name, being, as he reported, about two Leagues in compass, and for so much it is laid down, in the Waggoner, which picks three little Islands in the Cart, with divers shallow places about them; so that all Ships keep at a distance from them avoiding them with all possible care and circumspection.

It was *Peter Serrano's* misfortune to be lost upon these places, and to save his life on this disconsolate Island, where was neither water, nor wood, nor grass, nor any thing for support of humane life, at least not for maintenance of him for so long a time, as until some Ship passing by might redeem him from perishing by hunger and thirst, which languishing manner of death is much more miserable, than by a speedy suffocation in the waters. With the sad thoughts hereof he

passed the first night, lamenting his affliction with as many melancholy reflections, as we may imagine, capable to enter into the mind of a wretch in like extremities; so soon as it grew day, he began to traverse his Island, and found on the shore some Cockles, Shrimps, and other creatures of like nature, which the Sea had thrown up, and which he was forced to eat raw, because he wanted fire wherewith to roast them: And with this small entertainment he passed his time, till observing some *Turtles not far from the shore, he watch'd a convenience until they came within his reach, and then throwing them on their backs, (which is the manner of taking that sort of fish) he cut the throat, drinking the blood instead of water; and slicing out the flesh with a knife which was fastned to his girdle, he laid the pieces to be dried, and roasted by the Sun; the shell he made use of to rake up rain-water, which lay in little puddles, for that is a Country often subject to great and sudden rains. In this manner he passed the first of his days by killing all the Turtles that he was able, some of which were so large, that their shells were as big as Targets or Bucklers; others were so great, that he was not able to turn them, nor to stop them in their way to the Sea, so that in a short time experience taught him, which sort he was able to deal with, and which were too unviably for his force: with his lesser shells he poured water into the greater, some of which contained 12 Gallons; so that having made sufficient provisions both of meat and drink, he began to contrive some way to strike fire, that he might not only dress his meat with it, but also make a fmoak to give a sign to any Ship, which was passing in those Seas; considering of this invention, (for Seamen are much more ingenious in all times of extremity, than men bred at Land) he searched every-where to find out a couple of hard pebbles instead of flints, his knife serving in the place of a steel; but the Island being all covered with a Dead Sand, and no stone appearing, he swam into the Sea, and diving often to the bottom, he at length found a couple of stones fit for his purpose, which he rubbed together, until he got them to an edge, with which being able to strike fire, he drew some threads out of his shirt, which he worked so small, that it was like cotton, and served for tinder; so that having contrived a means to kindle fire, he then gathered a great quantity of Sea-weeds, thrown up by the waves, which with the shells of Fish, and planks of Ships, which had been wrecked on those shoals, afforded nourishment for his fuel: and left sundry shovres should extinguish his fire, he made a little covering, like a small Hut, with the shells of the largest Turtles or Tortoises that he had killed, taking great care that his fire should not go out. In the space of two months, and sooner, he was as unprovided of all things, as he was at first, for with the great rains, heat and moisture of that climate, his provisions were corrupted; and the great heat of the Sun was so violent on him, having neither cloths to cover him, nor shadow for a shelter, that when he was, as it were, broiled in the Sun, he had no remedy but to run into the Sea. In this misery and care he passed three years, during which time he saw several Ships at Sea, and as often made his fmoak; but none turned out of their way to see what it meant, for fear of those Shelves and Sands, which wary Pilots avoid with all imaginable circumspection; so that the poor wretch despairing of all manner of relief, esteemed it a mercy for him to dye, and arrive at that period which could only put an end to his miseries; and being exposed in this manner to all weathers, the hair of his body grew in that manner, that he was covered all over with bristles, the hair of his head and beard reaching to his waste, that he appeared like some wild and savage creature. At the end of three years *Serrano* was strangely surprized with the appearance of a Man in his Island, whose Ship had, the night before, been cast away upon those Sands, and had saved himself on a plank of the Vessel: so soon as it was day, he clipt the fmoak, and imagining whence it was, he made towards it. So soon, as they saw each the other, it is hard to say, which was the most amazed; *Serrano* imagined, that it was the Devil who came in the shape of a Man to tempt him to despair: the New-comer believes *Serrano* to be the Devil in his own proper shape and figure, being covered over with hair and beard: in fine, they were both afraid, flying one from the other. *Peter Serrano* cried out, as he ran, *Jesús, Jesús, deliver me from the Devil:* the other hearing this, took courage, and returning again to him, called out, *Brother, Brother, don't fly from me, for I am a Christian, as thou art:* and because he saw that *Serrano* still ran from him, he repeated the *Credo*, or Apostle's Creed, in words aloud; which when *Serrano* heard, he knew it was no

Devil, that would recite thofe words, and thereupon gave a flop to his fight, and returning to him with great kindnefs, they embraced each other, with fighs, and tears lamenting their bad Eftate, without any hopes of deliverance: *Serrano* fuppofing that his Gueft wanted refrefhment, entertained him with fuch provisions, as his miferable life afforded; and having a little comforted each other, they began to recount the manner and occafion of their bad difafters. Then for the better government in their way of living, they defigned their hours of day and night to certain fervices; fuch a time was appointed to kill *Fifh* for eating, fuch hours for gathering weeds, *Fifh* bones, and other matters, which the Sea threw up to maintain their conftant fire, and efpecial care they had to obferve their fire went not out. In this manner they lived amicably together for certain days, for many did not pafs before a quarrel arofe between them, fo high, that they were ready to fight; the occafion proceeded from fome words that one gave the other, that he took not that care and labour as the extremity of their condition required; and this difference to encreafed, (for to fuch misery do our paffions often ferve us) that at length they feparated, and lived apart one from the other: mutual fociety procures, their choler was appeafed, and fo they returned to enjoy converfe; and the affiftance which Friendfhip and Company afforded, in which condition they paffed four Years; during all which time they faw many Ships fail near them, yet none would be fo charitable or curious, as to be invited by their *Smoko* and *Flame*; fo that being now almoft deperate, as to be invited by other remedy befides Death, to put an end to their Miseries.

Howfoever at length a Ship adventuring to pafs nearer than ordinary, efpied the *Smoko*, and rightly judging, that it muft be made by fome Shipwrecked Perfons efcap'd to thofe Sands, hoifted out their Boat to take them in. *Serrano* and his Companion readily ran to the place where they faw the Boat coming; but fofoon as the Mariners were approached fo near, as to diftinguifh the ftrange Figure and Looks of thefe two Men, they were fo affrighted, that they began to rove be Devils, or evil Spirits, they rehearfed the Creed; and called aloud upon the Name of *Jeſus*; with which words the Mariners returned, took them into the Boat, and carried them to the Ship, to the great wonder of all there prefent, who with admiration beheld their hairy fhapes, not like Men, but Beafts, and with fingular pleafure heard them relate the ftory of their past misfortunes. The Commanded died in his Voyage to Spain, but *Serrano* lived to come thither, from whence he travelled into Germany, where the Emperour then reſided, from time he nourifhed his Hair and Beard, to ferve as an Evidence and Proof of his past Life: wherefoever he came the People preffed, as a Sight, to fee him for Money; Perfons of Quality having alfo the fame curioſity, gave him fufficient to defray his charges, and his Imperial Majeſty having ſeen, and heard his Difcourſes, beſowed a Rent upon him of Four thouſand Pieces of Eight a Year, which make 4800 Ducats in *Peru*; and going to the Poſſeſſion of this Income, he dyed at *Panama*, without farther Enjoyment. All this Story was related to me by a Gentleman called *Garcia Sanchez de Figueroa*, one who was acquainted with *Serrano*, and heard it from his own Mouth; and that after he had ſeen the Emperour he then cut his Hair and his Beard to fome convenient length, becauſe that it was fo long before, that when he turned himſelf on his Bed, he often lay upon it, which incommoded him fo much as to diſturb his ſleep.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Idolatry and Gods which the Ancient Incas adored, and Manner of their Sacrifices.

FOR better understanding of the Life, Customs and Idolatry of the *Indians of Peru*, it will be necessary to distinguish the times before the *Incas*, from those wherein their Rule and Empire began, their Gods and Sacrifices and Customs being much different, according to the Ages; for the Men themselves, in the first times, were at best but as tamed Beasts, and others were worse than the fiercest Creatures. To begin with their Gods, we must know, that they were agreeable to the quality of their own corrupt and abominable manners, and every Nation, Province, Tribe and House had its particular God; for their Opinion was, that one God would have business sufficient to take care of one Province, or Family, and that their Power was so confined, that it could have no virtue or extent within the Jurisdiction of another: and because their Fancies were not so sublimated, as to frame abstracted Notions of Deities, such as Hope, Victory, Peace, and the like, as the *Romans* did in the time of Gentilism; they adored whatsoever they saw, such as Flowers, Plants, Herbs, Trees, especially, Pines and Elmes; Caves, Stones, Rivers; and particularly in that Province, which is called the Old Port, they had a high Veneration for the Emerald, because it is the Precious Stone of that Countrey, and the Diamond and Ruby are in no esteem, because they are not known to them; they also worshipped the Lion, Tyger and Bear, for their fierceness, and with that submission and humility, that they would not fly from them, but offer themselves to be devoured by them. In fine they adored any thing wherein they observed an Excellency; as the Fox and Monkey for Craft, the Hart for his Swiftnes, the Falcon for his Agility and Courage, and the Eagle for the Acuteness of his Sight: such was the vanity and folly in the imagination of this savage People, who had no Scriptures to teach and enlighten them, nor Prince to govern and protect them.

Howsoever there were other Nations more confederate in choice of their Deities, adoring none but such as afforded them benefit and advantage; as Fountains, and cool Springs which yielded them Drink, Rivers that watered their Pastures; the Earth they called their Mother, and worshipped, because it yielded them Food, the Air, because they breathed in it, and was their Life, the Fire, because it warmed them, and dressed their Meat; some also made choice of Sheep, and Corn, and Cattel, and every thing that abounded most in their Countrey, and served for nourishment, to be a God, and worthy of Divine Honour. The Inhabitants near the *Cordillera* worshipped that Mountain for its height, those of the Coast made the Sea their God, which in their language they call *Mama-choca*, and is as much as to say, the Mother Sea: the Whale for its prodigious bigness was in no less Veneration than the rest, and every sort of Fish which abounded amongst them was deified, because they believe that the first Fish in the World above them, takes always care to provide them with a number of the like sort or species sufficient to maintain and nourish them. Besides these there are two Nations which are *Chiriguano*s, and others living about the Cape of *Pessau*, (which are the North and South Borders of *Peru*), that have no thoughts or inclinations to Religion, and worship nothing either above or below; but giving themselves over to stupidity and sloth, neither having fear nor love, live with the same sensuality that Beasts do, because they have not as yet had the happiness to receive the instructions, doctrine and government of the *Incas*, who are the *Indian Kings*. The Sacrifices which they made to these Gods were as cruel and barbarous as the Gods were stupid and senseless, to whom they offered them; for besides Beasts, and Fruits, and Corn, they sacrificed Men and Women of all ages, which they had taken in the War: And some Nations of these exceeded so far in their inhumanity, that they offered not only their Enemies, but on some occasions their very Children

Children to these Idols. The manner of these Sacrifices were to rip open their breasts whilst they were alive, and so tear out their Heart and Lungs, with the Blood of which, whilst warm, they sprinkled their Idols: then they inspected the Lungs and Heart, to take an omen of good or bad, and know whether the Sacrifice had been acceptable to the Idol; then they burnt the Entrails, and ate the Flesh themselves with great joy and festivity, though it were of their own Child, or other Relation of the same blood.

Blas Valera a certain Author who in loose Papers wrote of the *Indies*, describes those Nations by distinguishing the former from the latter ages, and saith, That those who live in *Antis* eat Mens Flesh, and are more brutish than the Beasts themselves, for they know neither God, nor Law, nor Vertue, nor have they Idols, or any Worship; unless sometimes when the Devil presents himself to them in the form of a Serpent, or other Animal, they then adore and worship him. When they take any in the War, if he be an ordinary Fellow, they quarter him, and divide him to be eaten by their Wives, Children and Servants, or perhaps sell him to the Shambles; but if he be of Quality, or Noble, they call their Wives and Children together, and like Officers of the Devil, they call their his garments, and tie him to a stake, and then alive as he is, they cut him with Knives, and sharp Stones, paring off slices from the more fleshy parts, as from the Buttocks, Calves of the Legs, and the brawny places of the Arms; then with the Blood they sprinkle the principal Men and Women, and the remainder they drink, and eat the Flesh as fast as they can, before it is half broiled, left the miserable Wretch should dye before he hath seen his flesh devoured, and intombed in their bowels. The Women, more cruel and inhumane than the Men, wet the nipples of their Breasts with the blood, that so the Infants which suck them may take a share of the Sacrifice. All this is performed by way of a religious Offering with mirth and triumph, till the Man expires; and then they complete the Feast in devouring all the remainder of his Flesh and Bowels, eating it with silence and reverence, as sacred, and partaking of a Deity. If in execution of all this torment the Patient was observed to sigh and groan, or make any distorted faces, then they break his Bones, and with contempt threw them into the fields and waters; but if he appeared stout, and enduring the anguish and pains without shrinking at them, then his Bones and Sinews were dried in the Sun, and lodged on the tops of the highest Hills, where they were deified, and Sacrifices offered to them. Such are the Idols and manner of living of these Brutes, because the Government of the *Incas* was never received into their Countrey, nor hath it any Power there at this day. This Generation of Men came out from the parts about *Mexico*, and spread themselves from *Panama* and *Darien*, over all those great mountains which run as far as the new Kingdom of *Granada*, and on the other side as far as the Cape of *St. Martha*. All which particulars we have received from Father *Blas Valera*, who in the Narrative he gives of their Lives and Manners much more aggravates their diabolical Practices, than by any thing we have here related.

But other *Indians* less cruel, and of a more mild Nature, though they mingled humane Blood with their Sacrifices, yet they did it not with the death of any; but drew it from Veins of the Arm or Leg, or from the Nostrils, in case of pains in the Head, and from other parts, as the nature or solemnity of the Sacrifice required. Others offered Sheep, and Lambs, Conies, Partridges, and all sorts of Fowl, Herbs, and the Cocar-Nut, so much in esteem amongst them, with their Mayz, which is a sort of Wheat, as also Pulse, Annise and Cummin, and sweet Woods, which rendred a perfume; the which were severally sacrificed according to the nature of the Deity they adored. And thus much shall be sufficient to have been delivered concerning their Sacrifices, and Gods of the Ancient Gentilism.

CHAP. V.

Of the Government, Diet and Cloathing of the Ancient Indians.

These People were as barbarous in their manner of living in their Houses and Habitations, as they were in the Worship of their Gods, and Sacrifices; such of them as observed any thing of a Political Government, lived in a kind of Society, having houses near together, placed without order of Streets or Passages, appearing rather like Pens or Sheepfolds, than humane Habitations: Others, by reason of the Wars and Variances amongst themselves, lived on Rocks and Mountains, and places inaccessible for their Enemies; others dwelt in little Cottages, scattered over the fields and vallies; and every one seated himself as well as he thought convenient for commodiousness of Victuals and Water, whether it were in Caves under ground, or in the hollow of Trees, the necessities, rather than the conveniences of living being provided for; and of this sort of People there are some yet remaining about the Cape of *Passan*, as the *Chiriguano* and other Nations, whom the *Incas* have conquered, and who still continue their ancient barbarity, and savage manners: and these are the most difficult of any to be reduced to the subjection of the *Spaniards*, or the Christian Religion; for having never had Learning, or scarce Language sufficient to understand each other, they live like Beasts, without Communication, Friendship or Commerce.

Those amongst them who had most of Understanding, or of a Spirit most daring, took the privilege to Rule, and govern the others, whom he treated as his Slaves, with such Tyranny and Cruelty, that he made use of their Wives and Daughters at his pleasure, all things being confounded with War and Ruine. In some Provinces, they used the Captives taken in War, and with their Skins covered their Drums, thinking with the sound of them to affright their Enemies; for their opinion was, that when their Kindred heard the rumbling noise of those Drums, they would be immediately seized with fear, and put to flight. For the most part they lived by Robberies, and the Spoils each of other; the stronger preying upon the weaker was the cause of several petty Kings; some of which perhaps being of a more gentle nature than others, and who treated their Subjects with less rigour and cruelty, were for that reason adored by them for Gods, framing to themselves some representation of Divinity in the good actions of such men, who had some allays in their cruel and tyrannical Government. In other parts, they lived without Lords, or order of a Common-wealth; but like so many Sheep passed together in all simplicity; not that Virtue moderated their malice, but their stupidity and ignorance made them senseless and incapable of good or evil.

Their manner of Cloathing, or covering their Bodies, were in some Countries as immodest as they were ridiculous; their Diet also was so foul and barbarous, that we, who know better, may wonder at the beastiality. In the hot Countries, which were most fruitful, they sowed little or nothing, but contented themselves with Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruits, and with that which the Earth produced of it self, for they, requiring no more than natural sustenance, lived with little, and created no accidental necessities for support of Life. In some Countries they were such great lovers of Man's Flesh, that when they were killing an *Indian*, they would suck his blood at the Wound they had given him; and when they quartered his body, they would lick their fingers, that not one drop of blood should be wasted: in their Shambles they commonly sold Mens Bodies, making *Sausages* of their Guts, stuffing them with flesh, that nothing might be lost. *Peter of Cieza* in the 16th Chapter of his Book, declares so much, and affirms, that he saw it with his own Eyes; and that so far their gluttony provoked them in this kind, that they did not spare those very Children, which they

begot

begot upon those Women whom they had taken Captives in the War, but breeding them with such care and diet as might make them fat; so soon as they came to be twelve years of age, and that they were plump and tender, they dressed them for their Table, and devoured them with their Mothers, unless they were with Child; for then they reserved them till they were delivered, and had nursed up their brood. Moreover to those Men whom they took in the War they gave Women, and their breed they nourished and fattened, with intent to eat them, as we do Lambs, and Calves, and the young ones of our herds and flocks, without regard to Blood or Parentage, which even in brute beasts hath some effect of love and tenderness. But what was most abominable above all, was a custome amongst some *Indians* to eat the Flesh of their Parents, so soon as they were dead; accounting it a part of their respect and duty to bury and intomb them within their own Entrails, which they boiled, or roasted; according to the quantity; if the body was lean, and extenuated, they boiled the flesh to make it the more tender; and if it were gross and fleshy, then it was roasted; and for the bones, they buried them with some Ceremony, either in the holes of Rocks, or the hollow Trees: but this sort of People know no Gods, nor adore any thing, and inhabit for the most part in the hotter, and not in colder Regions of this Continent. In the more cold and barren Countries, where the earth is not so fruitfull, necessity compels them to sow *Mayze*, which is their *Indian* Wheat, and other sorts of pulse or grain; but they distinguish neither times, nor seasons for it; and in their sowing and fowling, and in all other things the like barbarity of manners predominates.

As to their manner of Cloathing, the modesty of an Historian obligeth me rather to pass it by, than to describe it, lest I should seem offensive to chaste and modest Ears: but to express it with as much decency as I am able; we are to know, that the *Indians* in the first ages wore no other covering than the Skins which Nature gave them. Some perhaps of them for curiosity, or affectation, girt themselves about the Waste with a clout of coarse thread, which they esteemed a Cloathing sufficient for them. I remember, that in the Year 1570. when I came into *New Spain*, that I met in the streets of *Carriaga* with five *Indians*, all naked, walking one after the other, like so many Cranes, so little had the conversation and society of the *Spaniards* in so long a time prevailed to the alteration of their Humours, Manners or Barbarity.

The Women wear no other garments than the Men; onely the married Wives girt a string about them to which they fasten a clout of Cotton, a yard square, like an Apron, and where they cannot or will not learn to weave, they cover their nakedness with the rine or broad leaves of trees. The Maidens also wear something girt about them, to which they add some other mark, as a sign of their Virginity. Modesty forbids us to enlarge farther on this Subject, it being sufficient what we have declared, that in hot Countries they went naked, without other covering, or ornament, than that which Nature furnishes to brute Beasts; whence we may imagine how barbarous those *Indians* were before the times in which the *Incas* gained a Sovereignty over them.

In colder Countries they used Garments, not for modesty, or decency, but for necessity to defend them from the cold: their cloathing was commonly with the Skins of beasts, and with a sort of Matt, which they wove with straw or rushes. Other Nations of them, who had more ingenuity, wore a sort of Mantles, ill made, and spun with a coarse thread, and worse woven with wool, or wild hemp, which they call *Chibino*; and some ornament about their necks, and a covering about their waists, was all the cloathing which their customs and manners required; and in this habit the *Spaniards* found those *Indians*, over whom the *Incas* had not extended their Dominion; and which even to this day continues amongst them: for they have such an aversion to garments, that even those who live familiarly with the *Spaniards*, and are their domestick Servants, are rather forced by importunity to use them, than that they chuse them out of inclination, or any consideration of decency or modesty; the like humout is also common to the Women; so that the *Spaniards* use in jest to tell them that they were bad Spinners, and to ask them whether they would not cloath themselves because they would not spin, or would not spin, because they would not be cloathed.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Of the different ways of Marriages, and diversity of Languages amongst them. And of the Poisons and Witchcrafts that they used.

Such as these *Indians* were in their eating and cloathing, such were they in their Marriages, in which they were as bestial, as in their other manners, exercising coition in the same way as Beasts; for having not Wives in property, they used their Women as Nature incited, or as accidentally they occurred; without regard to Mothers, Daughters, or Sisters, or the nearest proximity of blood. In some Countries, where a certain sort of Marriage was usual, those Women that were free of their Bodies, were most esteemed as drones, dull and unfit for love. In other Countries they observed a different custome; for the Mothers preserved their Daughters with great respect and care, till the time of their Marriage, when bringing them into publick, they shewed the Tokens of their Virginity. In other parts the Father, or near of kindred, claimed a title to the Maidenhead of the Bride by conditions of the Marriage, before she was given to the Husband. *Peter de Cieza* in the 24th Chapter of his Book affirms the same; and that Sodomy was used amongst them, but yet in secret, and as a crime: though the Devil perswaded them to it in their Temples, as a pleasure which their Gods delighted in, that so under the guise of Religion he might take off that veil of Modesty, which covered humane nature.

There were some, both men and Women, that practised the art of Poisoning, so that they could kill with it immediately, or in a certain time, or could make mad, or fools, disfigure the countenance, make the body leprous, and the Limbs to wither and pine away.

Every Province, and every Nation had a different Tongue, or Dialect; those who spake the same Language they esteemed Friends and Kindred, and with them they kept peace and confederacy, all others were accounted Enemies and Strangers, with whom they maintained a perpetual War, eating those whom they took, as if they had been Animals of another *Species*.

Witchcraft was more commonly used by the Women, than by the Men, who, to gain a reputation to themselves of Wisdom, of Prophecies and Predictions of things to come, like *Pythonesse*, or *Sibyls*, treated familiarly with the Devil. These Women, out of malice or Envy practised this Art most commonly on the Men, and which operated the same effect as their Poisons; such was the constitution of these *Indians* in the first age, and in the time of their Gentilism, when they had no other guide but the Devil and their own Natures; and hereof we shall more particularly treat in the sequel of this History, when coming to discourse of the Nations apart, we shall have occasion to mention the barbarisms and brutalities which are respectively appropriated unto the several People.

C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

The Original of the Incas, who were Kings of Peru.

These People living and dying in that manner, as we have before declared, it pleased God at last that some little light should dawn from the morning, and through the dark clouds of Ignorance and Stupidity dart a small ray of the Law of Nature into their hearts, that learning something of that respect which one man ought to bear unto another, they might by degrees improve in morality, and from Beasts be converted into Men, and made capable of Reason and Understanding; that so, when the same God, who is the Sun of Justice, should think fit to illume out the light of his Divine Rays on those poor Idolaters, they might be found more docile, and easily disposed to receive the principles of the Christian faith; the which will plainly appear in the progress of this History, and that those, whom the *Incas* had subjected, and reduced to some terms of Humanity and Political Government, were much better and easier to receive the Evangelical Doctrine preached unto them, than those ignorant wretches who lived in their natural stupidity, and who to this day, after the space of 71 Years, that the *Spaniards* have been Masters of *Peru*, have made no step or improvement towards the Doctrine of Morality, or a rational Life. And now that we may proceed forward, to relate these obscure matters, I must acquaint the Reader, that having considered with my self of the ways and methods whereby I might most clearly make known the beginning and original of the *Incas*, who were the Natural Kings of *Peru*, I have determined with my self, that there is no more expedite course, nor means hereunto, than to repeat those stories which in my youth I received from the relation of my Mother, and my Uncles; her Brothers, and others of my Kindred, touching this subject, which certainly will be more authentick and satisfactory than any account we can receive from other Authours, and therefore shall proceed in this manner.

My Mother, residing at *Cusco*, which was her own Country, those few Kindred and Relations of hers which survived, and escaped from the cruelties and Tyrannies of *Atahualpa*, (as shall be related in the History of his life) came almost every week to make her a visit; at which their ordinary discourse was concerning the Original of their Kings, the Majesty, and greatness of their Empire, their Conquests, and Policies in Government, both for War and Peace, together with the Laws they instituted for the good and benefit of their subjects: in short, there was nothing great or prosperous amongst them, which they omitted in the Series of their Discourse.

From their past Happiness they descended to their present condition, and bewailed the death of their Kings, by whose destruction the government fell, and the Empire was transferred. These, and such like discourses, the *Incas*, and the Ladies of quality, which we call *Pallas*, entertained us with at their visits, which they always concluded with tears and sighs in remembrance of their lost happiness, saying, that from Governours they were now become Slaves, &c. During these Discourses, I, that was a Boy, often ran in and out, pleasing my self with some pieces of the story, as Children do with the tales of Nurfes. In this manner days, and months, and years passing, till I was come to sixteen or seventeen years of age, being one day present with my Kindred, who were discoursing of their Kings and Ancestours, it came into my mind to ask the most elderly Person amongst them, and interrupt his Discourse in this manner. *Inca*, said I, and my Uncle, how is it possible, since you have no Writings, that you have been able to conserve the memory of things past, and of the Original of our Kings? I observe that the *Spaniards*, and their neighbouring Nations, have their Divine and Humane Histories, whereby they learn the time that their own Kings, and the Princes of other Countries began their Reigns, when and how Empires were altered and transferred; nay, so far they proceed, as to tell us how many thousand years are past, since God created Heaven and Earth: all which, and much more,

they have learned from their books; but as for your part, in what manner can you retain the memory of your Ancestors, or be informed of the Original of your Incas? as who was the first of them, or what was his name? of what lineage, or in what manner he began to reign? what Nations he conquered, and when he gave a being to this great Empire, and with what Exploits our Ancestors achieved their greatness?

The Inca was much pleased to hear me make these enquiries, because he took a delight to recount those matters, and turning himself to me, *Cousin*, said he, I most willingly comply with your request; for it concerns you to hear them, and keep them in your heart, (which is a phrase that they use, when they mean that it should be committed to Memory.) You must know therefore, that in ages past all this Region and Countrey you see round us, was nothing but mountains, and wild forest, and the People in those times were like so many brute Beasts, without Religion or Government; they neither sowed, nor ploughed, nor clothed themselves, because they knew not the art of weaving with Cotton or Wool: They dwelt by two and two, or three and three together, as they happened to meet in Caves, or holes in the Rocks and Mountains; their food was Herbs, or Grasse, Roots of Trees, and wild Fruits, and Man's Flesh; all the coverings they had were Leaves or Barks of Trees, and Skins of Beasts: In short, they were altogether savage, making use of their Women as they accidentally met, understanding no property, or single enjoyment of them.

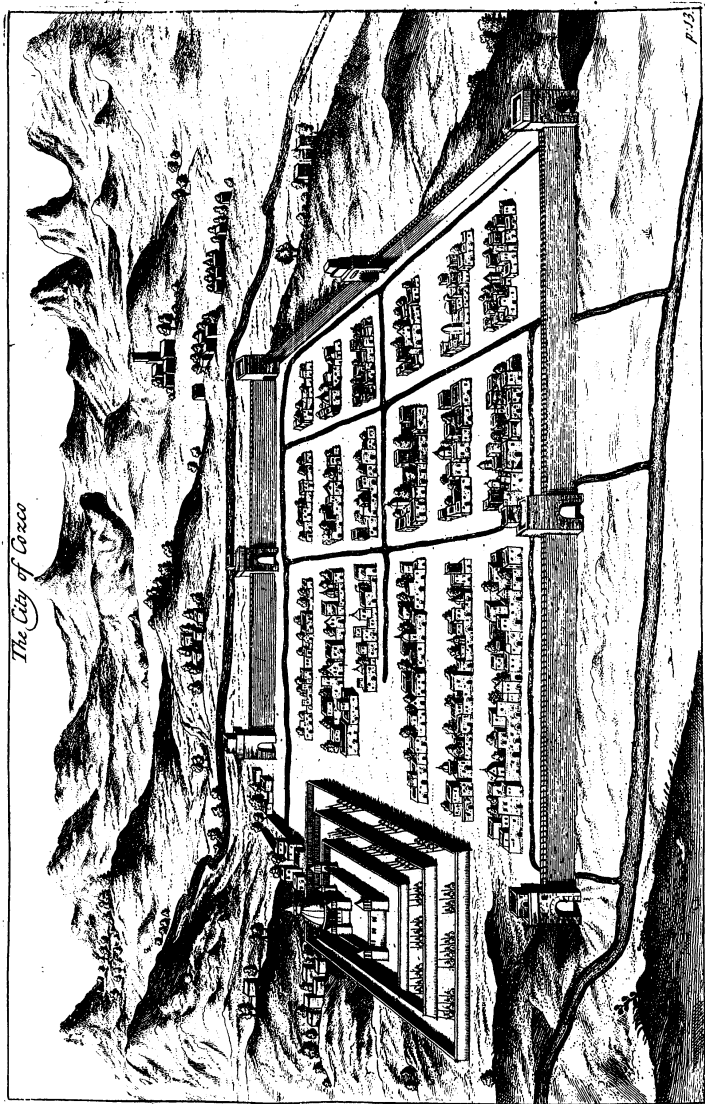
And now I pray observe me with due attention, for I would not be troubled to make repetition of what I have said. Our Father the Sun, (for this is the language of the Incas, which is a title of Reverence and Respect, which they always adjoin, so often as they name the Sun; for they avail themselves much of the Honour of being descended from him; and his Name is so pretious, that it is blasphemy for any, and by Law he is to be stoned, who dares to take this Name into his mouth, who is not an Inca, or descended from that Lineage.) Our Father the Sun (said the Inca) beholding Men such as before related, took compassion of them, and sent a Son and a Daughter of his own from Heaven to Earth, to instruct our people in the knowledge of Our Father the Sun, that so they might worship and adore him, and esteem him for their God: giving them Laws and Precepts, whereunto they might conform their Lives, like Men of Reason and Civility; that they might live in Houses and Society, learn to sow the Land, cultivate Trees, and Plants, feed their Flocks, and enjoy them, and other Fruits of the Earth, as rational Men, and not as brute Beasts. With these Orders and Instructions Our Father the Sun placed his two Children in the Lake Titicaca, which is about eighty Leagues from hence, giving them liberty to go, and travell which way they pleased, and that in what place soever they staid to eat, or sleep, they should strike a little wedge of Gold into the ground, (which he had given them,) being about half a yard long, and two fingers thick, and where with one stroke this wedge should sink into the Earth, there should be the place of their Habitation, and the Court unto which all People should resort. Lastly, he ordered them, that when they should have reduced People to these Rules and Obedience, that then they should conserve and maintain them with Reason, Justice, Piety, Clemency and Gentleness, performing all the good Offices of a pious Father towards those Children which he loves with tenderness; and that in imitation of him, and by his example, who doeth good to all the World, affording them light to perform their business, and the actions of Life, warming them when they are cold, making their pastures, and their seeds to grow, their trees to fructifie, and their flocks to increase, watering their Lands with dew from above, and in its season bestowing chearfull and favourable weather: and to manifest his care of all things, said, I every day take a turn round the World, to see and discover the necessities and wants of all things, that so as the true Fomentor and Parent of them, I may apply my self to their succour and redress. Thus after my example, and as my Children, sent upon the Earth, I would have you to imitate me, and to insill such Doctrine into this People, as may convert them from Beasts unto Men: and from henceforth I constitute and ordain you Lords and Princes over this People, that by your Instructions, Reason and Government, they may be conserved. Thus Our Father the Sun, having declared his pleasure to these his two Children, he dispatched them from him; and they taking their journey from Titicaca Northward, at every place where they came to repose, they tried with their wedge to strike it in the ground, but it took no place, nor would it enter; at length they came to a poor Inn, or place to rest in, about seven or eight Leagues Southward from this City, which to this day is called Pacarec Tampu, which is as much as to say, the Shining or Enlightned Dormitory. This is one of those Colonies which this Prince planted, the Inhabitants whereof boast of this Name and Title which our Inca bestowed upon it; from whence he and his Queen descended to the Valley of Cuzco, which was then only a wild and barren Mountain.

C H A P. VIII.

The Foundation of the Imperial City of Cozco.

THE first stop (proceeded the Inca) which they made in this Valley, was in the Desert called Huanacauti, which is to the southward of this City, and there they again struck their wedge of Gold into the Earth, which received it with great facility, and which sucked it in with so much ease, that they saw it no more. Then said the Inca to his Sister, and Wife, in this Valley Our Father the Sun hath commanded that we should stay, and make our abode, and in so doing we shall perform his Pleasure, in pursuance whereof it is necessary that we now separate each from the other, and take different ways, that so we may assemble and draw the People to us, in such manner as we may be able to preach and propagate the doctrine amongst them, which he hath committed to us. Accordingly our first Governours proceeded by divers ways from the Desert of Huanacauti to convocate the People, which being the first place, of which we had knowledge, that they had hallowed by their Piety, and from whence they went to do good unto Men, we have deservedly (as is manifest) erected a Temple, wherein to adore and worship our Father the Sun, and remember this good and benefit he hath done unto the World. Our Inca the Prince took his way northward, and the Princess to the Southward, and to all the Men and Women which they met in the wild thickets, and uncultivated places, they declared to them, that their Father the Sun had sent them to be Teachers and Benefactors to those Inhabitants, and to draw them from that rude and savage Life, and to another method of living, more agreeable to Reason and Humane Society; and in further pursuance of the Commands of their Father the Sun, they came to gather them from those Mountains, and rude places, to more convenient Habitations, where they might live in Humane Society, and to assign them such food, as was appropriated to Men, and not to Beasts. These, and such like matters, these Princes declared to those savages, whom they found in Deserts and Mountains, who beholding these two persons clothed, and adorned with such Habit as Our Father the Sun had vested them in, and observing that their Ears were bored through, for wearing jewels, and more large and open than usual, that they might hear and receive the Complaints of the oppressed; (in which we also are like them, who are of their Offspring and Family,) and that by the gentleness of their words, and grace of their Countenance, they manifested themselves to be Children of the Sun, and such as were employed to assemble People into societies, and political ways of living, and to administer such sorts of food as were wholesome and appropriated to Humane Sustenance, they were struck with such admiration of their figure and Persons, and allured with the promises they made them, that they gave entire credence to their words, adored them as Children of the Sun, and obeyed them as their Princes: And these poor wretches relating these matters one to the other, the same thereof so encreased, that great numbers, both of Men and Women, flocked together, being willing to follow to what place soever they should guide them.

Thus great multitudes of People being assembled together, the Princes gave order that Provision should be made of such fruits, as the Earth produced for their sustenance, lest being scattered abroad to gain their food, the main body should be divided, and the numbers diminished: others in the mean time were employed in building houses, of which the Prince gave them a model and form. In this manner our Imperial City began to be peopled, being divided into two parts, one of which was called Hanan Cozco, which is as much as the Upper Cozco, and the other Hurin Cozco, which is the Lower Cozco; those which were assembled under the King were of the Upper Town, and those under the Queen were of the Lower: Not that this difference was made out of any respect to Superiority, for that they were to be Brothers, and Children of the same Father and Mother, and in the same equality of Fortune; but only it served to distinguish the followers of the King from those of the Queen, and to remain for an everlasting Memorial of their first Beginning and Original, with this difference only, that the Upper Cozco should be as the Elder, and the Lower as the younger Children. And this is the reason that in all our Empire this diversity of lineage hath remained, being ever since distinguished into Hanan Ayllu, and Hurin Ayllu, which is the upper and the lower Lineage, and Hanan Suyu, and Hurin Suyu, which is the upper and the lower Tribe.



The City being thus Peopled, Our Inca taught his Subjects those Labours which appertain unto the Men, as to plough and sow the Land with divers sorts of Seeds, which were usefull, and for food; to which end he instructed them how to make Ploughs and Harrows, and other Instruments, fit and necessary for that purpose; he shewed them also the way of cutting channels for the Water, which now runs through this Valley of COZCO, and to make Shoes for their Feet. On the other side the Queen instructed the Women in good Husbandry, as how to spin and weave Cotton and wool, and to make garments for their Husbands, their Children, and themselves, with other Offices appertaining to the House. In sum, nothing was omitted conducing to humane Welfare, which the King did not teach his Men, and the Queen her Women, making them both their Scholars and their Subjects.

CHAP. IX.

The Actions of the first Indian King, called Manco Capac.

THESE Indians being in this manner reduced, looked on themselves much bettered in condition; and with singular acknowledgments of the benefits received, and with great joy and satisfaction travelled through the Rocks and Thickets to communicate the happy news of those Children of the Sun, who for the common good of all appeared on the Earth, reviving the great good and benefits they had received from them, and to gain belief amongst them they shewed them their new Habit, and Cloathing, and Diet, and that they lived in Houses and in political Society. This relation induced this wild People to see those wonders, of which being fully satisfied by their own Eyes, they ranged themselves amongst the rest to learn, and obey, and thus one calling and inviting the other, the same spread far and near, and the people increased in such manner, that in the first six or seven years the Inca had composed an Army fit for War; and having taught them how to make Bows and Arrows; and Lances; and such Weapons as we use to this day, they were not only capable to defend, but also to offend an Enemy, and to compell those by force whose bestial nature detained from Humane Association.

And that I may not be tedious in the relation of what this Our first Inca acted, you must know, that he reduced all Eastward, as far as the River called Paucartampu, and vixley Leagues Westward, to the great River called Apurimac, and to the Southward nine Leagues to Quequesana. To those several quarters Our Inca sent out particular Colonies; to the largest a hundred Families, and to the lesser according to their capacity. These are the beginnings of this our City, and of this our rich and famous Empire, which your Father, and his Adherents have depouled us of. These were our first Incas, and Kings; in the first ages of the World, from whom the succeeding Princes, and we our selves are descended: but how many years it may be since our Father the Sun sent his Offspring amongst us, I am not able precisely to declare, because my Memory may fail me in it, but I imagine, they may be about 400 Years. This our Inca was named Manco Capac, and his Queen Coya Manri of Huato, who were, as I have said, Brethren of the Sun and Moon. And thus having at large satisfied the request you made to me, in relation of which, that I might not incline you to sadness, I abstained from venting tears at my Eyes, which notwithstanding drop with blood on my Heart, caused by that inward grief I feel, to see our Incas, and their Empire ruined and destroyed.

This large Relation of the Original of our Kings, I received from that Inca which was my Mothers Brother, from whom I requested it, and which I have caused faithfully to be translated out of the Indian into the Spanish Tongue; which though it be not written with such Majesty of words as the Inca spake it, nor with that significance of termes as that Language bears, nor so large and particular (to avoid tediousness) as it was delivered to me; howsoever it may serve to give

sufficient

sufficient light to the nature and knowledge of this our History. Many other things of like sort, though of no great moment, this Inca often recounted in his Visits and Discourses he made me, the which I shall declare in their due places; being now troubled that I made no farther enquiries into other matters, for which I have room here to place them with good authority.

CHAP. X.

Wherein the Authour alleges the Authority he hath for the Truth of his History.

HAVING thus laid the first Foundation whereon to build our History, though as to the Original of our Kings of Peru, it may seem something fabulous; it now follows, that we proceed forward to relate in what manner the Indians were reduced and conquered, enlarging the particulars which the Inca gave me, with divers other additions concerning the Natural Indians; and their Kings; which the first Inca, Manco Capac, reduced under his Government, with whom I was educated, and converted untill I arrived to the age of twenty years; during which time I became informed of all the particulars concerning which I write, for in my youth they related these stories to me, as Nurseries doe tales, or fables to their Children. Afterwards, in my riper years, I took a more particular notice of their Laws and Policies, comparing this new Government of the Spaniards, with that of the Incas, namely, what were esteemed faults and trespasses, and what severities and punishments were proportioned to the same: they informed me also of the Methods which their Kings used in War and Peace, how they treated their Vassals, and what services they required from them. They instructed me also in their Idolatries, Ceremonies and Sacrifices, teaching me to distinguish between their more solemn festivals, and the ordinary holy-days, and how they were to be observed and celebrated; they told me also what was esteemed superstitious, and of abuse in their Religion, what Omens there were of good and bad luck; in short, there was nothing either relating to their Government or Manners, of which they gave me not a distinct Account, so that should I describe every matter received from them, the particulars would be too large to be contained within the volume of this History. Besides what I have heard, I have been an Eye-witness for the most part of their Idolatrous Worship, Feasts, and other superstitious Customs, which untill the twelfth or thirteenth year of my years after the Spaniards became Masters of my Countrey, and that, as I said, I was educated amongst the Indians till I was twenty years old, I had opportunity in all that time to observe, and be well acquainted with their Customs; besides all which, so soon as I took a resolution to write this History, I acquainted my Schoolfellows, such as were taught the art of Grammar, of this my intention, desiring them to search into the Archives and Registers of their Countries, and to send me the various successes of them; the which purpose of mine they so well approved, that every one most readily contributed to this work, sending me the History of the Exploits and Actions of their respective Incas, and is the same which the Spanish Historians relate on this Subject, though not so particularly, and largely as we have done. And in regard the Beginning and Foundation of this History consists of the actions of this first Inca, it will be very pertinent to this matter to particularise them distinctly, that so we may not be obliged to repeat them in the Lives of his Successors, who having a great value for his Person and Vertues, made it their chief aim and intention to imitate the Humour, Actions and Customs of this their first Prince Manco Capac; so that we shall endeavour

to represent the most important matters, which he acted, omitting things less pertinent and material. And though many things herein contained may seem fabulous, yet because they are such as the *Indians* make the Foundation of their History, and of those greatneses which the *Spaniards* do now in reality enjoy, I cannot pass them by, without injury and prejudice to the Beginning, Progress and Period of this Monarchy: Howsoever having sucked in a sincerity with my Milk, I shall give a true Account of all that I heard, and received from my Parents, promising, that neither favour nor affection to my People and Blood shall encline me either to conceal the bad, or beyond Reason applaud the good or natural Virtues of them; for though Gentilism be such a Sea of Errours, that every thing may be believed of it, which is new and prodigious; yet I shall deliver nothing but what the *Spanish* Historians have before intimated of those Kings and Countries; and that I may not seem to obtrude any thing out of partiality to my Kindred, I shall confine my self within the bounds of the *Spanish* Writers, intending that these Papers shall serve for a Comment to theirs, and to rectifie the Errours they have made, as to Times, Persons and Countries: which indeed is no wonder, if considering the little knowledge they have in the language, they have been guilty of many mistakes relating to that People.

In fine, whatsoever I shall relate of these People, who were destroyed, before they were known; either in reference to their ancient Idolatry, Government, Laws and Customs, it shall be clearly laid down, without comparing it with divine or humane Histories, or the Governments of our time; because all comparisons are odious; but rather leave those reflexions to the Reader, who finding something of similitude herein to the stories of Holy Writ, and to the Fables of Ancient Gentilism, may apply them according to his own fancy and humour. For my part, I having been a natural *Indian* born, and educated in Arms, have little or no abilities or strength of my own, and therefore have need of the favour and assistance of the Candid Reader.

CHAP. XI.

Of those People which the first Inca sent to inhabit divers Countries.

BUT to return now to the *Inca, Manco Capac*: After he had founded the City of *Cusco*, and divided it into two parts, (as we have already declared) he planted many other Colonies. To the Eastward of this City he placed those People, which now extend themselves over that tract of Land which runs to the River called *Panaca tampu*; and thirteen several other Nations he seated on both sides of the Royal way, called *Anisim*, which for brevity sake we omit particularly to nominate, being all or the most part of the Lineage, or Tribe called *Poques*. To the Westward in the space of eight Leagues in breadth, and about nine or ten in length, he planted thirty several Villages, which spread themselves on one hand, and the other as far as the Royal way of *Cunrisuyu*. These People formed three different Nations, namely *Masca, Chillqui, Papei*. To the North of this City were seated twenty Villages, which were distinguished by four names, viz. *Mayu, Cachu, Chinchapayzu, Rimac tampu*; the remainder of the People seated themselves in the pleasant valley of *Sacabana*, where the famous Battel was fought, wherein *Gonzalo Pizarro* was taken Prisoner. To the Southward of the City thirty eight or forty other Villages were planted, eighteen of which were of the Nation of *Ayamarca*, and extended themselves on one side and the other of the Royal high way of *Collasuyu*, for the space of thirty Leagues in length, beginning from those parts which are overagainst the *Salinas*, and reach within

within a little League of the City, where that fatal Battel was fought of *Don Diego of Almagro* the Elder, and *Hernando Pizarro*; all the other Nations have five or six different denominations, which are *Quepicancha, Mayna, Urcu, Quehuar, Huarc, Cavinna*. This Nation of *Cavinna* boast themselves much of being descended from Parents; who proceeded from a certain Lake, where they report that the Souls of such who dye do enter, and thence return again to animate other Bodies. These People adored an Idol of a prodigious figure, and offered a strange sort of Sacrifice to it; but the *Inca, Manco Capac*, destroyed the Idol, and abolished their rites, and compelled them as he did all his other subjects to adore the Sun.

These People, who were not much above a hundred in number, were but small in the beginning, the greatest not exceeding a hundred families, and the lesser consisting of about twenty five or thirty; which afterwards by the privileges and encouragements, which the *Inca, Manco Capac*, bestowed upon them, (as we shall hereafter declare) they increased exceedingly, many of them extending themselves into a thousand Families, and the lesser to three or four hundred at least; the which immunities and favours being confirmed, and augmented by *Manco Capac* and his Successors, the people increased and flourished, till all was destroyed by the barbarous Tyranny of *Ahuualpa*. Now in these our times, and about twenty years past those Colonies which *Manco Capac* planted on this side, and almost all the People of *Pera* do not now possess their ancient dwellings; because a Vice-Roy, as we shall shew in its proper place, joined them afterwards, uniting five or six into one, and sometimes seven or eight, as was most agreeable to his purpose, from whence many inconveniences accrued to that People, which we omit, because they are obvious and ungrateful to repeat.

CHAP. XII.

In what manner the Inca taught and instructed his Subjects.

THE *Inca, Manco Capac*, as he planted his Colonies, so every where he taught them to plow, and cultivate the Land, how to make Aqueducts and Conservatories for their Water, and all other matters tending to the more commodious well-being of humane Life; he gave them also some rules of Civility necessary in society for maintenance of Friendship and Brotherhood, as the Laws of Nature and Reason dictated; that laying aside all animosities and passions one against the other, they should doe as they would be done by, maintaining without partiality the same Law for others which they allow for themselves: but above all he recommended to them a respect which they ought to bear towards the Bodies of their Wives and Daughters, for in that vice they were the most blameable and barbarous; and in order hereunto he made Adultery, Murder and Robbery mortal crimes, and punishable with death. He ordered that no man should have more than one Wife at a time, and that in their Marriages they should confine themselves to their Tribes, that they might not make a confusion in the Lineage, and that from twenty years and upwards they might marry, because before that time their prudence was not ripe enough to manage their Affairs, nor govern their Families. He employed others to gather the more gentle sort of Cattle into flocks, which ran dispersed and wild through the Woods and Fields, causing them to make garments of their Wool, according to the Art which the Queen *Mama Oello Huaco* had taught them for spinning and weaving; he shewed them also how to make that sort of Shoes which they now wear, and which they call *Ujina*. Over every one of these Colonies he ordained a Chief, which they called

Curaca, and is the same which *Cacique* signifies in the Language of *Cuba*, and *Santo Domingo*, which is as much as a Ruler over Subjects: and these were chosen for their merits; for when any one was more gentle, affable, pious, ingenious and more zealous for the publick good than others, he was presently advanced to Government, and to be an Instructor of the ignorant *Indians*, who obeyed him with as much reverence, as Children do their Parents; and till these things could be put into execution, and till the Earth could produce these fruits, which by labour and art of Cultivation might be expected, a general store of Provisions were collected into a common place, to be distributed agreeable to the necessities and largeness of Families. And that they might not live without Religion, he prescribed the Rites and Ceremonies for their Idolatry: he appointed out the place and design where and how to erect a Temple to the Sun, that they might sacrifice to him; for in regard they esteemed him the great God of all, by whose heat and light they lived, the Fields produced their Fruits, and their Cattle multiplied, and that they received a thousand favours and benefits from him; it was but natural reason for them to acknowledge these benefits, and especially they esteemed themselves obliged to render service and adoration to the Sun and Moon, for having sent their own Children to them, who had reduced them from a Life of Beasts, to the present condition and state of humane Reason. It was likewise ordained, that a House should be built for Virgins dedicated to the Sun, and that the same should be possessed by none, but such as were of the Royal Blood and Family, and supplied from thence, so soon as the number of the Royal Race was sufficiently increased. All which he ordained and appointed to his People, that they should inviolably observe in grateful acknowledgment of the benefits received; promising on the other side, that in reward thereof they might expect perpetual additions of good to them from the blessings of the Sun who had revealed these secrets, and sent his Messengers to the *Indians* to instruct and guide them in the ways of Wisdom: all which matters, and much more, the poor *Indians* believed, and by tradition have conveyed to these our days; it being the main point of their belief, that the *Inca* was a Child of the Sun; of which and of such like fables they greatly boast, and that none but such as was of Divine progeny was able to have directed or prescribed things of such sublime and elevated an understanding, as these.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Titles, and Dignities which the Inca for distinction sake, and to procure greater Honour and Reverence bestowed on his own Family.

THE *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, having employed himself for many years in the matters before related, for the good and benefit of his Subjects, and perceiving that thereby he had produced in their minds a real sense of gratitude towards him, and a readiness to yield to him and his, who were Children of the Sun, all due Honour and Reverence; he judged it requisite for the more effectual impression of this Awe and Respect, to dignify himself, and those descended from him, with noble Titles, and Habits different from others. Wherefore first he ordered, that after his Example all his Posterity should go with their Heads shorn, wearing only one lock of Hair; but this shearing was performed with great difficulty, for they had not yet arrived to the invention of Scissors; but with a sharp flint cut the Hair, as well as they were able; whence it was, that a certain young *Inca* said to one of my Schoolfellows, with whom he was taught to write and read, that

that Had the Spaniards introduced no other invention amongst us than the use of Scissors; Looking-Glasses and Combs, they had destroyed all that Gold and Silver which our Country produces.

The other Mark of Distinction, was to have their Ears boared through, which the Women commonly did, with a sharp bramble, and by some art made the hole so wide, (as we shall hereafter describe) that it is wonderfull to conceive how it is possible for so small a piece of flesh, as the Velvet of the Ear, to be extended so far, as to receive an Ear-ring as big as the frame of a pulley, for it was made in the form of those with which we draw up Pitchers from a Well; and of that compass, that in case it were beaten straight, it would be a quarter of a Yard long, and a finger in thickness; and because the *Indians* wear them thus big, the *Spaniards* call them *Oreones*, or flap-eared Lugs.

For the Dress of their Heads, the *Incas* wear a Wreath of divers Colours, which they call *Llanin*, and is the breadth of a finger, but not quite so thick, which they bind about their Heads four or five times, in form of a Tullant. These three particulars of cutting the Hair, boaring the Ears, and binding the Head with this *Llanin*, were the distinctions which *Manco Capac* appropriated to his family; for though the Subject might wear this Wreath, or *Llanin*, about their Heads, yet it was to be of black only, and not of divers colours, which appertained only to the Royal Blood. This having been the Fashion for some time, the *Inca* indulging farther favours to his People, permitted them also to cut their Hair, but in a different manner to those of his Family, and of one from the other, that so the divers Lineages and Nations might be distinguished by their Heads. And that the Fashion of the *Inca* might not be very different to that of his Subjects, he ordered that their Hair should be rounded, and clipped close on the top of their Heads, as far as their Temples; and that their Locks should hang on each side to the bottom of their Ears; others he ordered to clip their Hair as far as might reach to the middle of their Ears, and others shorter, but none was to wear it in fashion of the *Inca*. And thus these *Indians* kept themselves constant to their fashion, not to appear fantastical or varying, lest they should either seem to disapprove the Precepts of their *Inca*, or contemn the Customs of their own Lineage, which they ever had in great Esteem and Honour.

In process of time the *Inca*, willing to enlarge the privileges of his People, gave them permission to boar their Ears, though not so wide as the *Inca*, and that the Pendants to them should vary according to the diversity of their Lineages and Countries. To the Nation called *Maya*, and *Cacha*, he gave leave to wear a Twist of Straw, about the thickness of the little finger. To the Nation *Pogues* he ordained a Lock of white Wool to hang as big as the top of the Thumb: To the Nations *Miyne*, *Huarac* and *Chillqui*, he appointed Ear-rings of the common Junk or Reed, which the *Indians* call *Tutira*. To the Nation *Rimahtampy* he appropriated an Ear-ring of a certain soft wood, which in the Isles of *Barlovento* they call *Magney*, and in the general Tongue of *Perry*, *Chigibau*, which, when the Bark is pulled off, is gentle, and easily bended. To the People called *Urcos*, *Tucay*, *Tampy*, and others inhabiting on the Banks of the River *Tucay*, he gave the privilege, as a peculiar mark and note of his Favour, to wear their Ear-rings of a larger size than other Nations, but lest they should exceed herein beyond their due proportion, he gave them a measure and compass which they were not to pass; the matter of them was to be the reed called *Tutira*; these were called Ear-twists rather than Pendants, because they did not hang from the Ear, but were twined about it, as a rope is about the mouth of the Pitcher.

Besides these distinctions, the *Inca* appropriated other marks to every Nation, that so they might not be confounded one with the other; those Names and Titles which most nearly related to those which the King himself had assumed, being reputed most honourable and of greatest renown: not that the *Inca* was partial to any, or favoured any beyond Reason or Justice; but as some were of a nature more docile and tractable than others, and laboured to instruct and teach the rude People in the ways of Humanity; to those he granted a higher testimony of his Favours, and signal marks of honour; all which being confirmed by Revelation from the Sun his Father, the poor *Indians* without envy or emulation each to other, submitted unto, having already by good experience tasted the benefit of their obedience to their *Inca*.

In process of time the *Inca* finding himself aged, and burthened with years, summoned a general Assembly of the chieftest of his Subjects, at the City of *Cusco*, and in a solemn Oration gave them to understand, that he intended shortly to return to Heaven, and take his Repose with his Father the Sun, (which words the Kings descended from him did always after use before their death) and being now to leave them, the ultimate testimony of all his favours which he had to bequeath to them, was the Appellation of his own Royal Name, that to they and their Posterity might be honoured and renowned through all the world: and as a farther evidence of this affection, he did not only bequeath this Honour to themselves only, but to descend to their Posterity, and that without difference or distinction they might all assume the honourable Title of *Incas*; for having been his first Subjects, and such as had submitted to his Will and Pleasure, he loved them as Children, and therefore rejoiced to bestow upon them his Royal Name and Dignities, in hopes and expectation that they would ever after be obedient to their present King and his Successors, assisting them to reduce under their Dominion such other *Indians* as had not as yet submitted to their Empire; all which he desired them to lay up in their Hearts and memory; as loyal Subjects; yet notwithstanding he would not have it be understood that he intended to bestow the Name of *Pallas* on their Women, which was a Title still to be appropriated to their Royal Bloud and Family; for that Women not being capable to bear Arms, and serve in the War against their Enemies, were not worthy of a Title so truly magnificent.

Those *Indians* which obtained this favour, were properly those who inhabit *Peru*, and were called *Incas*, and the *Spaniards*, and other Nations, out of courtesie, call their Women *Pallas*, and *Coyas*: For there are very few of the true Royal Bloud of those Kings remaining; and such as do, are by reason of their poverty and necessity unknown and obscure, unless it be here and there one; for the tyranny and cruelty of *Atahualpa* had destroyed them wholly, and those few which did escape, at least the principal and most famous amongst them, perished by other distresses and calamities, as we shall hereafter make appear in its due place. All the distinction which the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, reserved to himself and his Successors, was a coloured border on his Wreath, in nature of a Fringe, which bound his Head from one Temple to the other; the which was common to none, but the *Inca* and the Prince his Heir, who wore it narrower than his Father, and of a fallow colour. What Ceremonies were used at the Intialment of the Prince, and when he was sworn, we shall declare in its due place, when we come to speak of the Horsemanship which the *Incas* arined out against their Enemies.

These Privileges and Favours proceeding immediately from the graciousness of their Prince, the *Indians* received with great Thankfulness and Applause, because the *Inca* made them to believe that it was by the appointment and order of the Sun, who observing their Compliance, docility, and other merits, had conferred these marks of his good acceptance on them. And when they farther considered the greatness of his last Favour, which was the Title of *Inca*, and which was not only allotted to themselves, but was to descend also to their Posterity, they were wholly ravished with the Bounty and Liberality of his Royal Mind, not knowing how to receive it with other sense than Transport of Admiration; so that it became the common subject of their Discourse, how that their *Inca* had not only transformed them from Beasts into Men, and instructed them in all things necessary to humane Life, and taught them those natural Laws which conduce to Morality, and the knowledge of their God the Sun, which was sufficient for ever to have obliged them to remain his Vassals and Slaves, and might justly have imposed on them Taxes and Tributes, but that instead thereof he had conferred on them the Majesty of his own Name, which being so Sacred and Divine, that none durst take it formerly in his mouth, without great Veneration, was now made so common, that every one might pronounce it with an audible voice; by which privilege being become his adopted Sons, they did for ever after dedicate themselves for Slaves and Vassals to him who was the undoubted Progeny and Child of the Sun. The *Indians* being astonished with the consideration of these great favours and affection, their *Inca* had bestowed upon them, they returned him all the blessings and praises imaginable, studying what Names and Titles they might confer on him, agreeable to the greatness of his Mind, and his Heroick Virtues; and on this consideration they invented these two Names, one of which

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was *Capac*, which signifies rich, not that they meant him to be rich in Goods, or Wealth of Fortune, but of Mind, such as Gentleness, Piety, Clemency, Liberality, Justice and Magnanimity, with a desire and inclination to communicate his Benefits to all his Subjects; and for that Reason they deservedly gave him the Title of *Capac*, which signifies rich and powerfull in Arms: The other Name they gave him was *Huac chacayac*, which is as much as to say, a great Friend and Benefactor to the poor; for as the first denomination intimated the greatness of his Mind, so the other spoke the benefits which he had conferred; so that for ever after he was called the Prince *Manco Capac*, having been named no otherwise before, than *Manco* the *Inca*; for *Manco* is but the proper Name of a Person, and in the common Language of *Peru* hath no signification; though in a particular Dialect which some of them have, (which, as some write me from *Peru*, is entirely lost,) it signifies something, as all the other Names and Titles did, which they gave to their Kings, as we shall in the sequel of this Story have an occasion to interpret: The word *Inca* signifies as much as Lord, or King, or Emperour, though in its strict sense, it is one of the Royal bloud; and therefore the *Churacas* though they were great Lords, yet they were not called *Incas*: *Palla* signifies a Lady of the Royal Bloud; and so for distinction of the King from other *Incas*, he was called *Capa Inca*, which is as much as rich, sole and supreme Lord. Hereafter, for the sake of the curious, we shall declare and interpret all the Royal Names of the Men and Women. Moreover the *Indians* gave to this first King, and his Posterity the Name of *Tupac Churín*, which is as much as Child of the Sun; but this we may esteem rather a denomination, proceeding from their false belief, than a true and proper addition to his Titles.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the last Will and Testament and Death of the first Inca;
Manco Capac.

Manco Capac reigned many Years, but how many it is not certain, some say, thirty, others forty, employing his whole time in the business and actions which we have before mentioned; and now finding the time of his death nearly approaching, he called his Sons together, as well those which he had by his Queen *Manco Oello Huacay*, as those which he had by his Concubines, which made up a great number; for as he told them, it was fit that the Children or Offspring of the Sun should be many. He also assembled the Chief of his Subjects, and in manner of a Testament he made this long Discourse to them. He recommended to the Prince his Heir, a true Love and Affection towards his Subjects, and to the Subjects, Loyalty and Service to their King, and Obedience to the Laws, avouching again, that this was one of those Ordinances which the Sun his Father had in a most particular manner enjoined unto him. With this Lesson he dismissed his Subjects; afterwards in private Discourse which he made to his Children, he encharged them, that they should ever remember that they descended from the Sun, and that therefore they ought for ever to adore him for their God and Father, and that according to his example they should observe his Laws and precepts, that so their Subjects in imitation of them might the more easily be induced to awe and reverence this Deity: that they being gentle and pious, might allure the *Indians* by Love, and by the force of Benefits, for that those can never be good Subjects, who obey only out of fear; in short, he told them that they should manifest themselves by their Vertues to be Children of the Sun, approving their words by their actions; for those shall never be believed, who say one thing and perform another. In fine, he said,

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that being called by the Sun, he was now going to rest with him, that they should live in Peace and Unity together, and that he beholding their actions from Heaven, would take care to favour and succour them in their extremities and distress. Having uttered these, and other sayings of like nature, *Manco Capac* dyed, leaving the Prince *Sinchi Roca*, his eldest Son, which he had by *Coya Mama Oello Huaco*, his Wife and Sister, to be his Heir and Successour. Those Sons and Daughters which remained, besides the Prince, married one with the other; for they took great care to preserve that blood which they fabulously believed to proceed from the Sun, clear and unmixed, because they esteemed it Divine, and was not to be defiled with any other humane mixture, though it were with those chief and principal Lords, whom they termed *Curacas*.

The *Inca*, *Sinchi Roca*, married with *Mama Oello*, or *Mama Cora* (as some will have it) his eldest Sister, after the Example of his Father, and his Grandfather the Sun, who, according to their Heathenish Doctrine, married with his Sister the Moon. This Marriage was concluded not only for conservation of the Blood in its pure Chanel, but likewise that the Inheritance, which came as well by the Mother as the Father, might equally descend to both Sexes. This Marriage in such proximity of Blood, they report, was a Command of the Sun, but that no Brother could marry with the Sister, except onely the Prince and Heir; for in all others this nearness was forbidden, the which was a rule always observed, as we shall find in the sequel of this History.

The death of the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, was greatly lamented by his Subjects; his funeral rites were observed, and celebrated for several Months; his Body was embalmed, that they might conserve it by them, and not loose the sight and presence of it; for they adored him for a God, and Child of the Sun, so that they sacrificed Sheep and Lambs, tame Conies, Birds and Corn to him, confessing him to be Lord and Author of all those good things which they enjoyed. What the Original of this *Manco Capac* might be, as far as I can guess by the nature and temper of this People, he must have been some *Indian*, of a more elevated Understanding and Prudence than ordinary, and one who had instructed them in the way of living, and carrying a subtle manner of deportment towards them had persuaded them that he proceeded from the Sun, and was come from Heaven; and that his Father had sent him to instruct and bestow benefits upon them. And to gain a greater belief, and credit amongst them, he habited himself in a different fashion to them, lugging his Ears to such a length, as is incredible to any but those, who have seen them, as I have done. Nor is it strange, that this ignorant and brutish People should be induced to believe his Genealogy to have been derived from the Sun, since we have the examples in History of a more refined People, who taught the Doctrine of Demons, believing Men of Wit, and Art, and Magnanimity, to have been the Sons of *Jupiter*, and other Gods; and having received good and benefits from them, and observing their Actions to correspond with their Words, have readily after their death bestowed a place on them in Heaven, and without much difficulty have been persuaded ever after to adore them for Deities, giving them a share of Worship with their Gods.

B O O K

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

Of the Idolatry of the Second Age, and the Original of it.

THAT which we call the second Age, and the Idolatry, which was used in it at that time, received its first beginning from the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, who was the first that raised the Monarchy of the *Incas*, who were the Kings of *Peru*, and who in a direct Line reigned for the space of four hundred Years, though Father *Blas Valera* will have it, that their Government continued between five and six hundred. We have already declared the actions of *Manco Capac*, how, and in what manner he reduced the *Indians* to live in a political way of Society, teaching them to sow and plant, to build houses, and provide all things conducing to Humane Life: and how *Mama Oello*, his Wife, instructed the *Indian* Women in the art of spinning and weaving, and all other ways of good Husbandry: We have declared also that it was this *Manco Capac* who taught them to adore the Sun, by representing to them the many benefits that he had conferred on them, saying that this *Pacha Chamac* (which signifies as much as the sustainer of all things) had in vain exalted them above the Stars, whom he had made their Servants, if they did not advance his Worship above all other Creatures, and had ill conferred his benefits on them, in case they should stoop to the mean Idolatry of low and base things, such as Toads and Frogs and Lizards, forsaking the service of that true Deity, whose Glory and Brightness struck awe and reverence into all Creatures.

The *Indians*, convinced by these arguments, and more by the sensible benefits received, acknowledged the Sun for their God, without affirming a Father; or a Brother into society with him. Their Kings they ever styled to be children of the Sun, and descended from Heaven, and adored them with as much Veneration as the ancient Gentiles, such as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, did their *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, &c. Thus the Idolatrous Worship of the Sun, and of the *Incas*, as they believed, descended from him, prevailed; and even to this day they never name their Kings (the *Incas*) but with wonderful reverence and adoration; so that if they be asked, why they worship those for Gods whom they know to be but Men, they will presently reply; that it is true, they are now undeceived, and can consider them no otherwise in reality than as Men; yet having received so much good and benefit from them, they cannot esteem them less than of Divine Race; and did others appear in these days equal or comparable to them, they would readily perform the same Honours and Adorations towards them.

This was the sole and principal Idolatry which the *Incas* taught their Subjects; and though they believed the Moon to be Wife and Sister to the Sun, yet they did not worship her for a Goddess, nor offer Sacrifices, or build Temples to her as they did to the Sun; howsoever they esteemed her with great Reverence for the Universal Mother, but proceeded no farther, nor gave her other Attributes of Divine Honour.

Howsoever their Superstitions were many, giving heed to Fables, and Dreams, and inspection into the Entrails of Beasts. Thunder, and Lightenings, and Thunder-bolts they judged to be Servants of the Sun, as we shall understand hereafter, when we have occasion to name that Chamber which was built in that Temple at *Cuzco*, which was dedicated to the Sun; but they never held them for Gods, as some of the *Spaniards* Writers would have it; but rather fear and dread the House or Place where a Thunder-bolt chances to fall; for they have stopt up the door of that Chamber with Stones and dirt, that so none might ever enter in there again; and in that place or field where a Thunder-bolt happens to fall, they say that their Father the Sun hath marked out that place as unfortunate, and accursed to common use, and for that Reason they cover it with heaps of Stones, that none may tread or trample on it; the which I have seen and observed in the Palace of *Huaynacapac* at *Cuzco*, in that quarter which was assigned to *Antonio Almirante*, when that City was divided amongst the Conquerors; for in the time of *Huaynacapac*, a Thunder-bolt had pierced through a part of that Palace, the which was assigned to my self when the *Spaniards* had rebuilt it; three years after which another Thunder-bolt fell in the same place, and burnt it wholly, the which accident confirmed the *Indians* in their opinion, that places in such manner stricken with Thunder, were accursed; and therefore the *Spaniards* were in an Error when they rebuilt those places, for they ought to have remained void and neglected. And whereas the *Historians* say, that they esteemed Thunder and Lightning for Gods, it is a mistake; for they did indeed account those places for sacred, saying that their Gods had by Thunder, and Thunder-bolts, and Lightning marked out those places for their Worship, and therefore not being to be propitiated by common use, they built their most famous Temples thereupon. To these three they gave the common Name of *Thapa*, and for the similitude hereunto they called all Fire-arms by the same word. And as to those Names which they give to Thunder, and to the Sun in "Trinity, they are framed by the *Spaniards* themselves as they have in other things; for no such words are compounded in the general language of *Pern*, nor have they any such signification as the *Spaniards* fantasie, or would impose upon them.

* Thunder,
Lightning,
Thunderbolt.

CHAP. II.

By what means the Incas came to the knowledge of the True God.

BESIDES the Sun, whom they worshipped for the visible God, to whom they offered Sacrifice, and kept Festivals, (as we shall hereafter declare,) the *Incas*, who were Kings, and the *Amantus*, who were Philosophers, proceeded by the mere light of Nature, to the knowledge of the True Almighty God our Lord, Maker of Heaven and Earth, as we shall hereafter prove by their own words and testimonies, which some of them gave of the Divine Majesty, which they called by the Name of *Pachacamac*, and is a word compounded of *Pacha*, which is the Universe, and *Camac*, which is the Soul; and is as much as he that animates the World. *Pedro de Cieza*, in his 62. Chapter, says, that they called the Devil

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by this Name; but I, who am an *Indian* born, and therefore better acquainted with the Language than he, know that they never took this name into their Mouths, but seldom, and when they did, it was with great Veneration, bowing their Heads and Bodies, casting up their Eyes to Heaven, and then down to the Earth, lifting their hands open as high as their Shoulders, and kissing the Air, which were the common manifestations of Reverence and Adorations, which were in use amongst the *Incas* and his People; these, and such like demonstrations of Honour they used when they were forced to pronounce the word *Pachacamac*; but the Name of the Sun they took in their mouths more frequently, as they did also of their *Incas*, and with less ceremony, and of their *Curacas*, who were their Lords, with a more indifferent respect: And being asked, who this *Pachacamac* was, they answered, that it was he who gave Life to the Universe, sustained and nourished all things; but because they did not see him, they could not know him; and for that reason they erected not Temples to him, nor offered Sacrifice, howsoever they worshipped in their Hearts, and esteemed him for the unknown God.

Augustin de Carate, in his second Book and fifth Chapter, reports, that *Father Vicente de Valverde* telling the King *Arahualpa*, that it was Christ our Lord who created the World; he answered, that he knew nothing of that, but he was sure that there was no other Nourisher but the Sun, whom they esteemed to be a God, and the Earth their Mother; and that *Pachacamac* had created all things, &c. whence it is evident, that the *Indians* held our invisible God to be the Creator of all things.

This Truth which the *Indians* had by the light of Nature discovered, the Devil himself, though the Father of Lyes, had much against his Will confessed and confirmed; for when he saw that our Holy Gospel was preached, and that many *Indians* were baptized; he told some of his Familiars in that Vale, which is now called the Valley of *Pachacamac*, (so named from that famous Temple which is there dedicated to the Unknown God,) that the God which the *Spaniards* preached and he were the same, as *Pedro de Cieza*, and *Gerónimo Román* in their Writings of the *West-Indies* report: Howsoever they are mistaken where they say that the *Indians* gave the name of *Pachacamac* to the Devil, for whom they have another Word, which is *Cupay*, which when they utter, they spit, with other signs of Detestation. Notwithstanding this Enemy so far insinuated himself amongst these Infidels, that he caused himself to be worshipped by them by entering into all those things, which they called sacred, or Holy; for he spake to them in their Oracles, their Temples, and the Corners of their Houses; calling himself by the Name of *Pachacamac*; and by this subtilty the *Indians* worshipped every thing through which the Devil spoke, believing it to be a Deity; but had they believed that it was the *Cupay*, or Devil, whom they heard; they would certainly have burnt the things through which he spoke, as they now by God's Mercy do, who hath graciously revealed and made himself known to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Crofs which the Incas preserved in a Consecrated place.

IN the City of Cuzco the Incas had a certain Crofs of white Marble, which they called a *Cryſtalline Jasper*; but from what time it had been kept there, is not certain. In the year 1560 I left it in the Vestry of the Cathedral Church of that City; I remember it was hanged upon a Nail with a List of black Velvet; which when it was in the power of the *Indians*, it was hanged by a Chain of Gold or Silver; but afterwards changed by those who removed it. This Crofs was square, being as broad as it was long, and about three fingers wide. It formerly remained in one of those Royal Apartments, which they call *Huaca*, which signifies a Consecrated place; and though the *Indians* did not adore it, yet they held it in great veneration, either for the Beauty of it, or some other reason, which they knew not to assign: and so was observed amongst them, until the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro entered into the Valley of *Tumpe*, when by reason of some accidents which befell *Pedro de Candia*; they conceived a greater esteem and veneration for it, as we shall declare in its due place.

The *Spaniards*, after they had taken the Imperial City, they erected a Church in it to the Almighty God, and hanged this Crofs in the Vestry (as we have said) of that Church, without other ornament or ceremony, whenas they ought to have placed a Relique of that nature upon the High Altar, adorning it with Gold and precious Stones which abounded in that Countrey: by which respect to a thing which the *Indians* esteemed Sacred, and by assimilating the Ordinances of our Holy Religion, as near as was possible, with those which the Law of Nature had taught to this People, preaching and recommending the Works of Mercy in such style, as the Doctrine of these *Gentiles* did teach and allow; the lessons of Christianity would thereby have become more easie and familiar, and not seemed so far estranged from the Principles of their own *Gemilism*.

And because we have here mentioned the Crofs, on which it is usual for us to swear in our Courts of Judicatory; we shall take this occasion to say, that neither the *Incas* themselves, nor yet any of the Nations under their Dominions did ever know the meaning of an Oath, for Swearing was not a custom, nor in use amongst them. For though the Names of *Pachacamac* and the Sun were taken sometimes into their mouths, yet it was always with reverence and adoration: For when they examined Witnesses in the most important cases whatsoever, the Judge, instead of an Oath, did only ask the Witnesses, *If he promised to speak the Truth to the Inca?* And then his Answer was, *That he did promise*: Then proceeded the Judge, *See that thou declare the Truth without any disguise of falsehood, not concealing any thing that passed, or that which thou knowest*. This was all the formality they used in giving testimony; the which they so religiously observed, that with scruple and tenderness they uttered Truth in its nakedness and simplicity: And in case any person did give a false testimony in matter of importance, his crime was punishable with Death; not only in consideration of the damage he had done to the injured person, but of his falsehood to the *Inca*, who had made it one of the Royal Commands, That he should not lye; and it was a common and known principle, that what a person declared to the Judge, he witnessed to the *Inca* himself, who being revered by them as a God, they believed it impossible to conceal any thing from his scrutiny and knowledge.

After the *Spaniards* had conquered this Empire, there happened a remarkable case of this kind upon an enquiry about Murder in the Province of *Quechua*. The Chief Justice of Cuzco sent an Officer to take the testimony of a certain *Cuzco*, (which is as much as a Lord over many Subjects;) and in performance hereof the Officer reached to him the top of his Staff, on which was a Crofs,

saying,

saying; *Thou swearest to God and to this Crofs, to speak the Truth*: To which the *Indian* replied, *That he was not as yet Baptized, and therefore ought not to swear after the manner of the Christians*: Then, said the Officer, *thou must swear by thy own Gods, by the Sun, and Moon, and the Incas*: No, said the *Curaca*, *we never swear by these, for it is not lawfull, we only take their Names in our mouths with Adoration, and in a Religious Worship*: It is sufficient, that since you come to doe Justice in the Name of your King, that I promise to speak the Truth with as much sincerity, as if he were personally present, whom you represent, and no other manner of Oath do our *Incas* require from us: And for your further satisfaction, I wish that the Earth may swallow me up alive, as I stand, in case I speak not the Truth. The Officer hereupon urged no farther, but accepted his testimony in this form, examining him by certain Interrogatories which were most pertinent in reference to the Murder; which when he had done, he would have proceeded no farther: but the *Indian* could not satisfy his own conscience with the Answers he had made to the demands, without enlarging himself by a particular Narrative of the whole Story; *For to speak the Truth* (said he) *in some things, and to be silent in others, was the same as if he had lied in all*. After which the Officer returned to Cuzco, where this Dialogue between him and the *Curaca* gave subject of much discourse.

CHAP. IV.

Of the things sacrificed to the Sun; and that the Priests, Rites, Ceremonies and Laws were all taught and delivered by the first Inca.

THE things offered to the Sun were of divers sorts: the chief and principal Sacrifice was that of Lambs; but besides, they offered all sorts of cattle, as Sheep and barren Ewes, tame Conies, all sorts of Birds which were eatable, the fat of Beasts, Pulse, all sorts of Grane, the Herb *Cuca*, even cloths of the best and finest sorts; all which they burnt in the place of Incense, rendering thanks and acknowledgments to the Sun, for having sustained and nourished all those things for the use and support of Mankind. They used also Drink-offerings, which were made of Water and Mayz, which is their sort of Wheat; and at the end of their usual meals, when drink was brought; (for they did never use to drink between their eatings) at their first draught they dipped the tip of their finger in the middle of the cup, and looking up to Heaven with great reverence, with a filip they spurted off the drop of water which wetted their finger, which was by way of acknowledgment for it to the Sun, rendering him thanks for the water they drank; and giving two or three empty kisses to the Air, which (as we have said) was a sign of Adoration amongst the *Indians*; they then drank up their liquour without farther ceremony.

This last Ceremony I have observed the *Indians*, in my time, who were not baptized to use; for there were many old men not then baptized; and for necessity, and want of a better, I have often myself performed that function. In this manner we may see that the *Incas* in their forms of Sacrifice differed very little from those of the first Age, only they obtained from the Offerings of humane flesh and blood; which Inhumanity they not only detested, but made Laws against it: And whereas some Historians charge them with this unnatural and prodigious Religion, for their error was caused by not making a due distinction between the first Age, and the times of the *Incas*.

I myself can attest, that I have heard my Father, and others of his time, in their discourses about the Customs and Government of *Mexico* and *Pera* to commend

mend and praise the *Incas* of *Pern* for disallowing the Sacrifices of humane blood; and on the contrary, to blame and abhor those of *Mexico* for suffering and making lawful such Diabolical Worship, and Sacrifices, both within and without their City, as the History of the Conquest of that Countrey doth truly aver; which being wrote by the Pen of the General who made the Conquests, was most certainly authentick and true, and did deserve to have been owned by him, that so they might have carried as great authority with them, as the Commentaries did of *Julius Cæsar*, for having his Name affixed to them.

At the entrance into their Temples, or at the time of their being there, the Chief amongst them clapped his hands to his eye-brows, pulling some of the hairs from thence, which he blew towards the Idol in token of reverence: And this sort of Adoration they never used towards their *Incas*, but onely to Idols, or Trees, or other things into which the Devil entred and spoke to them; the same was practised by their Priests and Sorcerers, before they entred into corners and secret places to discourse with the Devil, imagining that by such submission and resignation of their Persons, they obliged their Familiar to hear and answer them. And of this Idolatry I can give testimony, because I have seen it with my own eyes.

All the Priests of the Sun, in the City of *Cusco*, were of the Blood-Royal, though for the inferior Officers of it, such others were assigned, as had gained the privilege of being called *Incas*. Their High Priest was either to be Brother or Uncle to their King, or some other of nearest Blood; their Priests used no Vestments different from others. In other Provinces, those which were Natives, or related to the Principal men, were made Priests, though the Chief Priest amongst them was an *Inca*, that matters might bear some conformity with the Imperial City; which rule was also observed in all Offices relating to War and Peace, that so the Natives might have their share in the Government, and not seem to be slighted or neglected. They had also some Houses for Virgins, which professed a perpetual Virginity, where they ever remained Recluse: of which, and of the King's Concubines, we shall have occasion hereafter to treat more at large.

All these Laws in Government, and Rites in Religion, they pretend for the greater authority of them to have received from their first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*; and that where Matters were imperfect, it was left to his Successors to establish and complete: For as they affirm that these Laws, both in Religion and Government, were derived from the Sun, and inspired by him into his Children the *Incas*; so it is hard to affirm, to whom in particular such and such Laws were to be attributed.

CHAP. V.

The Division of the Empire into four Parts, and of the Regiments kept by the Decurions, and what their Office was.

THE *Incas* divided their Empire into four Parts, which they called *Tavantisuyu*, and signifies the four Quarters of the Heavens, viz. East, West, North and South. The City of *Cusco* they esteemed the Point and Centre of all, and in the *Indian* Language is as much as the Navel of the Earth, for the Countrey of *Pern* being long and narrow, in fashion of a Man's body, and that City in the middle, it may aptly be termed the Navel of that Empire. To the Eastward they called the Countrey *Antisuyu*, from the Province *Anti*, which extends all along that great Mountain, which runs through the snowy desert Eastward. To the Westward they called the Countrey *Cuntisuyu*, from that small Province which is called *Cunti*; to the Northward lies the Province *Chincha*, and to the South-

Southward the Countrey *Colla*, which extends it self to the *Zur*. In these four Provinces are comprehended many great Countries, and amongst the rest the Kingdom of *Chile*, which contains about 600 Leagues in length towards the *Zur*, and is within the Province of *Colla*; and the Kingdom of *Quito*, which is within the Division of *Colla*, runs 400 Leagues to the Northward: So that to name those Quarters, is as much as to say, East and West, &c. according to which, the principal ways leading to the City were so called.

The *Incas* laid one method and rule in their Government, as the best means to prevent all mischiefs and disorders; which was this, That of all the people in every place, whether more or less, a Register should be kept, and a Division made of ten and ten; over which one of the ten, whom they called the Decurion, was made Superiour over the other nine; then every five Divisions of this nature had a Decurion over them, to whom was committed the charge and care of fifty; then over the two Divisions of fifty a Superiour Decurion was constituted to supervise a hundred; so five Divisions of a hundred had their Captain which commanded five hundred; and lastly, ten Divisions had their General over a thousand; for no Decurion had a greater number to govern or account for; the charge of one thousand being esteemed a sufficient care for any that by his Under-Officers would undertake to account for his people, and rule them well.

The Decurions of ten had a double duty incumbent on them, one was with diligence and care to succour, and sustain those which were under their Division; giving an account to his Superiour Officer, in case any of them should be in want or necessity of any thing; as of Corn to sow or eat, or Wool to cloath them, or Materials to re-build their houses, destroyed by fire, or any other accident, or should fall into any extremity whatsoever. His other duty was to be *Censor* *Adorum*, or Monitor of their actions, taking notice, and giving information of the faults and irregularities of those under him, which he was to report to his Superiour Officer; who, according to the nature of the Misdemeanour, had the power of punishment; howsoever, the lower Officers had power to chastise the lesser defaults; that so for every petty Misdemeanour, they needed not to have recourse to the Superiour, or General of them all; whereby delays in Law-suits were avoided, and long processes, which tire and consume the people, were speedily ended; and litigious Causes and vexatious Actions determined without Appeals from one Judge to another; and in case of publick differences between two Provinces, they were always decided by the definitive sentence of one Justice, which the *Inca* constituted by a special Commission.

What Officer soever, either of higher or lower degree, that was negligent or remiss in his duty incurred a penalty agreeable to the nature of his default. If he administered not the assistance required, or neglected to indict an Offender, though it were but the omission of one day without a lawful excuse; he was not onely liable to answer for his own default, but to receive the punishment due to the crime of the Offendour. And in regard every one of these Decurions had a Superiour over him, who eyed and watched his actions, they were all diligent in their duties, and impartial in their justice; no vagabonds or idle persons durst appear, or trespasses were committed; for the Accusation was readily brought in, and the punishment was rigorous, which in many small cases was even capital; not so much for the sin it self, as for the aggravation thereof, being committed against the Word and Command of the *Inca*, whom they respected as a God; and though the Plaintiff or the injured person were willing to let fall his Suit, and remit the penalty to the Offendour; yet the course of the Law will still proceed, imposing a punishment agreeable to the quality of the crime, either death, or stripes, or banishment, or the like.

In Families strict severity was observed to keep their Children within the rules of modesty and decent behaviour: for there were Laws even against the ill manners of Children; for whose miscarriages the Decurion, as well as the Father, was responsible: So that the Children of the *Indians*, who are naturally of a gentle and complying temper, are educated in great awe, and made modest by the correction and example of their Parents.

In times of War the Generals and Captains assumed the same power over their Souldiery, and took the same care of them, as the Decurions did in the time of Peace, whose Offices (besides the matters before mentioned) obliged them to

take an account of the Births and Burials of all those that were born, or died that year, under their jurisdiction, and of those who went to the War. Those people whom they conquered, though subdued by force of Arms, yet they did never plunder or take away their goods.

This word *Decurion*, which is composed from the Latin *Decem*, which is ten, and *cura* care; that is, a care over ten; answers directly to the Indian word *Chunca camayu*, *chunca* signifying ten, and *camayu* care; and by information of these the Incas came to a knowledge of the number of their Subjects in every Province, that so according thereunto they might proportion the Taxes and Impositions for publick Works, such as the building of Bridges, making and repairing Highways, erecting Forts and Royal Palaces, with what number of Souldiers they ought to serve the Inca in his Wars. By these computations also the Inca was better enabled to send Provisions into those Provinces, which by reason of the sterility of the year occasioned by Floods, or unreasonable weather, were become wanting of Corn, or Cottons, or Wool; all which were administred, and sent with such readines and expedition, that as *Blas Valera* often says, the Incas took such care of their Subjects, providing for them in all their necessities, that they might rather be styled Fathers of their Countrey, and Guardians of their Pupils, than Kings over Subjects; and to express this care in one word, the Incas gave them the title of *Lovers of the Poor*.

And lest the Superiour Governours should be remiss, or negligent, in the execution of their Offices; there was a Monitor or Remembrancer appointed, called *Tucuy-riceo*, which is as much as a Supervisor or Informer; and his duty it was to put the Officers in mind of the matters relating to their Government; so that in case any of these should be found remiss in his charge, or guilty of any crime, his punishment was always proportioned to his quality, rather than his fault; it being an opinion amongst them, that the least evil was not to be tolerated in a Minister of Justice, who was chosen by the Sun and the Inca to eradicate Evils, and therefore was obliged to be more upright and observant of the Laws, than the other Subjects.

CHAP. VI.

Of certain Laws Ordained by the Incas, and of the Opinion, That the Incas, and those of the Royal Bloud, can doe no wrong, or offend contrary to Law.

Pecuniary Mulcts, or Confiscation of Goods, were never imposed by the Incas in way of punishment for any offence, they esteeming nothing satisfactory to Law but that which required the extirpation of the Evils, rather than the Life of the Offendour; for that all other remedies give but onely encouragement and liberty to transgress. If a *Curaca*, or Lord, rebelled, which was always punished with most severity by the Inca; and that thereby he forfeited his life; the Estate notwithstanding descended to his Son, or to his Heir, but with due admonition, that by such example he should beware of the Treason and Rebellion of his Father; so likewise if any *Cacique*, or Officer was deprived of his place, or his Seignior for faults committed, the next Heir succeeded in it, whether he were a Son or a Brother: the same rule also was observed amongst the Souldiers, whose Commanders were Natives of the Countrey, and their Generals, or chief Commanders, were Princes of the Bloud, under whom the Captains and Superiour Officers esteemed it for a particular honour and favour to serve. No Judge had power to moderate the Sentence of Law by any Rule of Equity, but rather to exact

exact the severity of it, for being ordained by the Wisdom of the Incas, and the concurrence of Wise men, it ought neither to be controlled, or rendred more equitable by the sense and practice of particular Judges, who are capable of being corrupted, or overcome by favour or affection to a party.

And though it may seem very barbarous and unreasonable that every offence should be punished with Death, and that there should be no difference between the crimes of a higher, and the faults of a lesser nature; yet considering the benefit which the Publick received thereby, and that the Evils, rather than the Persons, were taken away; such a constitution ought not to be esteemed unjust or irrational: For in regard that men naturally love life, and fear and abhor death, they studiously fled from the appearance of any thing which might bring them within the danger of it; so that in all this great Empire, which reaches 1300 Leagues in length, consisting of divers Nations and Languages, we scarce have heard in the space of a whole year, so much as of the punishment of a single person: and to this obedience and submission to Law, the opinion of the Sanctity of it did much avail; and the belief, that it was delivered by the Sun, who was their God, and by revelation inspired into the minds of the Incas his children; so encreased the veneration and honour they had for it, that none could be esteemed a breaker of the Law, but who also therewith was guilty of sacrilege or violation of the holy and divine Sanctity. Hence it was, that many finding a remorse of conscience within themselves, in sense of some secret faults they had committed, have often, without accusation, presented themselves before the Tribunals of Justice, confessing publicly their offences; by reason of which, diseases, deaths and distresses had befallen their People and Nation; and therefore desired that their lives might be offered to their God, as an expiation, and an atonement for their sin. This sort of confession was the ground of the mistake of certain Spanish Historians, who report that Auricular confession was practised amongst the Incas; whereas I am certain, that amongst those of Peru, (for I treat of no other) it was never accustomed to make other Confessions, than such as were publick. No Appeals (as we have said) were allowable in any case whatsoever, for every people having its proper Judge, no Process was to continue longer than five days before it was finally determined: onely in obscure and difficult cases the matter was brought before the Superiour Governour, who resided in the capital City, rather than before the common Judge of the Province. The Inferiour Judges rendred every month an account to their Superiours of all the Law-suits which were brought before them, and of the Sentences they gave in the determination thereof; to the end, that they might see and judge whether true Sentence were given, and the Laws rightly administred. This information from one to another came at length to the Inca; and in regard they were not as yet arrived to the knowledge of Letters, they gave these Informations to the Incas and his supreme Council by way of Knots of divers colours tied in a silken twist, the colours being as so many cyphers, denoting the crimes they had punished, and the bigness of them, and manner of making them up signified that Law which was executed (as we shall hereafter more particularly declare) and in this manner by way of Knots, they kept all their accounts so exactly, and summed them up with such readines, that to the great admiration of the Spaniards, their best Arithmeticians could not exceed them.

It is an opinion, and held for a certain truth amongst them, that there never was Inca of the Royal Bloud that was punished, or that any of them did ever commit a crime, which incurred the penalty of the Law: For that the principles they received from their Parents, the example of their Ancestours, and the common belief of the World, that they were the Progeny of the Sun, born to instruct others, to doe good, and to refrain the people from Vice, were considerations that made such impressions in them, that they were rather the ornament than the scandal of Government, disdaining to stoop to such base and mean actions, as were transgressions of their Law: The truth is, they wanted the temptations which others had to offend; for neither the desire of women, or riches, or revenge could be motives to them: For in case any one of them entertained a passion for the Beauty of a Woman, it was but to send for her; and she could not be denied, nay rather her Parents would receive the proposal with humble acknowledgments, that the Inca would vouchsafe to cast his eye on his handmaid that was his Slave. The like may be said as to the desire of Wealth, they had no necessities

necessities but what were readily satisfied; for being Children of the Sun, all the Wealth and Riches of their Country were esteemed their inheritance, and their occasions were satisfied by the Mandates sent to the Justices, and the Governours of Provinces for a supply. Nor were they liable to the unworthy passion of Revenge, for none could provoke them to anger by injuries, who fought all ways and means to please and oblige them, for being adored as Gods, it was esteemed blasphemy and sacrilege to disgrace them by Words, or injure them in their Estates; and therefore it may be said, that never was *Indian* punished for disrespect, or a malicious action against the Person of an *Inca*. Hence it is that the *Spanish* Historians have reported, that an *Inca* was not capable of being punished for any Offence whatever; which is a mistake, and is as much as to say, that the *Incas* were Libertines, that they might be arbitrary, and by Law act against it; or that there were one Law for them, and another for their People: whereas an *Inca* was rather exposed to the greater severities, than any other; for he forfeited his Privileges, was degraded of the Honour due to the Royal Blood, and esteemed for *Auca*, which is as much as a Traytor and a Tyrant. Thus when the *Spaniards* commended and applauded the just and generous actions of the *Incas*, the *Indians* would make answer, that it was not strange, in regard they were *Incas*; and if they disapproved at any time their proceedings, as in the case of *Anahuapa*, who by Treason and Rebellion dispossessed *Huafsch*, his elder Brother, and true Heir to the Monarchy, (as we shall relate in its due place,) their Reply was, that no *Inca* could be guilty of such Enormities, and if he were, he was no true born *Inca*, but some Bastard or Impostour of that Family.

In every Province, according to the four Divisions, the *Inca* constituted his different Councils of War, of Justice, and of his Treasury; every one of which maintained their subordinate Officers, one under the other, even to the Decurions of Ten, all which in their respective places rendered an account to their immediate Officers, till the Report came to the supreme Council. The chief Governour of every Division had the Title of a Vice-King, and were always *Incas* of the true Blood, and Men approved for Prudence and good Conduct, both in the time of War and Peace. And so much shall suffice to have spoken concerning their Laws and Customs: We shall now proceed to the History of their Lives and Actions, relating those matters which are most famous and observable.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Life and Reign of Sinchi Roca, second King of the Incas.

Sinchi Roca succeeded his Father, *Manco Capac*; this name *Roca* is pronounced with some aspiration at the top of the Mouth, and as *Blas Valera* says, signifies a prudent and experienced Prince; *Sinchi* signifies valiant; for though he had no Wars with any, yet because he was active in wrestling, running, vaulting, throwing the stone and lance, and excelled all others of that age in those Exercises, he was surnamed the Valiant and Magnanimous.

This Prince having performed those Obsequies which were due to the solemnity of his Father's Interment, took upon himself the Crown of his Kingdom, which was no other than the coloured Wreath, bound about his Temples; determining in the first place to enlarge the Borders of his Dominions, he assembled the principal *Curacas* and Counsellours which his Father had assigned him, and in a grave and serious Oration, amongst other things, he told them, that in performance of the Will of his Father, (which he declared to him at the time he was about to return to Heaven) he resolved to go in Person, and summon the neighbouring Na-

tions

to come in, and be converted to the knowledge and adoration of the Sun; and in regard they had the same Title of *Incas*, as well as their King, he conceived that the same Obligation lay upon them, to serve the Sun, who was the common Parent of them all, and therefore required them to join with him in the same work and design, that so they might reduce those People from their brutish and bestial course of living to a Life more regular and rational, for that they seeing the improvements which the instructions of his Father, the *Inca*, had made in his own Subjects, might be more easily allured to forsake their old barbarous Customs, and embrace those which are more beneficial and refined.

Hereunto the *Curacas* gave this ready and cheerful Answer, that they were not only willing to obey his Commands in this particular, but even to enter into the fire for his sake; and so ending their Discourse, they prefixed a day to begin their Journey: and accordingly the *Inca* departed with a great Retinue of his Subjects, taking his Journey by the way of *Collasuyu*, which lies to the Southward from the City *Cusco*; and as they travelled, they persuaded the *Indians* with fair words to follow their Example, and to become Subjects to the *Inca*, and Devotaries to the Sun, uniting with them in Religion towards their God, and Allegiance to their Prince. Those *Indians* which are of the Nations called *Pachina* and *Canchi*, and are the next borderers, being a People very simple and credulous, (as indeed all the *Indians* are,) seeing the effects which the *Inca* had operated on his own Subjects, which was the best argument to convince them, they immediately submitted to his Government; and thus by degrees, during the whole course of this *Inca's* Reign, without violence or force of arms, in a gentle and peaceable manner he reduced all the People, as far as *Chuncara*, which is about twenty Leagues in length, with the Inhabitants of the parts adjacent to his Subjection, over all which he prevailed so far, as to plow and cultivate their Lands, to lead a moral Life according to the Rules of the light of nature, and that forsaking their Idols, and evil customs which they practised, they should worship the Sun, and observe those Laws and Precepts which by Revelation his Father, *Manco Capac*, had delivered to them; all which the *Indians* readily accepted and embraced, being highly satisfied with that benefit and improvement which the Dominion and Rule of *Sinchi Roca* had brought unto them, who after the example of his Father, studied all ways and means to endear that People to himself.

Some Authors report that this King proceeded much beyond the Country of *Chuncara*, and extended his Dominions over the Nations of *Cancalla*, *Ruruchachi*, *Afilla*, *Afancan*, *Huancani*, and others; all which he gained with such gentle treatment, that he needed not Wars, or other Arms, than persuasions to invite them; using these new plantations, as good Gardiners do their Orchards, pruning and digging about their Trees, in hopes of plenty and abundance of Fruit.

Sinchi Roca having thus lived in peace and quietness for the space of many years, and, as some will have it, for about thirty, finding himself at length decaying and aged, he declared that now after the labours and cares he had taken to reduce men to the knowledge of his Father the Sun, he was now going to take his rest and repose with him. His lawful Son, by his legitimate Wife and Sister, *Mama Cora*, (or as others will have it, *Mama Oello*), called *Lloque Tupanqui*, he left to succeed him, as Heir to all his Dominions: Besides this Prince he had other Sons by his Wife, and more Children by his Kindwomen, who were his Concubines, all which we may call legitimate. Moreover he had many Bastard Children by Women of other Families, all which was allowable according to the rule, and saying, that it was fit and requisite that the Generation and Family of the Sun should be many and numerous.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Third King Lloque Yupanqui, and the significati-
on of his Name.*

L *Lloque Yupanqui* was the third King of *Peru*, called *Lloque*, because he was left-handed, and *Yupanqui* serves to denote his Vertues and generous Actions. The word *Yupanqui* signifies as much as an account, or reckoning, as we say a Man of Account, which is a Cypher, or Hieroglyphick, in that language, for a sum of Vertues, as Clemency, Piety, Gentleness, &c. all which were qualities inherent in that Person, and is as comprehensive as the word *Capue*, which contains the Riches of Fortune, and the Wealth of Vertues, inherent in the mind, which Apellations, or rather Titles, they gave to none of their chiefest Lords, but to the King only; it being esteemed a kind of Sacrilege to attribute such sacred Titles to any other: for as the *Romans* gave the name of *Augustus* to their Emperours, in a particular distinction to all others; so it would have been a diminution to their Majesty to have made this peculiar Name common to their Subjects.

Lloque Yupanqui having taken a survey of his Dominions, resolved to extend his Jurisdiction farther than the Possessions of his Fathers, and being now the Lord of an Empire which had been established and radicared for the space of seventy years, he thought it a more expedite way by force of Arms to reduce that People, than by the slow insinuations which arguments and persuasions made upon them. To this end having raised an Army of about six or seven thousand men, under the conduct of his two Uncles, and of his other Kindred, whom he made Captains, and Commanders over them, he took his march towards the Countrey of *Ocosayn*, leaving that of *Llmasayn*, which his Father had already conquered, (the several ways to which divide in the Province of *Chuncara*) he passed through the division of *Collasayn*, which contains the great Lake of *Titicaca*.

The *Inca* having passed the frontiers of his own Dominions, entered the Countrey called *Cana*; and immediately dispatched Messengers to the natural Inhabitants thereof, requiring them to leave their bestial Sacrifices and superstitious manners, and with all readiness to submit unto the Obedience and Service of him who was descended from the Offspring of the Sun: The People of *Cana* desired time to inform themselves of all the particulars which the *Inca* commanded them, as what were his Laws, and what were the Gods which he enjoined them to worship; in all which when they had been well instructed, they readily confessed that their Religion and Laws were better, and more rational than their own, and therefore with a general consent they yielded and submitted to them, and so went forth to receive their King with Joy, and acknowledge themselves his obedient Subjects. The *Inca* leaving Persons with them to instruct them in his Idolatry, and to teach them the way of manuring and cultivating their Land; he proceeded forward to that Nation which is called *Ayavi*: but these being a sturdy and stubborn sort of People, were not to be wrought upon by persuasions, and promises; or by the example of others; but obstinately persisted in a resolution to dye in the defence of their Liberties, which was a new difficulty and opposition that the *Incas* had never as yet encountered. Thus both sides preparing for War, they came to an engagement, which lasted long, there being many killed both on one side and the other; and being at length as it were a drawn Battel, and the Victory doubtful, both Armies retreated into fast places, which they had fortified after their own manner, falling out every day to Skirmishes and single Combats. The People of the *Inca* avoided fighting what they were able, desiring rather to overcome them with reasons and persuasions, than by force of Arms; but the *Ayavi* interpreting this backwardness of the *Inca* to be an effect of Cowardise, became more obstinate, and encouraged to press harder upon him, so as almost to enter

his

his Royal Tents; but their force was repelled with force, and were always repul-
sed with loss and disadvantage. The *Inca* considering well the shame and disho-
nour it would be to him to be foiled by this People; for that others by their
Example might take courage to rebel and resist him; he dispatched immediate
Orders for new recruits to be sent him; but these he designed rather for terror
and ostentation, than necessity, and in the mean time he strained the Enemy so,
that there being a great scarcity of all Provisions amongst them, they were com-
pelled at length to make their way by force of Arms; the Battel was very hot
and bloody, many being killed and wounded on both sides, till at length the *Ay-
avi* being worsted, never durst shew their Faces any more in Battel. The *Incas*
not being willing to take this advantage to destroy them utterly endeavoured ra-
ther by Famine to reduce them to his Obedience. During which Siege the re-
cruits which the *Inca* had sent for, arrived in his Camp, the Report of which so
dismayed the Enemy, that they immediately surrendered and submitted to the
Mercy of the *Incas*, who first having severely reproved them with bitter termes,
for having resisted the Offspring of the Sun, he pardoned their Contumacy and
Rebellion; and leaving Officers and Instructours to teach them in the ways of Re-
ligion and humane Living, and to require from them that riches which they had
forfeited to the Sun and the *Inca*, he proceeded against that People which they
call *Pucara*. In this Countrey he built a Fortres, for better defence of his Frontiers
and conservation of his Conquests; and the rather, because the situation of the
place being by nature strong, was by Art and Industry rendered impregnable, and
served to reduce the People of *Pucara*, which were by no other means to be sub-
dued, but by a War; which having done, and furnished his Fortres with a
strong Garrison, he returned with great Joy and Triumph unto *Cusco*.

C H A P. IX.

*The Conquest of Hatun Colla, and the Fables which those
of Colla report concerning their Original.*

MAny Years had not passed before *Lloque Yupanqui* returned again to the fron-
tiers of his Conquests, that he might make a farther progress in reducing
the *Indians*, and enlarging his Dominions. The Report which the *Incas* had
spread from their beginning, of being sent from the Sun to instruct and reduce
Mankind from a bestial way of living to Rules of Morality and Political Society,
had made preparation in all places for reception of their Doctrine, and became
most plausible and prevalent in the minds of those People, who knew not how to
discover that ambition of the *Incas*, which they had concealed under the specious
principle of the Sun's Commands: with this pretence the *Inca* sent to raise eight
or nine thousand men well armed; and having set Officers over them, and chosen
Counsellours for himself, he passed the Countrey of *Collasayn*, and at length ar-
rived at his Fortres called *Pucara*, where afterwards that great overthrow was given
to *Francisco Hernandez Girón*, which is since called the Battel of *Pucara*: from
thence he sent Ambassadors to *Pucara colla*, and *Hatun colla*, (which are Coun-
tries of a large extent, containing divers Nations) requiring them to yield ready
Submission and Obedience to him; and that being admonished by the example
of the *Ayavi*, they should fear to oppose the Progeny of the Sun, lest the like
punishments of Famine and Slaughter should be the rewards of their Rebellion.
The People of *Colla* gave ear to this admonition, and assembling their Chiefs or
most principal Men amongst them in *Hatun Colla*, which is *Colla* the great; they
generally concluded, that all those Plagues and Mischiefs which had befallen the

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the *Ayaviri*, and those of *Pucara*, was sent from Heaven, as a judgment for having resisted the Children of the Sun; and therefore with unanimous consent they declared themselves Vassals of the *Inca*, that they would adore the Sun, and observe and keep all those Laws and Ordinances which he should impose upon them; and with this intention they went out to meet the *Inca*, and received him with Acclamations, and with new Songs, and Musick, which they had framed and composed for this occasion.

The *Inca* received their *Curacas* with many kind and obliging Expressions; and to evidence the esteem he had of them, he bestowed on every one of them garments which belonged to his own Person, with other Presents, very acceptable; and in process of time afterwards these two People, and their Posterity, were ever highly favoured by the *Incas*, especially those of *Huam Colla*, both for the readiness with which they embraced the Worship of the Sun, and for their docile and gentle Nature, which encouraged the *Incas* to build magnificent Temples in their Country, and found Monasteries for Virgins, which were matters of high admiration amongst the *Indians*.

The *Collas* consist of many and divers Nations, and report that their first Parents issued from the great Lake *Tivacaca*, which they esteemed to be their Mother; and before the times of the *Incas*, amongst other Gods, they offered Sacrifices to this Lake upon the Banks of it. Some of them report that their Parent proceeded from a great Fountain, others that their Ancestours issued from Caves, and the hollow of Rocks, and accordingly at certain seasons they offered their Sacrifices to them; others that they originally issued from a certain River, and therefore held that the Fish of it were sacred, and that it was a sin to eat them. In this manner some adored one Deity, and some another, howsoever because that that People abounded much in flocks of Sheep, they had one God common to them all, which was a white Ram, saying, that there was a great sheep in the higher World, for so they call Heaven, which had a particular care of them, giving them a greater increase and number of Sheep, than to any other of the neighbouring People of *Peru*; and for that reason they offered up Lamps, and the fat of Mutton to this Sheep-faced Deity. But this God, and all others, the *Inca* took from them, allowing them no other but the Sun, whom he encharged and commanded them without any other Rival to adore and worship; besides which he altered that infamous Custom of Dissoluteness and Incontinence amongst single Women, to whom it was lawful, and a laudible quality to be common Whores before their Marriage, though afterwards they were obliged to be true and faithfull to one Husband. But as to those Fables which relate the Original of these People, the *Incas* took no pains or care to confute them; for as they were obliged to believe the descent of the *Incas* from the Sun; so the *Incas* in like manner would not seem to disapprove the Fables and Reports they made of their own Original.

Having laid these foundations of Government and Religion the *Inca* returned again to *Cusco*, giving a stop for the present to his Conquests and Proceeding; for it seemed to be the most reasonable Policy to give time and space for these new Subjects to taste the sweetness and lenity of the *Inca*, and by their own experience to make report of it, and publish it to the neighbouring Nations, that so they might be more easily induced to embrace the like advantage: rather than overpowering all by cruel and hasty conquests, their Government should appear tyrannical, and partaking of an ambitious and covetous Spirit.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

The great Province of Chucuytu surrenders on terms and conditions of Peace, and after the example thereof many other Provinces submit.

THE *Inca* was received at *Cusco* with all the demonstrations of joy and triumph imaginable; where having resided for the space of some years, which he employed towards the advancement of the common good and benefit of his people, he resumed his intentions of visiting again the Confines of his Dominions, that so he might afford his people the contentment of seeing his Person, and rectifying the corruption and negligence of his Ministers by his own personal appearance. With this occasion he raised an Army of ten thousand Men, and with them marched to *Huam Colla*, and the Confines of *Chimaytu*, which is so famous a Province; and so abounding with people, that when the *Spaniards* divided that Country, they presented that parcel of ground to the Emperour. So soon as the *Inca* was entered into *Chucuytu*, he sent Messengers to the Inhabitants, that leaving their ancient customs, they should receive the Laws and Commandments of the Sun, and should worship and adore him for their God: And they in due compliance hereunto, answered, That they were ready and willing with all affection and cordiality to receive his Injunctions; for that he being descended from the Sun, they were well assured of his gentleness and virtues, and therefore with all joy they received him for their Sovereign, under whose shadow and protection they promised to themselves all happiness and security.

The *Inca*, according to accustomed goodness, received them graciously, presenting them with such gifts as were in esteem amongst those *Indians*: And finding the success of these messages to answer his expectations, he was encouraged to send the like Summons to all the Neighbouring Nations, as far as that place, where the Lake *Tivacaca* empties it self; all which, after the example of *Huam Colla* and *Chucuytu* submitted themselves; the most principal of them were *Hillavi*, *Chulli*, *Pumata*, and *Cipira*; all which surrendered on the same terms, and with the same formalities that the others did; so that there is no need to make repetition of the questions formerly demanded, nor the answers thereunto.

Having in this peaceable manner subjected these people, he disbanded his Army, giving them leave to return unto their respective homes; only he retained so many Souldiers as served for a guard to his Person, and as many as became the dignity and honour of his State; together with such as were fit to teach and instruct them in the Religion and Laws they were to observe; and that he might yield more vigour and encouragement to this work, he was pleased to attend and situate of his favour to those principal Provinces, proved afterwards of great use and benefit, as we shall hereafter make appear in the sequel of this History. And hence amongst them for the whole Winter-season, during which time his employment was to settle and establish himself in the affection and good will of his people; having now by his own experience learned, that the best expedient to invite and allure strangers to his subjection was Love and Beneficence to his own people: For by these means the *Indians* did every-where extoll the Excellencies of their Prince, and proclaim him to be a true child and off-spring of the Sun. And now whilst the *Inca* resided in *Collao*, and that the Spring was returned, he again raised an Army of ten thousand Men, over which he constituted four Colonels, and appointed his Brother to be their General, (whose name is not certainly known) to all five of which, he gave special order not to use violence, or break

peace with the people, unless in case of absolute necessity; desiring rather, according to former examples, to reduce them by gentle and moderate terms, than by war and severity, shewing themselves rather compassionate Parents, than Martial Captains. Accordingly this General and Officers proceeded in their design Westward, as far as that Province which is called *Flurin Pacassa*, and with prosperous success reduced all those they met for the space of 20 Leagues, as far as to the foot of the Mountain *Cordillera*, and the snowy desert. In reducing these *Indians*, there was little or no difficulty, because they were a people which lived at large, without Political Society or Government, the weaker giving way to the pride and power of him that was strongest; and being by nature simple and credulous, so soon as the fame was spread of the Miracles which were performed by this Child of the Sun, they all flocked in to be received for Vassals to this great and wonderfull Monarch: Howsoever, three years were spent in the reducing of these people, for they were of so dull and stupid a genius, that, like beasts, they were not capable to comprehend or learn those *easy rudiments and principles* which were instilled into them. Having completed this conquest, Officers were placed for their better government, with Instructors to teach them, and such Commanders and Souldiers as might serve to protect and defend them; and so the General and four Captains returned to render an account to the *Inca* of their Acts and Negotiations, who all that time was employed in visiting several Countries of his Dominions, where he encouraged their industry, improved them in their Arts, and in cultivating Lands; raising publick Edifices, and making Aqueducts, Bridges and High-ways for the better communication of one Nation with another. After which he returned with his Captains, whom he graciously received unto his Imperial Court, with intention to fix a term and limit to his proceedings, for having enlarged his Dominions 40 Leagues to the Northward, and more than 20 towards the East, he judged this addition a sufficient encrease for his Reign.

His reception into *Cusco* was with wonderfull joy, for his liberality and gentle nature was generally obliging; the remainder of his life he passed in quietness and repose, performing actions of Justice and Beneficence towards his Subjects; during which time, he sent *Mayta Capac* his eldest Son and Heir twice to visit his Dominions, accompanied with Wife and Aged men, that so he might know and be known to his people, and might have some trial and practice in affairs before he came to handle the Government. And now the *Inca* finding himself weak, and near his end, he called his eldest Son, with his other Brethren, and in manner of his last Will and Testament, he earnestly recommended to them the observation of those Laws and Ordinances which their Ancestours had prescribed; that they should take care of their Subjects, and in every thing behave themselves like those that are worthy of so pure and bright a Family, as that of the Sun: And lastly, he encharged the *Incas*, who were Captains, and the *Curacas*, who were Lords of the people, that they should be mindfull of the Poor, and obedient, to their Prince; and especially that they should live in peace and unity, for that now he was to leave them, being called by his Father the Sun to ascend unto him, that he might rest and desist from his former labours and travels. Having ended these sayings, *Uloque Tupanqui* leaving many Sons and Daughters of his Concubines, though but one who was his true Heir and Successour, and two Daughters by *Adama Coca* his lawful Wife, died. The Death of this *Inca* was greatly lamented through his whole Dominions, for his gentle temper had gained him the affection of all, and his Vertues procured him the esteem of a God, and rank with the other Children of the Sun, whom they Adored for Deities. And now for diversion of the Reader, we shall desist a while from prosecuting the Wars and Conquests, which were almost all achieved after the like manner with the former, and shall relate something of the Customs they practised, and the Sciences they attained.

C H A P.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Learning and Sciences to which the Incas attained, and first of their Astrology.

THE improvement which the *Incas* had made either in Astrology or Philosophy, was as yet for want of Letters very imperfect, howsoever there were some certain men amongst them of good wit and understanding, which they called *Amantaz*; who were subtle in their Argumentations, and laid down certain *Phænomena* of natural things; but in regard they were unacquainted with Letters, they could leave none of those conceptions they had formed unto posterity, unless some few principles discovered by the Light of Nature, which they denoted by Glyphicks, or some uncouth and rude figures; yet in Moral Philosophy they attained to a greater degree, for their Laws, Customs and Practices were their daily lessons, and the doctrine of good manners being the work of the Magistrate, an easy and constant improvement was made therein.

Of Natural Philosophy indeed they had studied little; they knew not how to search into the secrets of nature, or lay down the first principles of it; they knew not what the qualities of the Elements were, or could say that the Earth was cold and dry, and the fire hot and dry; they only observed the effects of things, that fire would warm and burn them: Howsoever, they learned something of Medicines, and of the Vertues of certain Herbs and Plants which experience and necessity had taught them.

In Astrology they had proceeded yet farther, for the apparent objects of the Sun, and Moon, and Stars yielded them more sensible matter for speculation; they had observed the various motions of the Planet *Venus*, the increase, full and decrease of the Moon; and when it was upon the change and conjunction with the Sun, they called it the Death of the Moon. The Sun especially afforded them the most profound matter of speculation; they observed that by his motion the seasons of the year were distinguished, the hours of the day counted, and the days and nights measured; in all which they attained not to a farther search or consideration than what was visible, and materially presented it self before their eyes: they admired the effects, but laboured not to penetrate into the cause, or know the reason of the various changes of the Moon, or motions of the Planets. They called the Sun *Inti*, the Moon *Quilla*, the bright Star of *Venus*, *Chasca*, which signifies radiant; other Stars also of greater Magnitude they observed, but did not distinguish them by their particular names, but only under that general denomination of *Coyllur*, which signifies a Star. And yet for all this foolish stupidity, the *Inca* had observed that the Sun accomplished his course in the space of a year; which they called *Huata*, though the Commonalty divided it only by its seasons, and reckoned their year to end, or be finished with their Harvest. The terms of Summer and Winter Solstices, they denoted by the large characters of eight Towers, which they had erected to the East, and as many to the West of the City *Cusco*; being ranked four and four in several Positions, those two in the middle being higher than the other two at each end, and were built much in the form of the Watch-towers in *Spain*: When the Sun came to rise exactly opposite to four of these Towers, which were to the East of the City, and to set just against those in the West, it was then the Summer Solstice; and in like manner, when it came to rise, and set just with the other four Towers on each side of the City, it was then the Winter Solstice. *Pedro de Cieza* and *Acosta*, make mention of these Towers, which served for their Almanacks, and were the best cyphers they had to distinguish their times and seasons, for they had not attained as yet to other measures by Days and Months, though they kept an account by Moons, as we shall hereafter declare; by which and by their Solstices they divided one year from another: these Solstitial Towers I left remaining in the year 1560, and may

may still be seen, unless the Wars and Alterations have demolished those durable reliques.

They had likewise observed the Equinoctials; for in the Month of *March*, when they reaped their Mayz, or *Indian* Wheat, they celebrated their Harvest with joy and feasting, which at *Cusco* they kept in the Walk of *Colcan*, otherwise called the Garden of the Sun. At the Equinoctial of *September*, they observed one of their four principal Feasts, which were dedicated to the Sun, which they called *Citua Raymir*; and then to denote the precise day of the Equinoctial, they had erected Pillars of the finest Marble, in the open *Area*, or place before the Temple of the Sun; which when the Sun came near the Line, the Priests daily watched and attended to observe what shadow the Pillars cast; and to make it the more exact, they fixed on them a Gnomon, like the Pin of a Dial; so that so soon as the Sun at its rising came to dart a direct shadow by it, and that at its height or mid-day the Pillar made no shade, but was enlightened on all sides; they then concluded that the Sun was entered the Equinoctial Line, at which time they adorned these Pillars with Garlands and odoriferous Herbs, and with the Saddle they had dedicated to the Sun; saying, That on that day he appeared in this most glittering Throne and Majesty, and therefore made their Offerings of Gold and precious Stones to him, with all the solemnities of ostentation and joy, which are usual at such festivals. Thus the *Incas*, who were their Kings; and the *Amanus*, who were their Philosophers; having observed, that when the Sun came to the Equinoctial, these Pillars made little shadow at noon-day, and that those in the City of *Quito*, and those of the same degree to the Sea-coast made none at all, because the Sun is then perpendicularly over them; they concluded that the Position of those Countries was more agreeable and pleasing to the Sun, than those on which in an oblique manner only he darted the brightness of his rays; for which reason the Pillars of *Quito* were had in so great veneration and esteem amongst them, that they worshipped and adored them; and therefore *Sebastian de Belalcázar*, in abhorrence of the Idolatry which the *Indians* performed towards them, demolished them and broke them in pieces, as did the other *Spanish* Captains, in those places of the same solary degree, where this superstition prevailed.

The Months (as we have said) they counted by Moons, and therefore called the Months *Quillus*; the Weeks they called the Quarters of the Moon, having no names for the Days. They took great notice of the Eclipses both of the Sun and of the Moon, but knew them only by their Effects, and not by their Causes; wherefore they were greatly affrighted when they observed the Sun to hide his face from them, believing that for their sins he obscured his countenance, and was angry, framing the like Prognostications of Famine, Pestilence and Wars, as our Astrologers predict from the influences of Eclipses.

When they observed the Moon begin to grow dark in her Eclipse, they said, she was sick; and when she was totally obscured, that she was dead; and then they feared, lest she should fall from Heaven, and overwhelm, and kill them, and that the World should be entirely dissolved. With these apprehensions, so soon as the Moon entered into Eclipse, they sounded their Trumpets and Cornets, beat their Kettles, Symbals, and all the Instruments which could make noise and found; they tied their Dogs in Strings, and beat them till they cried and howled; saying, That with their Voices they called upon the Moon; who having received certain Services from them, was very inclinable to hearken to their call; and that all these varieties of Sounds together served to rowle and awaken her, being fallen into a drowsiness and slumber, which her sickness had caused; and then they made their Children cry and call *Mama Quilla*, or Mother-Moon, Do not dye, left we all perish.

Concerning the Spots in the Moon, they conceived another Fable more ridiculous than the former, and may be compared with that, which the more refined Ancients framed of *Diana*, and that the Moon was a Huntress, though this seems more bestial and absurd; for they feigned that a certain Fox seeing the Moon so beautiful, fell enamoured of her; and that his Love gave him wings, with which he ascended Heaven; and being ready to embrace the Moon, she closed and clung so close to the Fox, that ever since that time the Spots have appeared in the brightness of her Body. Of all which particulars, concerning the Moon, I may self have been an eye-witness; The Day they called *Punchau*, the Night *Tuta*, the

the Break of day, or the Dawning, *Pacari*, besides other proper words to denote Noon, Midnight, and other Hours.

Lightning, Thunder and Thunder-bolts (as we have said) they gave onely one denomination of *Thupa*; and that though they did not acknowledge them for Gods, yet they honoured them as Servants of the Sun; as they also did the Rainbow, and because they observed that the beautiful variety of its Colours was an effect of the Sun-beams reflecting on a Cloud, they placed it in their Banners, and made it the Arms of their *Incas*. That which we call the Milky-way, they fancied to be an Ewe giving suck to a Lamb; and have often shewed me, pointing to it, Seest thou not there the Head of the Sheep? and there the Head and Legs of the Lamb? But my imagination was never so strong as to fantasie a creature, there of that figure.

The force of their Astrology did never reach so far as to make Predictions from the Sun, or Moon, or Comets, or Conjunctions of Stars, unless it were of something of great and notorious importance, such as the Death of their Kings, or the Destruction of Kingdoms; but rather deduced their Prognostications from their Dreams, or the entrails of the Beasts, which they offered in Sacrifice: But the superstition they had of their Dreams was so idle and vain, that we shall omit to mention them; the like they imagined of the Star *Venus*, which because it appears at the beginning of the night, and again rises with the morning, they fancied, that being so bright and beautiful beyond the other Stars, the Sun was pleased to give it a double course, making it in the Evening to follow him, and in the Morning to precede, and be the messenger to advise his approach.

When they saw the Sun set within the Sea, (as they may every night observe to the Westward from the Coast of *Peru*) they fancied that the Waters were parted by the force of his fire and heat; and that being a good swimmer, he plunged himself into the Waves, and dived quite through the Sea to appear next morning in the East. And so much shall suffice to have spoken of their Astrology; let us now proceed, and see what knowledge they had attained in Physick and Medicines, which they administered to their sick in their several diseases.

CHAP. XII.

Of their Physick and Medicines, and how they applied them.

They had gained so much knowledge in Physick, as to know, that Bleeding and Purging were two necessary evacuations: the Bloud they drew from the Legs, Armes or Forehead; and because they were not acquainted with the Anatomy of the Veins, they opened that which was nearest to the pain: Their Lancet was made of a sharp-pointed Flint, set at the end of a small Cane, which being laid on the Vein, with a gentle filip cut it with less pain than our ordinary Lancets do: And as they are ignorant how the Veins branch themselves through the whole body, so likewise are they unacquainted with the particular humours, such as Fleign, Choler and Melancholy, and consequently have not the judgment to apply the most specific Medicines to purge them: They most commonly purged, when they found a Plethory of humours, rather than when the disease had prevailed upon them: the Ingredient which they used in their Purges, was a sort of white root, in fashion of a small Turnip; of which, they say, there is Male and Female; of both which they mix an equal proportion to the quantity of about two ounces, which they beat to a Powder, and take it in water or their ordinary drink, without other Herbs or Drugs; and then the Patient sets himself in the Sun, that his heat and blessing may contribute to its operation. In an hours

hours time it begins to work with such squeamishness in the Stomach; and such giddiness in the Head, that they feel the same indisposition, as those who labour of Sea-sickness, and purges them both upwards and downwards with such violence, that it brings away worms, and all kind of indigested matter, notwithstanding which, having finished its operation, it leaves the body strong and without decay of Spirits, and with a sharp and hungry appetite: All which I can boldly attest, having my self proved it, and taken it twice for a pain in my Stomach.

These Cures by purging and bleeding were commonly performed by old Women, or by some certain Botanists, who in the times of the *Incas* were famous for the knowledge they professed in the virtue of Herbs; and these by Tradition transferred the secrets of their learning to their Sons, who did not profess to be Physicians common to all, but to apply their Art only for medicining their Kings, and *Cuacacis*, and such as were lineally descended from them; but the ordinary People cured one the other, by such Medicines as were of common Report. When sucking Infants were sick of any disease, especially if it were a Fever, or Calenture, they washed them every morning in Urine, and then wrapped them up, giving them some of their own Water to drink. At the Birth of their Children, when the Midwife cut the string of the Navel, they left it at least a finger in length; which when it fell off from the Child of it self, they conserved it carefully, and on any occasion of indisposition, of which a whiteness in the Mouth of the Child was their usual symptom, they gave it to suck of this string, which commonly proved an assured remedy.

What Reasons they had for these Secrets of Nature I know not, nor did I ever ask: I am sure they made no conjectures by the throbs of the Pulse, much less by Urine, having no other Symptoms of a Calenture, than what appeared by the excessive heat and burnings of the Body. Their Purges and bleedings were more commonly used when the Patient was but a little indisposed, and was able to walk, but not after he had yielded to the Disease, for then they committed him only to the strength of Nature, and a regular Diet, they never arrived to the knowledge of Clysters, or to Unguents or Plasters; the cold and shaking fit of a Quartan they called *Chucelin*, the hot fit *Rupar*, which is burning, the which Indispositions they greatly feared by reason of the uneasiness they felt both by cold and heat.

CHAP. XIII.

Of their Medicinal Herbs, and Physical Plants.

They have a certain Tree which they call *Mulli*, and the *Spaniards* *Molle*, which sweats forth a kind of rasmy juice, which hath a most sovereign quality for the cure of green Wounds; the herb or shrub, called *Chilca*, being heated in an earthen pan, hath done wonderfull effects on those who have been troubled with a pain in the joints and bones, taken by cold; they have a certain root, like the root or Fibres of Grass, but something grosser, and fuller of knots, the name of it I do not well remember, which they make use of to strengthen the Teeth, and fortify the Gums; and in the preparing of it they roast it in the hot embers, and when it is very hot they apply it to the Gums on each side of the mouth, keeping it untill it is cold, which is of great torment to the Patient, for it scalds the mouth exceedingly. This Remedy they apply in the Evening, and next morning doe the like, so that their Gums and Mouth look like roasted flesh, and for two or three days are not able to chew, or receive other nourishment than by a spoon; afterwards the white flesh of the Gums, which hath been cauterized in this manner, begins to fall off, and a new and well coloured sort of Gum, strong

strong and hard returns, which fortified the Teeth closer and better than before. I have several times seen this proved, and being willing, though without necessity, to try it on my self, I was so scalded at first, that I had not the resolution afterwards to perfect the Experiment.

The herb, or plant, which the *Spaniards* call *Tobacco*, and the *Indians* *Sayri*, is of admirable use in many Diseases amongst them, particularly being taken at the Nostrils in snuff, serves to purge the Head, and the other qualities and virtues of it, are well known and esteemed in *Spain*, so that they give it the name of *Terva Santa*, or the holy Herb. They had also the knowledge of another Herb, of an excellent quality for the Eyes, called *Mateculo*, it hath but one stalk, and that is covered with a single Leaf, and no more, and is like that which they call in *Spain* Abbass Ears, and grows in winter upon * the roofs of houses; the *Indians* eat it raw, having a pleasant relish; when it is bruised they spirt some of the juice into the Eyes, and at night, when they go to bed, they lay of the herb, being bruised, on the Eye-lids, binding it on, lest it should fall off, and in one nights space it diffuses all matter, and disperses those mists which obscure the Eyes, and offend the sight.

I my self have laid it on the Eye of a Youth, which was so swelled and inflamed, that it was started out of his Head; the first night I applied it the Eye returned again to its place, and the second time it was perfectly cured; and the Youth hath since told me, that he fees better with that Eye than the other; and a *Spaniard* confidently assured me, that he knew one, who being absolutely blinded by a film or skin which covered his Eyes, had by the mere application of this herb for two nights only, recovered his sight. Those who had received this benefit by it, did afterwards kiss the herb with great affection, rendering thanks to Almighty God, that he was pleased to bestow such a sovereign and blessed virtue on this herb, for the good and use of Mankind. The *Indians*, who were my Relations, used divers other herbs, but the names and qualities of them I cannot remember.

The *Indian* Kings did never attain to the knowledge of compounded, but only of simple Medicines, and seeing that in so necessary a study, as that which conduces to the conservation of health, they made so little a progress; how can it be expected in matters less important and usefull, such as Natural Philosophy and Astrology, they should make any considerable improvement? much less can we suppose them skilfull in Divinity, who being wholly guided by sensible objects, were never able to raise their Intellects to invisible and immaterial Beings, more than what their *Incas* had taught them, and included in that word of *Pachacamac*, which signifies the Maker of this Universe. Since which time the *Spaniards* have improved their Physical Science to a higher degree, having discovered the secret virtues of many herbs growing in that hot Climate, of which the *Indians* were ignorant; and particularly that the *Mays*, which is *Indian* Wheat, and of a substantial nutriment, hath moreover a peculiar quality against the Collick, and is an excellent Remedy for the Stone, either in the Kidneys or the Bladder, and clears all obstructions of Urine; the knowledge hereof the *Spaniards* collected from the constitution and temperament of the body of the *Indians*; for having observed, that they were never subject to these distempers, they concluded that the drink which they commonly used, made of *Mays*, was the cause; whereof the *Spaniards* making now divers Preparations, have with good success experienced most admirable effects of it; and the *Indians* have also of themselves made many Plasters and Balsams of it, which they applied for Aches and other Pains.

C H A P. XIV.

*Of the Geometry, Geography, Arithmetick and Musick
known to the Indians.*

They had attained so much Geometry as served them for to measure out their Lands, and make out limits and bounds to their several partitions; but this was not done in an artificial manner, but by their lines, and small stones, which they used in all their Accounts.

As to their Geography, they knew how to decypher in colours the Model of every Nation, with the distinct Provinces, and how they were bounded. I have seen an exact Map of *Cusco*, with the parts adjacent, and the four principal ways to it, perfectly described in a sort of Mortar, compounded with small stones and straw, which delineated all the places, both great and small, with the broad Streets, and narrow Lanes, and Houses which were ancient and decayed, and with the three streams running through it, all which were described with great curiosity.

Moreover in this Draught the Hills and Valleys, the turnings and windings of the Rivers were made to appear so plain; that the best Cosmographer in the World could not have exceeded it. The use of this Model was to inform the Visitors, which they called *Damian*, of the extent and division of the Countries, whensoever they went by the King's Commission to survey the Province, and number the people within the precincts of *Cusco*, and other places; this Model which I mention, was made in *Muyña*, where the *Spaniards* call now *Molina*, and is distant about five Leagues from the City of *Cusco* towards the *Zur*, in which I had opportunity to observe, being then present with the Visitors, who went to number the *Indians* that inhabited the Division of *Garçilasso de Vega*, My Lord and Master.

In Arithmetick they knew much, and were skilled in a peculiar manner and nature in that Science; for by certain knots of divers colours they summed up all the accounts of Tribute, and Contributions, belonging to the revenue of the *Incas*; and thereby knew how to account, and discount, to subtract, and to multiply; but to proportion the respective Taxes on every Nation by way of division, they performed it in another manner by granes of *Mays*, or Pebbles, which served in the place of Counters. And because it was necessary that Accounts should be kept of all charges relating to War and Peace, that the People, and the Flocks and Herds of Cattle should be numbered, that the payment of Tributes, and the like, should be registred and noted, there were certain Persons appointed for that work, who made it their study and business to be ready and skillful in Accounts; and because perhaps one Person was appointed to keep the reckonings of three or four distinct things, as Accountant General, which seems difficult to be performed by the way of their threads and knots, we shall discourse it hereafter more at large, in what manner they distinguished their Accounts of divers businesses.

Of their Musick.

In Musick they arrived to a certain Harmony, in which the *Indians* of *Colla* did more particularly excell, having been the Inventors of a certain Pipe made of Canes glued together, every one of which having a different Note of higher and lower, in the manner of Organs, made a pleasing Musick by the dissonancy of sounds, the Treble, Tenor and Bass, exactly corresponding and answering each to other; with these Pipes they often plaid in concert, and made tolerable Musick, though they wanted the Quavers, Semiquavers, Aires, and many Voices which perfect

perfect the Harmony amongst us. They had also other Pipes, which were Flutes with four or five stops, like the Pipes of Shepherds; with these they played not in concert, but singly, and tuned them to Sonnets, which they composed in metre, the Subject of which was love, and the Passions which arise from the Favours or Displeasures of a Mistress. These Musicians were *Indians* trained up in that art for divertisement of the *Incas*, and the *Curacas*, who were his Nobles, which, as rustical and barbarous as it was, it was not common, but acquired with great Industry and Study.

Every Song was set to its proper Tune; for two Songs of different Subjects could not correspond with the same Aire, by reason that the Musick which the Gallant made on his Flute, was designed to express the satisfaction or discontent of his Mind, which were not so intelligible perhaps by the words as by the melancholy or cheerfulness of the Tune which he plaid. A certain *Spaniard* one night late encountered an *Indian* Woman in the Streets of *Cusco*, and would have brought her back to his Lodgings; but she cried out, *For God's sake, Sir, let me go, for that Pipe which you hear in yonder Tower calls me with great Passion, and I cannot refuse the summons, for Love constrains me to go, that I may be his Wife and be my Husband.*

The Songs which they composed of their Wars, and grand Achievements, were never set to the Aires of their Flute, being too grave and serious to be intermixed with the pleasures and softness of Love; for those were only sung at their principal Festivals when they commemorated their Victories and Triumphs. When I came from *Peru* which was in the Year 1560. there were then five *Indians* residing at *Cusco*, who were great Masters on the Flute, and could play readily by book any Tune that was laid before them; they belonged to one *Juan Rodriguez*, who lived at a Village called *Labos*, not far from the City: and now at this time, being the Year 1602, 'tis reported, That the *Indians* are so well improved in Musick, that it was a common thing for a Man to found divers kinds of Instruments; but Vocal Musick was not so usual in my time, perhaps because they did not much practise their Voices, though the *Mongris*, or such as came of a mixture of *Spanish* and *Indian* blood, had the faculty to sing with a tunable and a sweet Voice.

C H A P. XV.

*The Poetry of the Inca's Amautas, who were Philosophers;
and of the Haravec, who were Poets.*

The *Amautas*, who were Men of the best ingenuity amongst them, invented Comedies and Tragedies, which on their solemn Festivals they represented before their King, and the Lords of his Court. The Actors were not Men of the common sort, but *Curacas*, or some of the young Nobility, and Officers of the Souldiery, because every one acted his own proper part; the plot or argument of their Tragedies was to represent their military Exploits, and the Triumphs, Victories and Heroick Actions of their renowned Men; and the subject or design of their Comedies was to demonstrate the manner of good Husbandry in cultivating and manuring their Fields, and to shew the management of domestick Affairs, with other familiar matters. So soon as the Comedy was ended, the Actors took their places according to their degrees and qualities. These Plays were not made up with interludes of obscene and dishonest farces, but such as were of serious entertainment, composed of grave and acute sentences, fitted to the place and auditory, by whom the Actors were commonly rewarded with Jewels and other Presents, according to their merit.

Their poetical Verses were composed in long and short Meetre, fitted to amorous Subjects, and the Tunes to which they were set; their Kings, and the Exploits and great Actions performed in their respective Reigns, were also matter for their Poetry, which they recorded in verse, and served in the place of History; their Sonnets were not long, but short and compendious, so as they might more easily be committed to Memory; they used not rhimes, but loose verse, like our Heroick Poems. I remember four Verses of an amorous Song, which for curiosity sake, and to shew their short but compendious sense, I shall repeat here; being thereby best accommodated to the Aire of their Flute: the Tune also I would gladly set down, but that the impertinence thereof may easily excuse me. The Sonnet in four verses is this:

<i>Caylla Llapi</i>	} In English thus,	{ To thy Song I will sleep At midnight I shall come.
<i>Pununqui</i>		
<i>Chauptuta</i>		
<i>Samusac.</i>		

Many other sorts of Verses the *Incas*, who were Poets, composed, who had the Name of *Haravee*, which properly signifies an Inventour. *Blas Valera* in his Writings mentions certain Verses, which he calls Spondels, consisting of four syllables; the *Indian* words he hath translated into Latin, the Subject of them is philosophical, and treats of those second causes which God hath placed in the Air, such as Thunder, and Lightning, Rain and Snow, all which are described in verse, and are agreeable to the fancy of their Fables, one of which is this: That the Maker of all things hath placed in Heaven a Virgin, the Daughter of a King, holding a Bucket of Water in her hand, for refreshment of the Earth, when occasion requires; and that sometimes her Brother knocking upon this Bucket, causes Thunder and Lightning to proceed from it; these noises, they say, are effects of the violent nature of Man, but Hail, and Rain, and Snow, falling with less noise and impetuosity, are more agreeable to the gentle nature of a Woman. They say, that an *Inca*, who was a Poet and an Astrologer composed many Verses in praise of the Vertues and Excellencies of this Virgin Lady, which God had bestowed upon her for the good and benefit of his Creatures. This Fable and Verses *Blas Valera* reports to have found expressed in the knots and accounts of their ancient Annals, represented in the threads of divers Colours, and preserved by those to whom the care of the historical Knots and Accounts were committed; and he so much wondered at the ingenuity of the *Amautas*, that he thought those Verses worthy to be committed to Memory and Paper. I remember in my Infancy to have heard this Fable, with many others, recounted by my Parents, but being then but a Child, I was not very inquisitive to understand the signification. *Blas Valera* hath translated this Song out of the *Indian* Language into Latin, and which runs in this manner:

<i>Cumac Nasta</i>	Pulchra Nympha,	Fair Nymph,
<i>Torallayquim</i>	Frater tuus	Thy Brother
<i>Puynuy quita</i>	Urnæ tuam	Strikes now
<i>Paquir cayan</i>	Nunc infringit	Thine Urne,
<i>Hina Mantara</i>	Cujus ictus	Whose blow
<i>Cunnnunnn</i>	Tonat, fulget	Is Thunder
<i>Ylla Pantac</i>	Fulminatq;	And Lightning.
<i>Camri Nasta</i>	Sed tu Nympha	But thou Nymph
<i>Unuy quita</i>	Tuam lympham	Pouring forth
<i>Para Munqui</i>	Fundens pluis,	Thy water
<i>May nimpiri</i>	Interdumq;	Dropest rain,
<i>Chicbi Munqui</i>	Grandinæ seu	And again
<i>Riti Munqui</i>	Nivem mittis.	Sendest hail
		Or Snow.

Pacha

<i>Pacha rurac</i>	Mundi Factor	The Maker of the World
<i>Viracocha</i>	* Viracocha	Viracocha
<i>Cay-hinapac</i>	Ad hoc munus	Forb committed
<i>Churajunqui</i>	Te sufficit	and encharged this
<i>Camajunqui.</i>	Et præfecit.	Office unto thee.

* A Name of one of their Gods.

With such trifles as these I have enriched my poor History; for whatsoever I have collected from *Blas Valera*, are all pearls and pretious curiosities, and such ornaments as my Country doth not deserve; which now, as they report, in these days improves in Poetry; for that the Mongrils, or those of *Spanish* and *Indian* blood have taken a good strain in Verse, whose subject is Divine or Moral, God give them his grace that they may serve him in all things.

In this imperfect and gross manner had the *Indians* of *Peru* the knowledge of Sciences, which is not to be attributed to their want of natural parts and abilities of mind; for had they been instructed in letters, their capacities are such as might have improved every little beginning: And as the first Philosophers and Astrologers delivered the principles of their Sciences to their posterity, who erected on those foundations the more lofty buildings of reason; so these people were endued with the like capacities, sufficient to advance such learning as descended from their Parents, especially we find that they were well disposed to the learning of that Morality which contained the Customs and Laws of their Country; and which did not only extend to those rules relating to justice and decent comportment of one Subject to another, but as it had reference to that obedience which Subjects and Vassals owe to their Sovereign, and those Ministers which act under their command; for these being a people who were inclined to live according to those Laws which the light of nature dictated, and rather to doe no evil, than know well, were more easily made capable of that Science which was directed by material and exterior objects, than of that which was conversant about more abstruse and immaterial notions. *Pedro de Cieza* in the 38th Chapter of his Book, speaking of the *Incas* and their Government, says, That they acted so well, and that their Government was so good and political, as might be compared to the Wisdom of the best frame and Model of Common-wealths in this World. And Father *Maestro Acosta*, in the first Chapter of his 6th Book, makes a discourse in favour of the *Incas*, and the people of *Mexico*, in these words;

" Having in the preceding discourse laid down the Particulars of that Religion which the *Indians* profess; I design in the following Treatise to declare their Customs and Political Government, for two ends: First, that I may undeceive the World of that false opinion which they have framed concerning this people, as being so brutish, and of so little understanding, as deserve not the name of rational creatures: From which erroneous conception, many grievous calamities have been imposed on them without pity or compassion; and being esteemed no other than beasts, all that respect which is due to humane nature, or the person of Mankind hath been lost towards them. But this false notion, which none but the vain-glorious and confident of themselves (who are the common fools of the World) have entertained, hath been sufficiently confuted by more solid and considering men, who have made it their business to travel and converse amongst them, and to discover the secrets of their Customs and Government. To remove which prejudicial censure from them, the most expedite means will be to declare the Justice and Customs which were in use amongst them, at that time, when they lived by their own Laws; with which, though there was a great mixture of Barbarism, and many things without foundation; yet their Government contained many excellent things, and worthy of admiration, and such as may be compared with the best Model of our Common-wealths, and may afford us sufficient evidence of the genius of that people, and of that natural readines of mind capable to be improved to greater and higher matters. Nor ought it to seem strange, if some erroneous fancies have been intermixed with their Customs; for even *Plato* and *Lycurgus*, and other excellent Legislatours have been guilty of some follies, and interwoven superstitions, and vain rites, with their more substantial Laws. And indeed in those wise Common-wealths of *Rome* and *Athens*, many ridiculous Customs have been introduced;

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"roduced; which to considering men would appear as idle as any of those practices which have been in use amongst the *Mexican* or the *Peruvian* Commonwealths. But we who entred by the Sword, and afforded not time to these miserable *Indians* to give us proofs of their rationality, but hunted them as wild Beasts through the Mountains, and drew them as brutish creatures to bear the burthens of our slavish servitude, could not entertain any great opinion of their Wisdom: Howsoever, some observing men, who have been so curious, as to penetrate into the secrets of their ancient Government, and into the methods of their proceedings, have found that the Order and Rules they followed, were worthy of admiration. Thus far are the words of *Joseph Acosta*, who also adds, that they had certain compendious Systems of Morality, digested into Verse by way of Poetry; in which also many of their Laws, and the great Actions of their Kings were rehearsed, and kept in a kind of tradition for better instruction of their posterity; which favouring rather of Truth, than Romance, the *Spaniards* esteem them to be true and particular passages of their History: But many other things afford them matter of laughter, being ill-composed Fables, superstitious and vain, and such also as are contrary to common honesty.

CHAP. XVI.

Of those few Instruments which the Indians attained to, and made use of in all their Works and Handicraft-Trades.

HAVING already declared how far they were proceeded in their Moral and Natural Philosophy, and in their Poetry; it follows now that we should declare something of their Mechanicks, and how much they failed in the Art of making those Instruments, which are necessary for shaping and framing those Utensils which are required for convenient living and well-being. And first to begin with their Silver-smiths; of which, though there were great numbers, and constantly laboured at their Trade, yet they were not so skilfull as to make an Anvil of Iron, or any other Metal; caused, perhaps, for want of knowledge in what manner to dig their Iron, and separate it from its Ore; of which they had several Mines, and called it *Quilley*; and therefore instead thereof they made use of a certain hard Stone, of a yellowish colour; which being planed, and made smooth, was rare, and of great value amongst them: They knew not the invention of putting a handle of Wood to their Hammers, but worked with certain Instruments they had made of Copper, mixed with a sort of fine Brass. Neither did they know how to make Files or Graving-tools, or Bellows for Melting down Metals; but instead thereof used Pipes made of Copper, of about a Yard long, the end of which was narrow, that the Breath might pass more forcibly by means of the contraction: And as the Fire was to be more or less, so accordingly they used eight, ten or twelve of these Pipes at once, as the quantity of Metal did require: And still they continue this way, though our Invention of Bellows is much more easie, and forcible to raise the Fire. Nor had they the use of Tongs to take their heated Metal out of the Fire, but rather drew it thence by a piece of Wood, or some Bar of Copper; with which they cast it into a heap of wet Earth, which they kept purposely by them to cool their Metal, until such time as they could take it into their hands: Notwithstanding this want of divers Instruments, they made many things with great curiosity, especially in Boaring Metals, as we shall hereafter discourse more at large. And notwithstanding their simplicity, experience had taught them, that the Stream and Effluviiums from Metals,

Metals, is dangerous and prejudicial to Man's health; and for that reason, they founded all their Metals in the open Air, and not under Coverts. But above all, their Carpenters seemed to be worst provided with Tools; for though ours use many Instruments made of Iron, those of *Peru* had no other than a Hatchet, and a Pick-axe made of Copper; they neither had Saw, nor Auger, nor Planer, nor any other Tool for the Carpenter's work, so that they could not make Arches or Portals for doors; only they hewed and cut their Timber, and whitened it, and then it was prepared for their Building: And for making their Hatchets and Pick-axes, and some few Rakes, they made use of the Silver-smiths, for as yet they had not attained to the Art of Working in Iron. Nor did they know how to make Nails, or use them, but tied all their Timber with Cords of Hemp. Nor were their Hewers of Stone more artificial, for in cutting and shaping their Stones, they had no other Tool, than one made with some sharp Flints and Pebbles, which they called *Hibnams*, with which they rather wore out the Stone by continual rubbing, than cutting. For lifting or carrying up their Stones, they had no Engines, but did all by the strength and force of their Armes; and notwithstanding all this defect, they raised such mighty and stately Edifices, as is incredible, which appears by the Writings of the *Spanish* Historians, and by the Ruines of them, which still remain. They knew not how to make Scissars, nor Needles of Metal, but in place thereof they used a certain long Thorn, which grows in those parts; for which reason they sowed very little, but rather patched or cobled, as we shall hereafter declare. With this sort of Thorns they made also their Combs for the head, which they fixed within a Cane, which served for the back of the Comb, and the Thorns on each side for the Teeth. The Looking-glasses which the Ladies of Quality used, were made of Burnished Copper; but the Men never used any, for that being esteemed a part of effeminacy, was also a disgrace, if not ignominy, to them. In this manner they passed, as well as they could, in providing those matters which were only necessary for humane life; and though these people were endued with no great capacity of invention, yet, when the *Spaniards* taught them, they learned with great facility, and imitated so well the patterns given them, that in time they excelled their Masters in their Artificial workmanship and contrivances. This ingenuity and aptness to attain Sciences, was evidenced by a genius they had in Personating and Acting Comedies, which the Jesuits and some Friars, and other Religious had composed for them. I remember the argument of one to have been the Mytery of Man's redemption, and represented by the *Indians* with gracefull and proper action; nor were they altogether strangers to this diversion, because in the times of the *Incas* they usually represented their own Stories in Dialogues, and therefore more easily improved in that Art to which they were formerly inclined by a natural aptitude. It is observable how well they Acted a Comedy, made by a Jesuit, in praise of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, which he wrote in the Tongue *Aymara*, which is different from the Language of *Peru*: the Argument was on those words in the 3d Chapter of *Genesis*, where it is said, *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and that she shall break thy Head, &c.* This was Acted by Children and Young men in the Countrey, called *Sulli*. And at *Potom* they rehearsed a Dialogue, which contained all the Particulars of our Faith, at which about 12000 *Indians* were present. At *Cusco* another Dialogue was recited of the Child Jesus, at which were all the Nobles and People of the City assembled. Another was recited in the City, which is called the City of the Kings, where the Lord Chancellour and all the Nobility were present, together with an innumerable company of *Indians*: the Argument of which was, the Most Holy Sacrament, composed in *Spanish*, and the General Tongue of *Peru*; which was repeated by the *Indian* Youth in Dialogues, and pronounced with such grace and emphatical expression, with such air and handsome gestures, intermixed with Songs set to pleasant Tunes, that the *Spaniards* were much contented, and pleased to behold them; and some shed tears for joy, to see the ingenuity and good inclination of those poor *Indians*, that ever after they conceived a better opinion of them, considering them not to be blockish, rude and filthy, but docible, gentle and capable of improvement.

When these *Indian* Youths desire to commit any thing to memory, which is given them in writing, they go to those *Spaniards* who are acquainted with letters, desiring them to reade the first lines to them four or five times over, until they have learned them by heart; and to fix them better in their memories, they repeat

peat every word often to themselves, and mark it with Pebbles, or little Granes of divers colours, of about the bigness of Pease, called by them *Chiny*, which serve for helps to their Memories; and such industry and care they use, till at length they have perfectly overcome the difficulty, and learned their part or lesson. Those *Spaniards* to whom the Young *Indians* have recourse for their Learning, how great soever they are, do not yet disdain to teach and inform them, giving them all the encouragement they are able. So that these *Indians*, though naturally dull of invention, have yet an aptitude to imitate any thing which is proposed before them.

John Cuellas, a Scholar, who was a Native of *Medina*, and Canon of the Cathedral of *Cusco*, who taught the Grammar to the Children which were of *Spaniards* and *Indian* Parents, and to others of best quality in that City, can give us the most clear testimony thereof: For he was moved to perform this charitable Office at the intreaty and instance of the Scholars, whose Masters and Tutors, in exchange for better preferments, had forsaken their Charge; for though every Scholar gave ten pieces of Eight a Month for his Learning, yet it was but little, in respect of their small number, which perhaps were not above 17 or 18 in the whole Town. I knew one amongst them who was an *Inca*, called *Philip*, and was Pupil to a rich and honourable Priest, named Father *Peter Sanchez*, who observing the ingenuity of this Youth, took pains to instruct him in his Studies; in which he profited so well, that he became as good a Grammarian as any that was of the *Spanish* and *Indian* Bloud. The change of many Masters was a great obstruction to their Learning; for every one of them having a different way of Teaching, they began not from the rules and principles formerly taught them, but made them to begin from their own methods, and forget what they had before learned, which was a great prejudice to their proceedings; untill this good Canon undertook to instruct them in the Latin Grammar, which he continued for the space of two years, amidst the Tumults and Wars raised between *D. Sebastian de Castilla*, and *Francisco Hernandez Giron*; which were the cause of much bloud, fire and destruction; and were of that continuance, that scarce was one fire extinguished, before another flame broke forth. At this time this Canon *Cuellas* observing the great docility of his Scholars, and their inclinations to be improved in all Sciences; and the want of able and industrious Masters to cultivate the minds of this people; would cry out, and say, Oh, Children! what pity it is that I do not see a dozen of you Students in the University of *Salamanca*! And indeed this good Canon had reason so to say, because his attendance at the Choir took him off from the employment of Teaching his Scholars with such sedulity, as to make them perfect in the Latin Tongue: Howsoever, the little improvements they made were good evidences of their natural wit and understanding, which now in these days (praised be God) is much advanced by that abundance of Learning, and light of Sciences, which the Jesuits have introduced amongst them. And so much shall suffice to have discoursed on this subject, it being now time to return to the History of the Succession of the *Incas*, and of their Conquests and great Actions.

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Mayta Capac, the fourth Inca, gains Tiahuanacu, and what sort of Buildings were found there.

THE *Inca, Mayta Capac*, having performed the Ceremonies due to the Obediences of his dead Father, resolved to visit the remote parts of his Dominions; and though he had already in the time of his Father travelled those Countries, yet being then in his Minority, and under the Tuition of his Parents and Counsellors, he had not the opportunity to demonstrate the Excellency of his Vertues, nor yet to be observed by his people, as he was now, being an absolute Prince. Wherefore after the example of his Ancestours he honoured and satisfied the several Provinces of his Kingdom with the lustre of his Presence, giving such testimonies of liberality, courage and generous disposition to his *Citizens*, and all other his Subjects, that they remained with great admiration of his Royal Vertues and Abilities of mind.

Having accomplished this Visitation, he re-assumed the design of enlarging his Dominions after the example of his Ancestours covering his ambition and covetousness under the specious pretence of reclaiming the Nations from their barbarity and vain superstitions, to a more civilized life, and to the true and religious worship and adoration of the Sun: Accordingly he raised an Army, and in the Spring following he began his march with twelve thousand Men under the Command of four Generals and their Inferiour Officers, taking his way as far as that place, where the Lake *Titicaca* empties it self; which being the Country of *Colao*, plain and even, and the people simple, and yet docible, it was the more inviting, and more easily subdued.

Being come to this stream which runs from the Lake, he made floats, on which he ferried his Army to the other side, and then sent his usual Summons to the next Inhabitants, requiring them to submit to his Government and Religion. These *Indians* having heard the report of those Miracles which the *Incas* had performed, without much difficulty submitted to his Commands; and amongst the rest, the people of *Tiahuanacu* were reduced to obedience; of whose great and incredible Edifices, it is requisite, that we should declare something in this place. Amongst the mighty Works and Buildings of that Country, there is a certain Hill, or heap of Earth thrown up by hand; which is so high, that it is a subject of great admiration; and left with time it should settle, or sink lower, it is founded on great Stones cemented together: And to what end this was done,

no man can conjecture, *Unless it were like the Pyramids in Egypt, to remain for a Trophy of the Greatness of that Monarch who erected it.* On one side of this mighty heap are the Statues of two Giants cut in Stone, with long Robes to the ground, and Wreaths or Binders about their heads; which being much impaired by time, shews the Antiquity of them. There is also a strange Wall to be seen, raised with Stones of an extraordinary bigness; and what is most wonderful to consider, is, how, or in what manner they were brought thither by force of Men, who had not yet attained to the knowledge of Engines fit for such a work, and from what place they were brought, there being no Rocks or Quarries but such as are at a far distance from thence. There appear also many great and lofty Edifices; and what is more strange, there are in divers places great Portals of Stone, and many of them whole and perfect, made of one single and entire Stone; which being raised on Pedestals, are found by those who have measured them to be 30 foot in length, and 15 in breadth, which Pedestals, as well as the Arches of the Portals, were all of one single Stone: And then we may consider how great those Stones were before they were shaped, and what tools of Iron were requisite for such a labour.

The Natives report that these Buildings, and others of the like nature not mentioned here, were raised before the times of the *Incas*, and that the Model of the Fortrefs at *Cusco* was taken from them, as we shall hereafter more particularly describe: Who they were that erected them, they do not know, only they have heard say by tradition from their Ancestours, that those prodigious Works were the effects of one nights labour; which seem, in reality, to have been the beginnings only, and foundations for some mighty Structure. Thus much *Pedro de Cieza* in his Remarks concerning *Peru*, and its several Provinces relates; to which I shall farther add, what a certain Priest called *Diego de Alcobaca*, who was my School-fellow; and whom I may call my Brother, because we were both born in the same house, and his Father educated me as my Tutor and Master: This person, I say, amongst the many relations of things which both he and others sent me, concerning my own Countrey; coming to speak of the Buildings of *Tiahuanacu*, hath these words: "In *Tiahuanacu*, which is a Province of *Colla*, amongst many other Antiquities worthy of immortal memory, there is one particularly famous, adjoining to the Lake, which is called by the *Spaniards Chucuyta*, though its true name be *Chucuyita*; this is a Pile of monstrous Buildings, to which is an open Court of 15 Yards square every way, the Building is two Stories high; and on one side of this great Yard or Square is a large Hall of 45 foot in length, and 22 in breadth; the Covering appears to be Thatch, like those on the Temple of the Sun, in the City of *Cusco*: All this Court, or Yard, which we mention, with its Walls, Floor, Hall, Roof, Portals and Jams of the doors, and back-gate to this Building, is all of one entire Stone, hewed out of a Rock; the Walls of the Court, and of the Hall, are three quarters of a Yard thick, and such also is the Covering or Roof; which though it may seem to be Thatched with Straw, is yet of Stone; for the *Indians* have worked it so artificially, and with those natural lines, that the Stones appear like Straw laid in the most curious manner of Thatch: the Waters of the Lake beat against the side of these Walls; and both this, and all the other Edifices here about, were all, as the Natives report, dedicated to the Maker of the Universe. Moreover, besides these Works, there are divers other figures of Men and Women cut in Stone, so naturally, that they seem to be living: Some of them are drinking with Cups in their hands, some are sitting, some standing, some are walking in the stream which glides by the Walls; other Statues there are of Women carrying Children in their arms, and in the folds of their garments; others with them on their backs, and in a thousand other manners and postures. The *Indians* of these days report, that for the great Sins of that people, in having stoned a Stranger, who passed through their Province, God in his judgment had converted those Men and Women into Stone. These are the words of *Diego de Alcobaca*, who hath been Vicar-General of many Provinces in that Kingdom, and Preacher of the *Indians*; for being a Native of *Cusco*, and of *Spanish* and *Indian* Blood, and consequently acquainted with the *Indian* Language, was most able to inform and instruct that people; and in all probability, he was the most likely Man to deliver the most true and authentick Relation of those Countries.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Hatunpacassa reduced, and the Cac-yaviri conquered.

BUT returning now to *Mayta Capac*, we find him busied in reducing the Province of *Hatunpacassa*, which is a Countrey to the left hand of that stream by which the Lake empties it self; and in performance of this work, he used no other means or force, than Doctrine and Instruction, teaching them the way to cultivate and manure their Lands, and the art to live in humane and political society; which method, as some report, the *Incas* only used in the first beginnings of their Monarchy, which, so soon as it was grown up and fortified, they turned to open violence and compulsion. But whether this subjection were effected by one way or the other, it matters not much here, nor how many days journey every King proceeded; for such repetitions would be both tedious and impertinent; and therefore we shall only recount in short what every *Inca* gained, and what additions he made to his Empire. This *Inca* therefore proceeding in his Conquests, came at length to that People which is called *Cac-yaviri*, who were the Inhabitants of a great number of Villages, spread all over that Countrey without order or rule; over every one of which some petty Lord presided. These having received the Alarm, that the *Inca* was coming to conquer and subdue them, flocked all together to a little hill, which had been raised by labour in that plain, being about a quarter of a League high, and picked at the top like a Sugar loaf. This Hill, whose beauty was the more remarkable, for being the only lofty and eminent situation in those Plains, was esteemed sacred by the *Indians*, and the place appointed whereon to adore their Gods, and offer Sacrifice: Hereunto they fled for succour, and hoping that their God would make this place their Sanctuary, to defend them from their Enemies, they built upon it a dry Wall of Stone, and laid a turf of Earth over it; the Men laboured in the stone-work, and for better dispatch the Women cut and brought the turfs; and to this Fortrefs, which they had furnished with great store of Provisions, Men, Women and Children, in great numbers resorted.

The *Inca*, according to his custome, sent them his Summons to surrender, particularly assuring them, that he came not to take away their Lives, or their Estates, but to confer upon them all those benefits, which the Sun, his Father, had commanded him to perform towards the *Indians*; and therefore that they should be cautious how they wanted of paying due respect towards his Children, who were, by the help and assistance of the Sun, (who was the God which they adored,) strong and invincible in battel: This, or such like, Message the *Inca* sent, often to these *Indians*, but they persisted obstinate in their refusals; saying, that they lived well already, and had no need of his Instructions to teach them to live better; and as to his Father, the Sun, they did not much value him, for that they had Gods of their own, one of which was that fortified Hill, which favoured them, and would preserve them, and that the *Incas* might be pleased to depart in Peace, and teach others, who were willing to receive their Instructions, for that they had no need of their Doctrine. The *Inca*, who had no great mind to overcome them by fight, but rather to win them with fair words, or at worst to compel them by Famine, divided his Army into four parts, and therewith besieged the Hill.

These People of *Colla* continued many days in this Resolution not to surrender, expecting when the Enemy would assault their Fortrefs; which when they found, that the *Inca* declined, they attributed this backwardness to weakness, or cowardice; with which being encouraged, they made divers Sallies from their Fort; in all which, though the Souldiers of the *Inca*, according to the command of their Prince, did rather defend themselves, than seek to offend them, yet these People, like brute Beasts, without order, or wit, throwing themselves on the weapons of their Enemy, perished in great numbers; the which gave occasion to that report which

which was common amongst the People of *Collao*, and afterwards was spread over all the Dominions of the *Incas*, That the *Indians* falling out one day to fight, all the Stones they threw, and the Arrows they shot, returned upon themselves, so that many of *Colla* were killed and wounded by their own Weapons, which retorted against their own Breasts; the which fabulous report we shall relate more at large hereafter. With this great destruction and mortality the *Collaos* being affrighted, especially their *Curacas*, and fearing that greater evils would be the effect of their obstinacy, resolved to submit; and accordingly disposing their People in several Squadrons, or Bands, they marched orderly to crave Mercy. In the first place went the Children, next followed the Mothers, then the old Men, and then the Souldiery, with their Captains and Commanders, and last of all the Captains with their *Curacas*, having their hands bound, and halters about their necks, as a sign that they had deserved death, for having resisted the Children and Family of the Sun; and to make their humiliation the more formal, according to the custome of *Pera*, they walked defalcated, or bare-foot, for greater reverence to that Majesty or Deity which they went to adore.

CHAP. III.

The Collaos upon Surrender are received to Pardon, the Fable is explained.

THE several squadrons presenting themselves before the *Inca*, with all humility prostrated themselves to the ground before him, and with loud acclamations saluted him by the title of the Son of *Phabum*; which ceremony being performed by the Commonalty, the *Curacas* followed next, who having made their humble reverence after the fashion of their Country, they begged his Majesty's Pardon for the crimes and offences they had committed against him; but in case it were his pleasure that they should be put to death, at least that he would be pleased to forgive the multitudes of those poor Souldiers, who being seduced by their ill example, had been persuaded to raise Arms against his Majesty; and that he would be pleased also to extend his Mercy farther to the Women, and to the old Men and Children, who having no part in the guilt of the Rebellion, were objects of his Compassion, but as for them, they were at his feet, ready to receive the Sentence he should pass upon them in satisfaction for all the others.

The *Inca* when he received them, was sitting in his Chair, encompassed with his Men of War, and having heard the Speech of the *Curacas*, commanded that they should be loosed from their bonds, and the halters taken from their necks, telling them, that he did not only give them their Lives, but their Liberties also, and with gentle words assured them, That he came neither to deprive them of their Lives, nor of their Estates, but to doe them good, by teaching them to live according to the rules of Reason, and the Law of Nature; and that leaving their Idols, they should henceforward adore the Sun for their only God, by whose gracious command he had received them to pardon, and in testimony hereof he did again confirm to them their Houses, Lands and Vassals, without other intent than only to bestow favours and blessings on them, which should be proved by a long tract of experience to them and their posterity; and so much, he said, the Sun had required him to communicate unto them, and therefore now they might return to their own homes, where they had only to take care of themselves, and obey him, for that would be for the common good and benefit of them all: And for the better assurance of their Pardon, and evidence of the *Inca's* gracious Favour, he ordered that the *Curacas*, in behalf of all their People, should accept the terms of Peace on their left knee; and be permitted the honour

nour to touch his Person, that for ever after they might be acknowledged for his Subjects; the which privilege was esteemed as a most condescending favour, because none under the degree of the Royal Bloud, or any other, without his own licence, could be admitted thereunto under a less penalty than that which is due for the offence of Sacrilege. In this manner the *Inca* giving testimony of his gracious and gentle mind, cleared the *Curacas* from all suspitions of fear, who humbling themselves to the Earth before him, promised to be his faithfull Vassals; for that having demonstrated such an unexemplary act of Mercy towards those that had deserved death; he did thereby give undeniable proofs of his descent from the Sun.

And now to explain the Fable in the preceding Chapter, it is said, that the Captains of the *Inca* observing the boldness which the *Collaos* every day used by their obstinate resistance, gave orders to their Souldiers to treat them with all rigour, and subdue them with Fire and Sword, for that their bold attempts against the *Inca* were no longer tolerable. The *Collaos* making their usual Sallies in a fierce and enraged manner, cast themselves without defence or order on the Weapons of their Enemies, who receiving their attempt with more Martial discipline, killed the greatest part of them, and in regard the Souldiers of the *Inca* had until now rather dallied than fought in earnest with them, being desirous to save their Lives, and reduce them without blood; did at length use their best endeavours to subdue them by violence, which took such effect upon them, and with such ruine and slaughter; that the *Collaos* believed the Report which the *Incas* made of this battle, That their destruction was not performed by their Arms, but by the power of the Sun, who, in punishment for their obstinacy and rebellion, caused their own Weapons to be turned upon themselves; to the belief of which the credulous and simple *Indians* being easily persuaded, were farther thereby admonished by the *Incas*, and the *Amanautas*, their Philosophers, how dangerous it was to fight against the Sun, who was their God, and disobey the *Incas*, who were his Children.

CHAP. IV.

How three Provinces were reduced, and others conquered, what Colonies were planted, and the punishment of those who used Poison.

THIS Fable, with the great fame and applause which the Piety and Clemency of the King had gained, was divulged through all the neighbouring Countries of *Hatumpacassu*, where these things were acted, and caused to much love and admiration amongst those People, that they voluntarily submitted to the *Inca*, *Mayta Capac*, whom they acknowledged to be a true Child of the Sun, and therefore came to adore and serve him; amongst which three Provinces especially were worthy of note, namely, *Casquicora*, *Mallama* and *Huarina*, (where afterwards that Battle was fought between *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and *Diego Centeno*,) being all of them Countries large in extent, rich in Cattle, and powerfull with the numbers of warlike People. These being received into grace and favour, the *Inca* repassed the River towards *Cusco*; and from *Hatun Colla* sent an Army, under Command of his four Generals, towards the Western parts, ordering them, that having passed the desolate Country of *Hatunpuna*, (the borders of which *Lloque Yupanqui* had once stocked with Cattle,) they should proceed towards the People on the other side, who inhabit the Coast of the Sea of *Zur*, and should try all fair means

means to reduce them, and though they should find some so obstinate and pertinacious, as not to be prevailed with by any terms of friendly accommodation; yet notwithstanding that they should not presently break into open Hostility with them, being assured, that what opposition soever the barbarous people made, it would be more disadvantageous, and of loss to themselves, than their voluntary submission could prove of benefit to the *Inca*. With these Instructions, and great supplies of Provisions, which they daily gathered in their march, they passed the snowy Mountain with the more difficulty, because they found no path to guide them, travelling for the space of at least thirty Leagues, through an unpeopled, and a most desolate Countrey; at length they came to the Province *Cachuma*, which was well inhabited, though they lived not in Towns or Villages, but scattered over the Countrey, where every one was most pleased to raise his Cottage. The Natives being alarmed with the approach of this Army, built a Fortrels, and retired into it with their Wives and Children; the place was so weak, that it might easily have been forced; but the *Incas* in obedience to their King, encompassed it with their Army, and offered them conditions of Peace and Friendship; all which they refused, and for the space of above fifty days persisted in their obstinate Resolution; during which time the *Incas* had frequent opportunities to have destroyed them; but the orders of their King, and their former Customs and Principles of Mercy and Gentleness forbade them to make use of the advantages which offered. Howsoever at length Famine, the usual destroyer of the besieged, began to rage amongst them, having not had time to make their provisions for a Siege, which they could not imagine would have endured so long; but being much distressed by Hunger, which the Men and Women more easily suffered than their Children, were forced at length to permit the younger sort to adventure abroad, and gather the herbs of the field for their sustenance; many of them fled to the Enemy, which the Parents more willingly suffered, than to see them die with hunger before their faces. The *Incas* seizing those that were sent abroad, gave them to eat, with some Provisions to carry with them to their Parents, and with the same occasion offered the usual and accustomed terms of Peace and Friendship. The *Indians* observing this kind treatment, and being without all expectation of Succour, resolved to commit themselves to the Mercy of their Enemies, concluding, that if they were so pitiful to them at a time when they stood out in opposition to them, how much more compassionate would they be after their submission and resignation to their Will and Pleasure: With these hopes they left their Fortrels, and surrendered all to the Command of the *Incas*; nor were they deceived in their expectations, for all kind and friendly reception was given them, meat being set before them to satisfy their hunger; and then they farther informed them, that the *Inca*, whose Father was the Sun, had no other design than of doing good to the Inhabitants of the Earth, and that they might be better assured hereof by their own experience, Garments, and other Presents, were given to the most principal Commanders of them, in the name of the *Inca*; and the common sort being feasted, at least their present hunger satisfied, they were all dismissed, and sent to their own homes with entire contentment and assured security.

The Generals after this dispeided Intelligence to the *Inca* of all that had passed, desiring that People might be sent them for planting two Colonies in that Countrey; for in regard the soil was rich and fruitful, it was capable to maintain a considerable number of People; and that it would be requisite also to establish a Garrison in those parts, both for security of the late Conquests, as also for prevention of such mischief as may arise for the future. The *Inca* accordingly sent them Women with their Children, sufficient for two Colonies, one of which they planted at the foot of the Mountain, where the Fortrels was built, which they called *Cachuma*, after the name of the Mountain, and the other *Moguchma*, which People are distant five Leagues one from the other, and the Provinces conserve still their denomination, being within the Jurisdiction of *Collisoy*. Whilst these Commanders were busied in regulating these People, and giving orders for their instruction in Religion and Laws, they came to understand that these *Indians* were notoriously skilled in the arts of poisoning, which upon every occasion of offence they administered to their Adversaries, the which was not so deadly as to kill presently, but with time reduced the body to a languishing and macerated condi-

condition; such as were of so strong a Constitution, as to resist the Poison and live; were yet rendered loathsome by botches and boils, which broke from their Bodies, and became overspread with a white Leprosie, nor did it only affect their Bodies, but their Minds also, making them fools, or stupid, or else mad and raving; which were all pleasant effects to the revengefull adversaries, though nothing could be more grievous and heavy to their Parents and Relations. The Captains being informed of this evil which was amongst this People, gave advice thereof unto the *Inca*, who thereupon immediately commanded, that whosoever should be found guilty of that Crime, should be burnt alive, that no reliques or memory should remain of them. This Law of the *Inca* was so joyfully received by the Natives, that they themselves gave information against the Criminals, and readily with their own hands executed the Sentence, burning not only the Offenders, but whatsoever moveables also were found in their Houses, which they demolished, and laid level with the ground: With them also they burnt their Flocks and Herds, rooted up the Trees which they had planted, and destroyed every thing that they possessed, lest the evil and pestilence of the Master should adhere unto, or infect the Inheritance. The which punishment, and severity in its execution, so affrighted the Natives, that they never after durst more attempt this wickedness, during the time of the *Incas*; though so soon as the *Spaniards* came amongst them, they revived this evil again, which till then was out of use, and forgotten. The Captains having in this manner settled their Plantations, and reformed this abuse by the rigorous punishment of the Delinquents, they returned to *Cusco*, to render a more large account to the *Inca* of their Negotiations, who graciously received them, and gratified their good Services with due Rewards.

CHAP. V.

The Inca gains three Provinces, and conquers after a bloody Battel.

AFTER some years *Mayta Capac* resolved to make another sally abroad for the Conquest of new Provinces, for the Covetousness and Ambition of the *Inca* increased with his Dominions and Success. Wherefore having raised his Army, and supplied them with sufficient Provisions, they marched towards *Pucara* of *Umasoy*, which were the most remote, or last, People which his Grand-Father (or as some will have it) his Father had reduced. From *Pucara* he bended his course Eastward, to that Province which they call *Llaricalla*, where the Natives surrendered themselves without resistance, being much contented to receive the *Inca* for their Lord and Master. Then he proceeded to the Province called *Sancayan*, which submitted with the like readiness and facility; for the Fame of the *Inca* being now spread over all Countries, and the great Honours achieved by the Father and Grand-Father of this Prince being the common discourse, so moved the Nations in all adjacent parts, that with unanimous consent they ran to embrace those conditions of Vassalage which the *Inca* should impose upon them. These two Provinces are about fifty Leagues in length, and about twenty at one place, and thirty another in breadth, and are both populous, and abounding with Cattle. The *Inca* having given orders for instructing the Natives in the doctrine of his Idolatrous Religion, and regulated the civil Affairs, passed forwards to the Province of *Pacalla*, where he encountered no opposition or contest in Battel, but every thing fell down

down before him with such Obedience and Veneration, as was agreeable to one whose birth and descent was from the Sun.

This Province is part of that which we have already mentioned to have been reduced by *Lloque Tupanqui*, so that now by the Father and Son this Country, which contained many People, was entirely subjected. Hence entering upon the Royal Way of *Umasyn*, they marched towards that People, which to this day is called by the name of *Huaychu*, where they received intelligence, that a great number of People were assembled in a Body to oppose him in his passage, the which report rather hastened than retarded the march of the *Inca* in pursuit of his Enemies, whom he first encountered at *Hogchu*, where they appeared in defence of a pass on that River, so called, and were about thirteen or fourteen thousand in number, all of them *Indians*, bearing arms; and though they were of divers Nations, yet they called themselves by the common appellation of *Colla*. The *Inca*, according to his usual Method, sent frequent Messages to the Enemy, offering them terms of Peace and Friendship, which were all rejected by them, and interpreted to be effects of fear; and thence took such encouragements, that they daily became more inflexible, and at length so daring, and impudent, as to attack the very Royal Quarters of the *Inca*; notwithstanding which, the *Inca* persisted with such patience in his forbearance, that his Souldiers began to murmur, and say, That it was no longer tolerable to permit those Barbarians to insult over the Majesty of him who was defended from the Sun, nor could their insolence be longer supported, without losing that Reputation which they had formerly acquired.

Howsoever the *Inca* endeavoured to moderate the displeasure of his People, by telling them, that it had been the custome of his Ancestours, and the Command of his Father the Sun, whose design was to doe good unto the *Indians*, to save their Lives, and advance their welfare, and not break immediately into War and Blood, but rather to expect with patience, and see whether they would come to any fight or knowledge of that good which was designed for them. With such fair words as these the *Inca* for some days restrained the fury of his Captains from engaging with the Enemy, until one day being importuned by his Souldiers, and moved by the insolence of his Enemies, who pressed hard upon him, he gave order to put his Army in Array, and provide for a Battel.

The *Incas*, who greatly desired to fight, readily entered the Field, and the Enemy, who had often provoked them to an Engagement, as willingly joined, so that the Fight began, and was maintained on both sides with great heat and courage, one part (as they imagined) contending for their Liberty, resolving to submit to none, though he were of the Race and Offspring of the Sun, and the other, not supporting such insolent obstinacy towards their King, were animated to contend unto the utmost in defence of his Honour and Dignity. The *Collas* notwithstanding fought with great Courage and Resolution, but yet with so little Art or Discipline, that like desperate Men, they threw themselves on the Weapons of their Enemies, which occasioned great slaughter amongst them. The Battel continued the whole day, in which the *Inca* behaved himself like a great Captain, some time ordering and encouraging his Squadrons, and again venturing his Person in the midst of his Enemies, and in both Offices deserved the merit of a good Souldier.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Auaychines yield themselves, and are Gratioufly received to Pardon.

OF the *Collas* (which is the common Name of these people) were killed according to their own account, six thousand in this Battel; the which slaughter was chiefly occasioned by their own unskilfulness, and want of art to defend themselves; when, on the other side, by reason of their Discipline in War, there perished not above five hundred: Howsoever, the Battel was fought with such courage, that it ended not untill the darkness of the night separated both parties, and caused them to retire to their respective quarters: The day following the *Collas* viewing the heaps of their dead, and feeling the smart of their wounds now cold, began to droop, and lose all their former hopes and courage, not knowing what course or resolution to take; for to overcome, and fight their way through their Enemies, was impossible, and to escape by flight was equally as difficult, being encompassed on all sides by their Enemies; and to surrender and yield to Mercy seemed dangerous, for having already refused those advantageous Conditions which the *Inca* had proffered; and having provoked him to anger by their obstinate resistance, they feared, lest they had put themselves beyond all hopes or expectations of pardon. Howsoever, in this perplexed condition, they embraced the counsel of the most aged and wisest amongst them, which was to yield and invoke the Clemency of the Prince; for having heard the report of that Mercy which this *Inca*, after the example of his Ancestours, had used towards all, as well towards Rebels, as to the obedient, they conceived some hopes, that they also might prove the effects of his natural compassion. Wherefore so soon as it was day, they attired themselves in the most penitent and humble manner that they were able; the attires of their heads were put off, their feet bare, and no other garment on their bodies, than their Shirts; their Captains and Leaders appeared with their hands bound, and in this humble posture they proceeded with silence to the Gates, where the *Inca* was quartered; and there kneeling down before him, they said, That they came not to ask his pardon, for that they well knew, that their offence and rebellion had put them besides all hopes of obtaining it; only their Blood might expiate their Rebellion; and serve for caution and example to other Nations, how they resisted or disobeyed him whose Father was the Sun. In answer whereunto the *Inca* commanded one of his Captains to tell them in his Name, that his Father the Sun had not sent him on the Earth to kill or destroy the *Indians*, but on the contrary had commanded him to succour, comfort and doe them good; and that teaching them to reform their bestial manner of life, he should instruct them in the true Religion and Worship of the Sun, who was their God: To which end, and to no other purpose (for he stood in no need of their service) he travelled from Countrey to Countrey, that he might publish these Laws and Ordinances of rational Government amongst them, which he had received from his Father the Sun: And as the pious Offspring of such a Father, he received them to pardon, though their Rebellion deserved punishment, of which his intercession on their behalf with his Father the Sun, had procured a release; conditionally, that for the future they might reform their Manners, and obey the Sun, under whose Laws and Protection they might expect all blessings of prosperity and repose. With this answer he commanded that they should be clothed, and care taken of the wounded, and all of them seated and refreshed with provisions; and with such entertainment dismissing them to their own homes, they acknowledged that Rebellion was the cause of all their mischief, and that Submission and Obedience was by the Clemency of the *Inca* their only remedy.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

How many other People were reduced; and in what manner the Inca made a Bridge of Ofiers.

THE News of this bloody battel was soon spread over all the Neighbouring Countries, and every where interpreted as a just judgment sent from the Sun on the *Indians*, who had refused his beneficial conditions, and disobeyed the *Inca*; on which apprehension many of those people, who had taken up Arms, and formed their Camp with intent to oppose the *Inca*, did now lay aside their thoughts of War, resolving to submit and depend on the Clemency of the *Inca*; who accordingly received them with grace and favour, presenting them with Vests, and other gifts, with which the *Indians* remained greatly satisfied, and in every place published the *Inca* to be the true and undoubted off-spring of the Sun.

The people which were thus reduced, were the Inhabitants from *Huaychu* to *Callimur*, which is thirty Leagues to the Southward. Hence the *Inca* proceeded from *Callamarca*, twenty four Leagues farther, by the high-way of *Chareas* to *Caracollo*, Summoning all the Natives to his service both on one hand, and the other as far as to the Lake of *Paria*; thence taking a compass to the Eastward as far as *Antis*, he came at length to that Vally, which to this day is called *Chunquipa*, which in the common tongue is as much as to say, the principal or chief Lance; in which division he planted several Colonies, because he had observed, that those Valleys being fruitful and warm, were a better Soil for producing Mayz (or *Indian* Wheat) than any of those Provinces within the Precincts of *Colla*. From the Vale of *Caracatu* he continued his March Eastward, to the skirts of the great Snowy Mountain of *Antis*, which is above thirty Leagues distant from the Royal way of *Umasuyu*.

In these Marches, and in the employment he had of settling Colonies, and constituting Laws and Government in his new Conquests, the *Inca* spent three years, and then returned again to *Cusco*, where he was received with expressions of joy and acclamation. And having there reposed two or three years more, he commanded, that preparations should be made against the next Spring, both of Men and Provisions, for a new Conquest; for his active mind not suffering him to sit idle, moved him to enterprize something in the Country of *Contisuyu*, which is to the West of *Cusco*, containing many great and large Countries under it: And because they were to pass the River called *Apurimac*, he commanded a Bridge to be made for transporting his Army; for framing of which, because it was a thing as yet new and unknown, he consulted with the most ingenious *Indians* in the contrivance; and because it was the first Bridge of Ofiers that was ever made in *Peru*, I shall describe the manner how it was made; not agreeing with the Writers of *Peru*, who tell us Stories of Bridges made of Feathers, but omit to declare the manner and fashion of them.

In making this Bridge they twisted, or weaved, great quantities of Ofiers together, which are not of the same sort which we have in *Spain*, but of a more fine and pliable Sprig: Of three Ofiers they made one Twist for the length, and another for the breadth which the Bridge was to be; to these Twists of three Ofiers, they added another of nine, and weaved three of these together, so that it came to be twenty seven Ofiers in thickness; and so they went on Weaving in this manner, till it came to be as thick as a Man's body, and of this sort they made five pieces.

Having thus prepared their Bridge, some *Indians* either swam or ferried themselves over on a Float to the other side, carrying with them the end of a small Cord, which was fastned to a Basse-rope, made of Rushes, called by the *Indians* *Chahuar*; this Rope or Cord was tied to the end of one of the twined or matted pieces, and by the force of many hands they drew it over to the other side of the Ri-

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ver, as are also the other four; all which they strained very hard, by help of the Rocks on the other side; and where they found not the convenience of Rocks, there they drove in Stakes, or cut into Quarries of Stone, as strong and stable as the Rock it self. The Bridge of *Apurimac*, which is now in the King's Highway of *Cusco*, is fixed on one side to a living Rock, and on the other side to a Pillar hewed out of a Quarry. These shores or supports of the Bridge are made with great holes and tunnels, through which the Ropes pass; and for strengthening them the better, they are fortified with Walls on each side; through this hollownes of the Rock five or six Beams are crossed from one Wall to the other, and placed one above the other, like the steps of a Ladder; on each of these Beams they give a turn of the Rope belonging to the several pieces, which are matted with Ofiers, and strain them as hard as by a Capstone, so that the Bridge may not sink with its own weight: Howsoever, this Bridge is not so tight, but that it sinks in the middle, whereby those who pass it descend at first, and afterwards mount again, until they come to the end, so that it remains in the fashion of a Bow; nor is it so firm, but that it shakes as often as the Wind blows harder than ordinary.

Three of these thick matted pieces were laid one on the other for the floor and foundation of the Bridge, and the other two served for the Rails or Walls on each side: the floor they covered with thin Boards, which they laid crossways, so that the length of the Board took the whole breadth of the Bridge, being about two Yards: these Boards served to strengthen the matted pieces, and keep them from being suddenly worn out; and also they were crossed with Rims or Ledges of Wood, which served to keep the feet of the Beasts which passed from slipping: the Rails or Walls of the Bridge were greatly fortified with thin Boards, close tied to the matted pieces, which served to strengthen it in that manner, that both Man and Beast might pass securely over it. This Bridge of *Apurimac*, which is the most considerable of any, is about two hundred paces in length. For my own part, I cannot say that I ever measured it, but that discoursing thereof with some in *Spain*, they assured me that the length was rather more than less, and that several *Spaniards* had passed it on horse-back, and some of them running, which shews perhaps more rashness than prudence, and less wit than fear. This great Machine, which is begun only with a Twist of three Ofiers, is at length brought to a mighty and stupendous work, and is more curious and wonderful than I have been able to describe; the usefulness of it hath proved so great, that it hath been until these days kept in repair at the publick charge, and not suffered to fall to decay like other greater Machines which the *Spaniards* found in that Country. In the times of the *Inca* those Bridges were yearly repaired by the Neighbouring Provinces, which were appointed to provide the Materials, and pay the Workmen according to a Tax laid on them respectively, and proportioned to their nearness and ability; which also is in use to this day.

C H A P. VIII.

The Renown and Fame of this Bridge is the cause that many Nations submit themselves.

THE *Inca* being informed that the Bridge was finished, commanded his Army to meet at their rendezvous; which consisting of twelve thousand able Souldiers, under the Command of experienced Officers, he marched towards the Bridge, which he found well guarded against any attempt the Enemy could make to burn it: But instead thereof, the *Indians* of *Peru*, who to the very time that the *Spaniards* invaded them, were so simple as to admire any new invention, did

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now stand astonish'd at the sight of this wonderfull Fabrick, and needed no other testimony and evidence to prove the *Inca's* descent from the Sun, than that prodigious and mysterious work, which (as they thought) nothing less than a Divine Power and Wisdom could present before their eyes. Such apprehensions they had of the *Spaniards*, when they saw them fighting on fierce creatures, such as their Horses appeared to them, and to kill their Enemies at a distance of two or three hundred paces with Fire-arms, which they called Thunder and Lightning; and with the same ignorant Spirit of admiration are they still affected, as often as they behold any new invention not known to them before; as Mills to grind Corn, Oxen to Plow, and Bridges of Stone erected in Rivers with Arches, which they fancie to be placed and poised in the Air; and with astonishment of these and other things, they break out, and say, *Worthy are the Spaniards to be Masters of the Indians*. And in the time of *Mayta Capac*, the *Indians* being yet more simple than in these days, might well be strook with such admiration at the sight of this Bridge, that many Neighbouring Provinces needed no other argument than this to persuade them to receive the *Inca*; one of which people was called *Chumpivillea*, situated in the Division of *Comisayn*, containing about twenty Leagues in length, and ten in breadth; all which received him as a person of high degree and merit, both for the greatness of his Birth, being descended from the Sun, and for the stupendous work which he had framed, and which none but a Divine Wisdom could contrive and accomplish, only a sort of people called *Villilli* made some weak resistance; for having encompassed a small fortress at the dread of the approach of the Enemy, they all crowded into it; but the *Inca* besieging them round, and sending his usual Summons, and gracious Propositions of Peace; in the space of twelve or thirteen days they all surrendered, and were received to grace and pardon; and having settled this Province in a peaceable condition, he crossed the desolate part of *Comisayn*, containing about sixteen Leagues, where he came to a Moor or Marsh ground, of about three Leagues broad, which hindred the passage of his Army. Here the *Inca* commanded a Cawfe-way to be made of great and small Stones, which they filled up with Earth, and covered with Turf: And for better expedition and encouragement of his people, the *Inca* himself worked, helping to raise and lay the greatest Stones; which so animated the Souldiers to labour, that in a few days they finished the Cawfe-way, which was six Yards broad, and two Yards thick; and which the *Indians*, even to these times, have in so great veneration; both because part of it was the proper handy-work of the *Inca*, as also for the convenience and benefit of it, whereby the way is made shorter, when formerly with much labour and travel they were forced to take a large compass to avoid the Moorish Countrey: And for this reason they keep it still in good repair, so that scarce a Stone decays, or sinks from it, but another is put into its place by the care and industry of the Surveyors, who are appointed thereunto by the bordering people, who having severally their distinct divisions and parcels allotted to them, do endeavour to out-vy each the other in conservation of that common benefit and convenience: the like rule is observed for maintenance of all other publick Works, such as Bridges and Royal Palaces, Fortresses, and the like. In making the Cawfe-way, the Turf they laid upon it was of great use; for it did not only make the way smooth, soft and easie, but also the Roots of the Grasse extending themselves within the Stones, did greatly bind, and keep all close together.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Inca gains many other great Provinces, and dies in Peace.

THE Cawfe-way being in this manner finished, the *Inca*, *Mayta Capac*, passed over it to the Province called *Alta*, and here he encountered the *Indians* of that Countrey in a warlike posture, who being encouraged by the advantage of the pass, which they designed to defend, being such as was asperous, craggy, and horrid to behold, and even such as was difficult to Passengers to travel over, how much more must it be, when guarded and defended by armed Men; and yet such was the prudence and good conduct of the *Inca*, and his Military Art and Prowess, that though People were killed both on one side and the other, that still he gained ground and advantage on the Enemy, which they with great admiration observing, did unanimously conclude, that the *Inca* was of the true Offspring of the Sun, and therefore was invincible, and on this vain belief with common consent resolved to submit, and accordingly received him as their Lord and King, promising him all Loyalty and Obedience.

The *Inca* passing in a triumphant manner through this People, called *Alta*, proceeded farther to other greater Provinces, whose Names are *Taurisna*, *Corabanci*, *Pumatampu*, *Paribana Cocha*, which signifies the Lake of * *Pinguis*, for in the part of that Countrey which remains unpeopled, there is a great Lake, which the *Indians* in their Language call *Cocha*, or the Sea, as they do all great Waters; and *Paribana* is that sort of Bird, which abounding in that Province, gives the denomination to it, and is a Countrey rich, fertile and pleasant, and where great quantities of Gold arise, the *Spaniards*, by contraction, call it *Parina cocha*, *Pumatampu* signifies a Den of Lions, *Puma* is a Lion, and *Tampu* a Den, because it is a Countrey where many Lions are found.

From *Paribana Cocha* the *Inca* marched forward, and crossed the desolate Countrey of *Coropuna*, where is to be seen a most lofty and beautifull Pyramid of Snow, which the *Indians* most properly call *Huaca*, which amongst many other apt significations hath this of wonderfull; and indeed it seemed so great to the simplicity of the ancient *Indians*, that they adored and worshipped it for its Beauty and Eminence. Thence the *Inca* proceeded to the Province called *Arumi*, which runs along as far as to the Vale of *Arequipa*, which, as *Blas Valera* affirms, signifies a founding Trumper.

All these Provinces and Nations *Mayta Capac* added to his Empire, with much ease to himself, and gentleness towards those he subdued; for they having generally heard of the difficulties the *Inca* had overcome, and the passages he forced through inaccessible places, could not imagine, that such Actions as these were possible to be performed by any other than one of Divine Extraction, and descended from the Sun, by which opinion they cheerfully submitted, and became proud of their subjection: In every of which Provinces he continued so long as was requisite, for the settlement of Affairs, and peace of the Government; and finding that the Vale of *Arequipa*, was desolate, and without inhabitants, notwithstanding that it was a most fruitfull situation, and an Air pure, and serene, he therefore resolved to cause the Inhabitants of other parts less agreeable, which he had conquered to transplant themselves to this more commodious and happy soil; and such effect had his persuasions on the people, allured by the pleasures of that Climate, and the commodiousness of the Habitation, that not only some Colonies of the conquered Countries, but also several of the natural Subjects of the *Inca* transplanted themselves to the number of about three thousand Families into that pleasant Valley, which became the Original of four or five distinct Nations, one of which is called *Chimpa*, and another *Sucabugaya*: And having supplied all places with Governours, and necessary Officers, the *Inca* returned to *Cusco*, having in this second expedition spent three years time, during which, and the former in-

* A sort of Bird in that Countrey.

vation, he made an addition to his Empire, in the Division of *Contisuyun* onely, of almost ninety Leagues in length, and ten or twelve in breadth one way, and fifteen another way; all which tract of Land was contiguous, or adjoining to the other parts subjected to his power. The *Inca* returning home, was received at *Cusco*, with all the Festivity, Joy and Triumph imaginable, and met with Songs and Musick, chanting out the praises of his mighty and heroic Actions. The *Inca* having rewarded his Souldiers with Presents agreeable to their merit, disbanded his Army, it seeming sufficient for the present time the achievements already made; and that now it was seasonable to give rest and repose from military actions, and attend to the Execution of the Laws, and to the Government of his Kingdom, a great part of which he considered to be the care of making provisions for Widows and Orphans, and other poor and disabled People; in which good works he passed all the remainder of his days; his Reign having continued for thirty Years, as is said, but the truth is, there is so little credit to be given to Reports of this nature, where are no Registers, or Letters, that we know not what to believe in the Case; onely this is certain, that he dyed full of Honour, and Trophies, having acquired a great name, both in War and Peace; and being much beloved and honoured. His Death was lamented with sincere grief by all, which, according to the Custom of the *Incas*, continued for the space of a full Year. His Eldest Son, *Capac Yupanqui*, born of his Wife *Adama Cueva*, he left his Universal Heir of all; besides whom also he left other Sons, and Daughters as well, such as were legitimate, as such as were termed illegitimate.

CHAP. X.

Capac Yupanqui, the fifth Monarch, reduces many Provinces in the Division of Contisuyun.

THE *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, (the interpretation of whose Name we have already declared amongst the proper Names of his Ancestors) after the death of his Father, bound his Head with the coloured Wreath, in token of his entrance into the possession of his patrimonial Inheritance, and having performed the Obsequies of his Father's Interment, he immediately took a Journey through all parts of his Dominions, making enquiry into the Behaviour and Lives of his Officers, and in what manner Justice was administered amongst them. In this Progress he passed two years, and then returned to *Cusco*, where he commanded that Souldiers should be levied, and Provisions made for the following Year, intending to extend his Conquests into those parts of *Contisuyun*, which lie Eastward from *Cusco*, where he was informed, that there were many and great Provinces, and abounding with People. For the more easie passage to those parts he ordered another bridge to be made over the great River of *Apurimac*, at that place which is called *Huacabaca*, below *Accha*, which was accordingly performed with all diligence, surpassing the former bridge in length and breadth, because the River was wider in those parts.

In this manner the *Inca* departed from *Cusco*, attended with twenty thousand Men of War, and being come to the bridge, which was about eight Leagues from the City, through a rough and asperous way, three Leagues of which are a steep descent to the River, though in height it may not be perpendicular above half a League, and the ascent on the other side may likewise contain about three Leagues farther. Having passed the bridge, and this difficult way, they entered into the pleasant Countrey of *Tanaburra*, which at that time contained thirty Nations; what those People were then, and how numerous, we have no certain account, onely we are assured, that the Inhabitants on that side, called *Piti*, so soon

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as they heard of the approach of the *Inca*, came forth to meet him, both Men and Women, old and young, and with Songs and Musick, Acclamations, and all things that might testify their Joy, they received him for their King, vowing all Obedience and Vassalage to his Person. The *Inca* on the other side received them with a gracious Eye, bestowing on them such Vests, or Garments, as were in the mode and fashion of his Court: Of this kind treatment the *Piti* sent advice to their Neighbours, being of the same Nation with them of *Tanaburra*, giving them to understand that the *Inca* had taken up his abode amongst them, and that they had received him for their Lord and Master, according to which example of the *Piti*, the *Curacas* of divers Nations came likewise in, and submitted themselves.

The *Inca* received them all with his accustomed goodness, and as an evidence of his greater favour, he was desirous to shew himself to his People, and visit their Countrey, which contained about twenty Leagues in length, and about fifteen in breadth. From this Province of *Tanaburra*, he passed into another, called *Aymara*, between which two there is a space of ground wholly desolate and unpeopled of about fifteen Leagues over. On the other side of this desert, a great number of People were gathered into a body within a certain inclosed ground called *Mucansta*, to stop the passage of the *Inca*, and entrance into their Countrey, which contains thirty Leagues in length, and fifteen in breadth, and is rich in Mines of Gold, Silver and Lead, and abounds in Cattle and People, and consisted of at least eighty Nations, before they were reduced to the Obedience of the *Inca*.

At the Foot of this Inclosure the *Inca* commanded his Army to encamp, so as to cut the Enemy off from all supplies, who being barbarous, and ignorant of War, had dispeopled all the Countrey, and gathered them into one body, not considering that by this means they were cooped up on all sides, and hemmed in, as it were in a Cage. The *Inca* continued several days in this manner, with an unwillingness to attack them, inviting them to submission with all fair terms and proposals of Peace, and offering no other violence to them than to hinder them from provisions and sustenance; that so what Reason and Argument could not effect, Famine and Hunger might enforce. In this resolute condition the *Indians* remained for the space of a whole month, until being constrained by the necessities of Famine, they sent Messengers to the *Inca*, giving him to understand, that they were ready to receive him for their King, and adore him, as the true Offspring of the Sun, conditionally, that he, on the Faith and Word of his Divine Progeny, promise, that so soon as they shall have yielded themselves to him, he will conquer and subject under his Imperial Command the neighbouring Province of *Umasuyu*, which being a numerous and warlike People living upon Rapine and Spoil, did make frequent incursions to the very doors of their Houses, eating up their provisions and pastures, and committing many other mischiefs and outrages, for which injuries they had often made War upon them, which ended in blood and confusion on the one side and the other; and when at length Peace was made, and terms of accommodation agreed on, they suddenly broke out again into new violences, not considering the Faith and Promises they had given: Wherefore if he pleased to avenge them of these Enemies, and restrain their incursions on them for the future, they would yield, and acknowledge him for their Prince and Lord.

To this Proposal the *Inca* made answer by one of his Captains, That the design of his coming into those parts had no other aim than to relieve the oppressed, and reclaim the barbarous Nations from that bestial manner of living, whereto they were accustomed, and that he might instruct them in the Laws of Reason and Morality; which he had received from his Father the Sun; but as to the avenging them of their Enemies for the injustice and injuries they had done them, it was the Office and Duty of the *Inca* to perform; howsoever it became not them to impose conditions on the *Inca*, who was their Lord and Sovereign, and was to give rather than receive terms, and therefore that they should refer all their grievances to his Wisdom, who inheriting the justice of the Sun, his Father, was inclinable of himself to redress their Oppressions, and reduce their Enemies to terms of Reason and Justice.

With this Answer the Ambassadors returned; and the day following all the *Indians* that were retired within the inclosure to the number of above twelve thousand fighting men, with their Wives and Children to about thirty thousand souls, came forth, and in several Divisions presented themselves on their knees before

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the *Inca*, professed themselves to be his Slaves and Vassals, and in testimony thereof offered unto him Gold, and Silver, and Lead, and whatsoever else was the product of their Country. The *Inca* receiving them with his accustomed Goodness, ordered that meat should be given them to satisfy their present hunger; and likewise provisions for their journey, that so they might all return to their respective Habitations left they should faint by the way, and want due refreshment and care in their Travel.

CHAP. XI.

The Conquest of those of Aymara: The Curacas are received to Pardon: Marks are set up for boundaries on the Confines.

These People being sent home to their respective dwellings, the *Inca* proceeded to another part of the same Province of *Aymara*, called *Huachuque*, which even to this day contains two thousand Families; from thence he dispatched Messengers to summon the *Caciques*, or Lords of *Umasuyu* to appear before him; for that being descended from the Sun, he claimed it as his Privilege, to hear and decide the differences between them and their Neighbours of *Aymara*, about the pasturage, and places where they feed their Cattle: and that residing now in *Huachuque* he expected their coming thither, so that he might impose Laws and Rules of Reason on them, whereby to measure their actions, that they might not like brute Beasts destroy one the other, for causes of so small import or moment, as that of pasturage, since it was evident that the Country was large, and the grounds abounding with Grass, sufficient to feed the Flocks both of one and the other People. The *Curacas*, or Chiefs of *Umasuyu*, being assembled together to consult of this common concernment, gave this general answer. That they had no business with the *Inca*, so as to oblige them to repair to his place of Residence, but if he had any occasions for them, that he should seek them within their own Territories, where they were ready to attend and receive him with Arms in their hands; whether the Sun were his Father, or not, they did neither know nor care, and if he were, yet the Sun was no God of theirs, for they had natural Gods of their own, whose Protection and goodness they had so well proved, as not to change them for any other: That the *Inca* might bestow his Laws and Ordinances on his own Subjects, for that they would accept of none which restrained them from a Liberty of taking that, to which their Arms and Power gave them a right and title; and by the same Arms they would defend themselves and their Country against any who should dare to disturb them in their Peace and enjoyments. This, they said, was all the answer that they would give, and that in case the *Inca* required any other, he should appear in the field, and decide the controversy like a valiant Soldier. The *Inca*, *Capac Tupanqui*, entering into consultation with his principal Officers, upon this answer of those of *Umasuyu*, agreed and concluded, that the success of this War depended on dispatch, and therefore that they should without delay make an attempt upon them, the suddenness of which would so distract and confound them, that the surprisal and fear, more than the real hurt, would affright them into submission; for that it being a Law and Maxime of the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and from him derived to all his Royal Posterity to spare the blood of the *Indians*, and gain them by all arts and contrivances of Gentleness and Invitation; and that War and Force were to be the last remedies: In consideration of which, *Capac Tupanqui* thought fit to make use of this Stratagem, commanding eight thousand select Men of his Army to march day

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and night into the Province of *Umasuyu*, so that by the speediness of their march they might surprisè the Enemy, who did not expect the motion of so great a body in less than the space of a whole month; but seeing them already in the midst of their Country with a flying Army, and the gross Body on their march towards them, and considering that it was impossible for them to assemble so soon together, as to make a head sufficient to resist, began to repent of their pertinacious answer; and now laying aside the thoughts of War, the *Curacas* with speed and haste assembled together from all parts, resolving that the onely expedient in that exigency was to ask pardon, and mercy for their late offence; so that one after the other, as they chanced to come in, prostrated themselves before the *Inca*, acknowledging him for a true Child of the Sun, and as such they swore and vowed unto him all Faithfulness and Obedience.

The *Inca*, contrary to the expectation of the *Curacas*, who expected nothing less than death, or punishment, received them with a gracious Clemency; telling them by one of his Captains, that when he considered their Barbarity, and that they were wholly ignorant of all kind of Morality, he did not admire at their refusal to accept his Religion, and the lenity of his government, being assured that when they shall have once learned and proved those things which conduce to humane Life, they will bless the hour in which they were persuaded to forsake those their Idols, which were formed in the similitude of Beasts, and vile Creatures, and capable of nothing but contempt; wherefore now he commanded them, that in every thing they should resign themselves with implicate Faith, and entire Obedience to the Religion, Laws and Government which the *Inca* and his Ministers should impose upon them, for such was the pleasure of the Sun his Father.

The *Curacas* with most profound humility answered, That they did promise and vow to acknowledge no other God than the Sun, nor no other King than the *Inca*, whose Laws and Ordinances being founded on Reason and Justice, were the best Rules whereby to make his Subjects happy. The *Inca*, in favour and honour to these his new Subjects, settled his Court for a while in the Province of *Chiriqui*, which is the chief and capital Seat of this People; at which place informing himself of the situation and position of their pasturages, and of the Causes and Original of the differences arising between these People and their Neighbours, did after mature consideration determine where the confines of each Country should be limited; and in testimony thereof caused heaps of Stones to be thrown up at such places, where he thought fit, to remain for Boundaries and Marks to distinguish the Lands of one People from the other; the which Land-marks are to this day conserved, and continued in great Veneration, because they were the first of that Nature, which had been raised in *Peru* by order of the *Inca*.

The *Curacas* of both Provinces being entirely satisfied with this Sentence and Determination of the *Inca*, with profound humility kissed his Hands, and returned to their respective abodes; whilst the *Inca* in the mean time visited at his leisure the chief places of both these Provinces, that so he might settle his Government, and establish his Laws amongst them, after which not judging it fit to proceed farther in his Conquests, though his Prosperity and Success was greatly inviting, he returned back again to *Cusco*, where he entered in this triumphant manner into his Imperial City. First the *Curacas* and Nobles of the two late reduced Provinces, who came out of curiosity to see the Imperial Seat, carried the *Inca* on their Shoulders in a Chair of Gold, in token of their servitude and subjection, the Soldiers marched before in their military order, their Captains, and Chiefs followed immediately after the Chair; every Squadron keeping its due order, according to its degree of precedency, the which was allotted them according to their Seniority, the new Conquests giving place to the more ancient subjects: and thus the triumph being ranked in this order, the whole City concurred to the solemnity, going forth according to their usual manner, to meet and receive their *Inca* with Musick, and Songs, and all Festivity.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

The Inca sends to Conquer the Quechuas, who with great willingness submit themselves.

THE Inca having for four years attended onely to the administration of his Government, and the benefit of his Subjects, thought it not fit to spend more time in quietness and ease, left his Souldiers living in peace and repose, should grow resty and luxurious, and forgetfull of their Military Discipline; wherefore he commanded, that the Souldiery should be in a readines, and Provisions made for War against the following year.

And now the time of entring into the Field being come, he appointed his Brother *Auqui Titu* for his Captain-General and four other Incas of his nearest relations, who were well practised in the affairs both of War and Peace, to be Major-Generals, every one of which had an equal share of 5000 Men committed to his charge, and all five of them in joint commission commanded the Army: The design was to carry on that Conquest which they had already begun in the Division of *Contijuyu*; and for a good beginning and omen to their future proceedings, the Inca was pleased in person to accompany them as far as to the Bridge of *Huacachaca*; where having recommended to them the example of his Ancestours as the pattern for them to follow, he returned again to his City of *Cuzco*.

The General, with his other Commanders, entred into the Province called *Cotapampa*, where they were met by the Lord thereof, accompanied with one of his Kintmen, who likewise commanded another Countrey called *Cotanera*, and both of them Natives of *Quechua*. The *Caciques* having intelligence that the Inca had sent an Army into their Countrey, assembled together, and unanimously resolved to receive him, as their King and Lord, with all readines, for having many days expected and desired his coming, they all upon news of his approach went forth with Songs and Dances to meet the Inca, *Auqui Titu*, making great demonstrations of joy and contentment, one of them in behalf of all the rest, expressing himself in this manner: *Inca Apu, (which signifies General) thou art welcome, because thou art here to give us a new Being, and a new Title of being Servants and Subjects to that great Prince, who derives his Pedigree from the Sun: And because that thou art his Brother, we honour and adore thee; giving thee to understand, that hadst thou not come in a short space to have reduced us to this Service of the Inca, we were all resolved to go the next year unto COZCO, there to have owned and acknowledged our selves for Servants of your King, beseeching him to receive us under his mighty defence and protection; for the same of those great achievements and miraculous actions performed by this Off-spring of the Sun both in War and Peace, have affected us with such wonder and love towards him, that every day seems a year, until we enjoy the honour and privilege of being his Subjects: And indeed hereby we promise our selves the happiness of being delivered from the Tyrannies and Cruelties with which our Neighbours of Chanca and Hancobualla have for many years from the times of our Ancestours and Forefathers most grievously vexed and oppressed us; and so if thou wilt receive us under thy protection, our desires will be fulfilled, and our happiness consummated, and may thy Father the Sun evermore defend and preserve thee. Having said these things, they made their Obedience to the Inca and his Generals, delivering a great quantity of Gold to be sent as a present to the Inca their Sovereign. This Province of *Cotapampa*, after the War of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, was the portion allotted to *Don Pedro Luis de Cabrera*, a Native of *Seville*; and the Province *Cotanera*, and another called *Huamantallpa*, of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak, was the possession of my Master *Garcilasso de la Vega*, and was the second Dividend which was made in *Peru*; and of the first we shall speak in its due place. In answer hereunto the General *Auqui Titu*, and his Captains, replied in the name of the Inca; that both their desires and affectionate expressions towards them were very acceptable, and so obliging, that they promised to re-*

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count every syllable of them to the Majesty of their Inca, who, no doubt, but would remain so sensible of their good will, that he would not omit to make suitable returns in the same, if not in a higher degree, than he had towards others. The *Cwaracas* were greatly pleased, that their words should have the honour to reach the Ears of the Inca; and therefore every day gave new testimonies of their affection, by their readines to execute what Commands soever the Captains imposed upon them. And having left in this place such instructions as were convenient for the orderly government thereof; they proceeded to another Province called *Huamantallpa*, which yielded it self without any contradiction or opposition whatsoever. Thence the Inca passed a River which divides the two Provinces by two or three streams, which afterwards a little lower falling in together, make that famous River of *Amancay*.

One of those streams passes thorough *Chuquina*, where the Battel was fought between *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, and the Marechal *Don Alonso de Alvarado*; and some years before, on the very same place, a Battel was fought between *Don Diego de Almagro*, and the said Marechal; in both which *Don Alonso de Alvarado* was overthrown, as we shall recount in its due place, if God gives us life to arrive so far in this History. Thus the Inca continued their progress in reducing the Countreys both on one side and the other of this River *Amancay*; which though they be many in number, yet they are all contained under the common appellation of *Quechua*, which abounds with Gold and Cattel.

C H A P. XIII.

Many Plains and Vallies by the Sea-coast are reduced, and the Sin of Sodomy punished.

SUCH Orders being given and established as were requisite for the better government and administration of affairs in the conquered places, they proceeded into the desolate Countrey of *Huallaripa*, which is a desert much famed for the great quantities of Gold extracted thence, and where much more remains to be still digged; and having crossed one side of the desert for about 35 Leagues, they descended into those Plains which run along by the Sea-coast: All this Countrey by the Sea-coast, the Indians call *Tanca*, which is as much as to say, the Hot Countrey, under which name are comprehended all the Vallies which border on the Sea; and the Spaniards call the Low grounds Vallies, which are watered by the streams that fall from the Mountains; for in that Countrey, that part is only habitable which lyes towards the Sea; all the rest being dry, is nothing but dead and barren Sands, where grows neither Grasse, nor Herb, nor any thing for the sustenance of Mankind.

On that side, by which the Incas passed into those Plains, lyes the Vale of *Hacari*, which is wide, rich and well peopled, and which in times past contained 20000 Indians; all which with much willingness submitted to the obedience and service of the Inca. This Vale of *Hacari* led them into other Vales called *Vainna*, *Cama*, *Caravilla*, *Piña*, *Quelca*, and others, which run for the space of 70 Leagues North and South along the Coast of the Sea of *Zur*: All which Vales here named, are each above 20 Leagues long from the desert to the Sea, and all watered by streams on one side and the other; some of which are so full and plentiful, that after they have supplied the Lands with sufficient moisture, the remainder empties it self into the Sea; and others perhaps having refreshed the Lands for two or three Leagues from their Source or Fountain-head, are afterwards absorbed, or drank up by the driness of the Earth. The General *Auqui Titu*, and his Captains, having reduced all these Vallies to obedience without fighting one stroke,

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rendred an account to the *Inca* of their success; and particularly, that having made enquiry into the secret customs of those Natives, and into their Rites and Ceremonies, as also what Gods they worshipped: They observed and found, that their chief Deity was the Fish which they killed and eat; and also, that there were Sodomyes amongst them; but howsoever, that this wickedness was not general or common to all the Vallies, but to some few; nor was it openly practised, but in secret, being that which nature and the light of humane reason did abhor. They farther likewise acquainted the *Inca*, that being arrived to the utmost bounds which are terminated by the Sea, there remained on that side no other Land to subdue. The *Inca* was much pleased with the Relation of these Conquests, and much more, that it had cost no blood; wherefore he sent to Command his Souldiers, that having left and established such Orders as were necessary for the government and security of those Countries, they should return to *Cusco*; but first, that they should make strict inquisition concerning those who were esteemed guilty of that unnatural sin of Sodomy, and not only burn those alive in a publick place, who were evidently convicted of that crime, but even those who were but so much as suspected thereof; that they should also burn and destroy their Houses, their Trees and Inheritance, leaving them a sad spectacle to their neighbours and acquaintance. And farther, the *Inca* commanded that they should proclaim and publish this his Edict against Sodomy for the future to be, That whosoever should be found guilty of this abomination, that not onely he should be destroyed in particular, but likewise his Relations, his Neighbours, and all the Inhabitants of the parts round should be punished with the same destruction, ruine and desolation.

All which being performed exactly according to the pleasure and direction of the *Inca*, this new Law was with great admiration and astonishment of the Natives put into execution on the Offendours; for being a crime so shameful and detestable to the *Inca*, and his proper Subjects, the mention and name thereof was not without some abhorrence taken into their mouths; so that if any *Indian*, who was a Native of *Cusco*, should at any time in passion revile his neighbour with that word and opprobrious term, he was presently looked upon as one defiled, and for many days polluted, untill his mouth were cleansed from a word so filthy and detestable.

The General and his Officers having in this manner executed all the Commands of the *Inca*, they returned to *Cusco*, where they were received in great triumph, and rewarded with honours and favours agreeable to their merit. But many years had not passed after these Conquests, before the *Inca*, *Capac Tupanqui*, resolved to begin a new Expedition in person for enlargement of his Dominions on the side of *Collasuyu*; (for as yet in his late Marches he had not passed the Divisions of *Contisuyu*) so that in order hereunto, he commanded that twenty thousand select men should be put in a readiness against the following year. And that in the mean time nothing should be omitted, which might contribute to the due administration of his Government, he appointed his Brother *Aqui Titu* to remain Deputy in his place, and that the four Major-Generals which had accompanied him in the last Wars should be his Counsellours. Into their places he chose four other Generals, and both they and all the Captains and Officers of the Army were not of less degree or quality than that of an *Inca*; for though the Forces which came from divers Provinces were conducted by their own Chief or Commander, yet afterwards, when they came to be united with the Imperial Army, an *Inca* was given to preside over them, so that the Chief became, as it were, his Lieutenant; by which means the whole Army had *Incas* for their Officers, and yet none seemed to be displaced or acquitted of his charge. By which method and policy in government, things were preserved in their just balance; for unless it were in matters of Law and Justice, which admitted of no dispensation, it was a Maxim amongst the *Incas* never to disoblige their *Curacas*, but in every thing to render their Yoke so easie and gentle, that the *Indians* might be fond of it; and that the love of the people might be the basis and foundation of their Government. Moreover, the *Inca* thought fit to take his Son, who was his Heir, to accompany him; for though he were young, yet his years were capable of education and practice in the War.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

Two Curacas, of great Power and Authority, refer their differences to the Arbitrement of the Inca, and become his Subjects.

THE appointed time for this expedition being come, *Capac Tupanqui* departed from *Cusco*, and marched as far as the Lake of *Paria*, which was the ultimate bound or limit of his Fathers Conquest; and in the way, as he marched he gathered the recruits which divers Provinces had made ready for him, not omitting to visit the Nations, as he passed, that so he might favour and honour them with his presence; the which they esteemed to high an obligation, that in divers Countries they have noted the places with a particular remark, where the *Inca* pitched his Camp, or where they sent him provisions, or refreshed himself; the which places to this day the *Indians* conserve in great Veneration, as if the ground had been hallowed by his sacred feet.

So soon as the *Inca* arrived at the Lake of *Paria*, all the neighbouring People submitted themselves to his Service and Jurisdiction; some of which inclined to Obedience out of an esteem they had of his gentle and wise Government, and others out of fear, and dread of the power, which they were not able to resist. In these Marches Messengers arrived at the Court, from two great Captains in the Division of *Collasuyu*, who made War one on the other. These two powerful *Curacas* were descended from two great Generals, who in times past, before the Empire of the *Incas*, being Souldiers of Courage and Bravery, raised separate Armies; and began each to set up for himself, and lay foundation for Authority and Power: But as Rule and Empire can bear no Equal, or Competitor, these two great Men turned their Arms one against the other, and continued a War during the whole course of their Lives: the which created such animosities between their People, that their Children inherited the like anger, and took up the same occasion of Quarrel, which was never decided untill the *Inca*, *Capac Tupanqui* determined their differences.

For these People observing the constant miseries of War, in which they were engaged, destroying one the other without advantage; for that their courage, and skill in war being equal, neither submitted to the other, or reaped other benefit than desolation, and the fatal consequences of War; they therefore agreed with mutual consent, and with concurrence of their Captains and Relations, to remit all their differences and quarrels to the sole Arbitrement and determination of the *Inca*, *Capac Tupanqui*, resolving to stand to whatsoever he should sentence in determination of Right, and accommodation of the Quarrels, and for moderating the heats and fury between them. These terms being resolved, they both desired and courted the acquaintance of the *Inca*, whose Fame and Reputation for Justice and Equity, derived from his ancient Progenitors, and the great Actions which he had performed, with the assistance and help of his Father, the Sun, were published and made known to all those Nations. One of these great Lords was called *Cari*, and the other *Chipana*, both which were the Names of their Fathers, and which each of them conserved from Father to Son, successively for many Generations, in remembrance of their Ancestours, and for a motive to imitate and follow their Bravery and Valour. *Pedro de Cieça* in his History touches this passage briefly, and calls one of these *Curacas* *Cari*, and the other *Capana*. These Persons having understood that the *Inca* proceeded in his Conquests, in all parts adjacent, dispatched their Messengers, to render him a particular account of all the Wars, Differences and Disputes which were between them, beseeching him that he would be pleased to permit them licence to appear in his presence, that they might kiss his hands, and give him a more large relation of the grounds and causes of their

their Quarrels and Differences; being desirous to remit all their pretensions to the sole determination, and arbitrement of his Majesty, for in regard that he was descended from the Sun, they were assured of his Justice and Rectitude, and that his Sentences were infallible, and therefore protested that they would adhere unto and rest satisfied with whatsoever he should declare to be his Judgment and ultimate Decision in their Controversie.

The *Inca* having heard the Message, gave answer, That the *Curacas* might be pleased to come at such time as would best suit with their convenience, and that then he would use his best endeavours to bring them to a right understanding of each other; of which he did not entertain the least doubt, in regard that he, resolving to consult the Wisdom of his Father the Sun in their case, and apply his Ordinances and Laws to the present difference, the Judgment he should pronounce would be infallible, and uncapable of any Error or Mistake.

This gracious Answer was very satisfactory to the *Curacas*, so that they both met before the *Inca* at the time appointed, and both at the same time cast themselves on their knees, and kissed his Hand, that neither might seem to have a preference before the other. *Cari*, whose Lands bordered nearest on the frontiers of the *Inca*, was the first that had the privilege to speak in the name of them both, rendering a large account of the differences which were between them, and of the Original from whence they did arise; he declared, That their Quarrel was enflamed by Envy and Emulation, whensoever one observed the other to gain and advance in honour, and to be more prosperous than himself; sometimes Covetousness was the motive, when both designed on each others Territories; but most commonly the Boundaries and Limits of their respective Jurisdictions was the occasion of their Wars: For determination of which they presented themselves before his Majesty, humbly imploring his sacred Sentence and Arbitrement to determine those Wars, of which they were weary, and which had for many years wasted their Countries, to the great Misery and Desolation of each others People and Subjects. The *Inca* heard and received their Request with his accustomed gentleness and favour, and ordered that for the present two of his Captains, who were *Incas*, and ancient Counsellours, should severally take one of these *Curacas* into his charge and tuition, to teach and instruct him in the Laws of Nature, which were the Rules the *Incas* observed in the Government of their People, that so they might live in peace and unity, and giving unto every one his due and right, both in Estate and Honour. And as to the differences which arose about the Bounds and Extent of their respective Jurisdictions, he told them that he would send two *Incas*, who were of his Kindred, to take Informations from the *Curacas* of the Provinces, concerning the Cause and Original of their long continued War and Quarrel. The which being performed, and the *Inca* maturely advised in every particular, he debated the matters with his Council, and then calling the *Curacas* before him, he told them in few words, That his Father the Sun had revealed unto him, that the onely way and means to reconcile these dissenting Parties, was to enjoin them to keep his Laws and Precepts, the design and intent of which was to conserve Peace and Concord in the World, and that since War produces nothing but Destruction, a proof and evidence whereof they had by their own, which had wasted each others force, they should now at length be advised to Peace, lest they both become a prey to some other, who observing their enfeebled and consumed condition, may take his opportunities to invade them in their weakness, and destroy them both: And as to the Limits of their respective Territories, he appointed that heaps of Stones, or Mounts should be cast up, for Land-marks and Boundaries of their Frontiers, which being passed and invaded in a hostile manner, should be accounted a breach and violation of the Peace on the side of the first Aggressor. Lastly, he told them, That this was the Sentence and final Determination of his Father the Sun, for procuring Peace, and ending all strife and variance between them; and that since they had by mutual consent constituted him the Umpire and Arbitrator of their Differences, he protested that he confirmed the Sentence of his Father, and resolved to proceed severely against him who should give the first occasion to violate the same.

The

The *Curacas* replied, That they would sincerely obey his Majesty, and that out of a respect they bore to his Service, they promised to be his true Friends and faithful Allies.

Afterward these *Caciques*, *Cari* and *Chipana*, being in private together, entered into Discourse concerning the Laws of the *Inca*, the Government of his House and Court, and the rare administration of Justice through his whole Kingdom, where no Injury or Offence passed without punishment; but more particularly they observed the gentle compulsion and soft violence he used in his War, as also the sweetness of his temper, and Impartial Behaviour towards them both; all which being rare and admirable evidences of his Excellencies and Vertues, they both resolved, after some short conference together, to yield themselves and Subjects to the Service and Devotion of the *Inca*. And hereunto they were more easily inclined, because they perceived that the *Inca* began to approach near to them, and to have his Confinnes contiguous with their Frontiers, and therefore considered that it was good to make a Vertue of Necessity, and seem to do that out of Choice and free Will, rather than by being compelled to what is irresistible, loose all the merit of a voluntary Submission. With this Resolution presenting themselves before the *Inca*, they implored His Majesty's Protection, vowing unto him all Homage and Obedience, desiring also that he would be pleased to send Instructors to them, who might direct them and their Subjects in the Laws of his Father the Sun, and inform them of all particulars which may be requisite for his service.

In answer whereunto the *Inca* told them, That he accepted their good Intentions, and would watch all occasions to require them; then he commanded that such Vests should be given to the *Caciques*, as he himself wore, and to their Kindred and Attendance, Garments of a courser Thread, for which they made many acknowledgments of Duty and Obligation. In this manner the *Inca* reduced those several People and Provinces to his Empire, which within the Division of *Collasuyu* were subjected to the Dominion of those *Caciques*. Moreover he added to these new Conquests the Countries of *Peco*, *Araucan*, *Mancu*, *Caracana*, and all those other Provinces which run as far Eastward as the great Mountain of *Antis*, together with all that waste and desert Country which reaches to the borders of that Province which is called *Tapacari*, and now by the *Spaniards* *Tapacari*, containing in breadth thirty Leagues; and by reason of the coldness of it is much unpeopled; howsoever it is fruitful in pastures, and abounds with all sort of Cattel and wild Beasts, and is full of Fountains, so hot, that none can suffer his hand in it for a moments space; and yet what is still more observable, there are other Springs, not far from thence, of cold and pleasant Waters, both which meeting afterwards together, make that River, which is called *Cochapampa*.

Having traversed this desert Country, which abounds, (as we have said) with Fountains and Pastures, there appears a Mountain, which descends for seven Leagues, and leads to the plain of the Province *Tapacari*, where my Master *Garcilasso de la Vega*, had his first proportion allotted to him in the Lands of *Peru*: It is a Country very fruitfull and populous, stored with all sorts of Cattel, for the space of twenty Leagues in length, and about twelve in breadth: About eight Leagues farther, is that most pleasant Province of *Cochapampa*, which is a Valley of thirty Leagues long, and four broad, all which is made fruitfull by a plentiful River, that waters the whole Country: These two pleasant Provinces, with divers others, were the inheritance of *Cari* and *Chipana*, (as before related) and were now added to the Dominion and Empire of the *Incas*, extending seventy Leagues in length.

In these parts, because they were pleasant and fertile, the *Spaniards* in the Year 1575. settled a Colony, which they called *St. Peter of Cardena*, so named by the chief and first Planter thereof, who was a Gentleman, and a Native of *Burgos*, called Captain *Lewis Olorio*.

The Matters of these two *Caciques* being in this manner ordered and disposed, the *Inca* commanded two of his principal Officers to make a survey of their Countries, and to take with them such Persons as were proper and able to govern those new Subjects, and instruct and teach them in the Laws they were now to observe,

serve. And thus the *Inca* having finished this work, which he esteemed sufficient for that year, and more than was expected, he returned to *Cusco*, accompanied with the two *Caciques*, who were curious to see the splendor of the *Indian* Court, where they were kindly received, and treated with Banquets and Sports; and because it was pleasing to the *Inca*, the whole City endeavoured to honour and care for them with all the demonstrations imaginable of Civility and Respect. After some days thus passed, he gave them liberty to return into their own Dominions, being greatly satisfied with the entertainment they had received, and at their departure he gave them to understand, that he intended speedily to visit their Countries again, that so he might reduce those *Indians* which inhabited the parts beyond them, and that therefore they should make such provisions as were necessary for the support and maintenance of his Army and Attendance.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Bridge made with Straw, Rushes and Flags; and how Chayanta was reduced at that place where the Lake empties it self.

THE *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, was so much pleased with the convenience and success of the last Bridge, which (as we said) was built at *Huacachaca*, over the River of *Apurimac*, that he ordered another of the like sort to be made at that place where the Lake *Titicaca* empties it self, that so it might be in a readiness against the time that he intended to return to complete his Conquests in the Division of *Collasuyu*; and because those Countries were plain, and commodious for the march of an Army, the *Incas* were unquiet until they could make a complete and entire Conquest of all that Division. The Bridge of *Huacachaca*, as also all the others which are in *Peru*, are made of Oser, only that which passes the water called by the *Spaniards*, *The Conduit*, because it is the vent by which the Lake empties it self, is made of Flags and Rushes, and such like materials: This passes over the water, as that at *Seville*, which is made upon Boats, and is not arched, as that we have formerly mentioned. There is a sort of Rushes which grow over all *Peru*, that are of a fine and pliant sort, convenient and easie to weave with, the *Indians* call them *Yehu*, which they use in thatching their Houses. That sort which grows in *Collao* is excellent feeding for the Cattle, and of which they make their Baskets and Hampers, like little Chests with covers, (called by them *Patacas*) and hereof also they make Cords and Ropes; the best sort of these Rushes grows in the River which falls from the Lake *Titicaca*, whereof there is great abundance, as also of Flags and Bulrushes, and a sort called *Enea*. The *Indians* cut great quantities hereof, at the proper seasons of the year, of which they make provisions, to be dried and prepared for service of the Bridge, as occasions shall require. With these Rushes they twisted four great Ropes, as big as a Man's Leg, two of which they cast over the River, and fastened them on each side: This water on the top or *superficies* of it, seems still and quiet, but towards the bottom runs with a strong current, as some say that have made an experiment of it. These Ropes, or Cables, which serve in the place of Boats, are covered with great bundles of Flags and Rushes, all twisted and twined one within the other; and over these they throw the other two great Ropes, to keep down and strengthen the whole work; over these Ropes they cast great quantities of Rushes, twined into lesser cords, about the bigness of a Man's Arm, woven one within the other, and made so firm and close, that neither the trampling of Beasts or the Feet of Men can break or disorder them. These smaller cords the *Spaniards* call



the floor of the Bridge, which Bridge was about thirteen or fourteen Foot broad, and about a Yard thick, and about an hundred and fifty Paces in length; so that we may imagine what a vast quantity of Rushes is required for a work of this nature. It is moreover observable, that this Bridge requires reparations every six Months, or rather, to be made new, for the whole composition of it being nothing but Straw and Rushes, which are fading and decaying materials, must be often renewed, especially the Ropes or Cables, which are the main traves of the work, must be maintained, and kept in good repair. This Bridge, as likewise all other publick conveniences, were in the times of the *Incas* kept up, and maintained at the charge and labour of the neighbouring Countries; so that many Hands making light work, and the materials provided from year to year, the good order observed, made it a matter without much trouble or difficulty. The end of these main Cables, which were the Foundation of this sort of Bridge, were fixed in the ground, and not seiled, or made fast to Rocks of Stone, as some others were; and the *Indians* say, that this is the better invention, for that this Bridge may be removed, and carried either higher or lower on the River, as occasion requires.

The Bridge being thus made and completed, the *Inca*, with his eldest Son and Heir, departed from *Cusco*, travelling by short journies, untill they arrived at the remotest parts of those Provinces which belonged to *Cari* and *Chipana*, being those Countries which we formerly mentioned by the names of *Tapacri* and *Cochapampa*, where the *Caciques* attended in a readiness with their Souldiers to receive the *Inca*. From *Cochapampa* they proceeded forward to *Chayanta*, and in their way thither they passed a most desolate and barren Countrey, where is not one Foot of good Ground, but onely Stones and Rocks; and which produces nothing but Bushes bearing Thorns, as long as a Man's finger, and which the *Indians* use for Needles to sew the poor Drapery they wear; and which sort of Thorn grows common in all parts of *Peru*: Having passed this desert, which contains about twenty Leagues in length, and about as much in breadth, they entred into *Chayanta*; where the *Inca* commended the Prince his Son to send the Summons which were usual, and customary to the Inhabitants of that Province.

At the receipts of these Summons the *Indians* were divided into different opinions; some were for present Submission and Obedience to this celestial Race which was descended from the Sun, being assured all those Laws which were given and imposed by such an infallible Light, could not be other than just, gentle, and such as tended rather to the Liberty and Security of the Subjects, than to the Interest and Advantage of the Governour. Howsoever others that were of a different sentiment, and more stubborn in their humour, argued, That they had no need of a King, or new Laws, since that those which they had already were good and profitable, and such as their Ancestours had lived under with great happiness and security; that they had Gods already of their own, whom they worshipped and served, and knew no necessity that there was of a new Religion, or Customs; and what was most grievous, that they must submit to the pleasure of a Prince, who preached Religion and Sanctity to them, and made them promises of Privilege and Liberty; whenas perhaps to morrow, so soon as he had gained them under his power, he would then impose such Laws as were slavish and agreeable to his own Lust and Pleasure; and therefore they concluded, that it was better not to trust to such a hazard, but rather to live in their own freedom, or else die in the defence of it.

In this Suspence matters remained for some days, both parties insisting on the truth of their opinions, untill at length the fear of compulsion from the *Inca*, and the hopes of receiving good and wholesome Laws from him, extorted an answer which was dubious, and favouring something of both opinions; for they declared that they were willing to receive the *Inca* for their King and Lord, but as to his Laws, they were ignorant of them, not knowing whether they conducted to their Benefit or Damage; untill which time, that they were informed of the substance and form of them, they desired a cessation of Arms, and of all violence, and that the *Inca*, with his Army, might enter into their Countrey upon parole, that in case his Laws proved not to their contentment, that then he would quit his station, and leave them to their own freedom and liberty; but if they appeared as good as he vouched and affirmed them to be, that then immediately they would

would submit and prostrate themselves before him, and acknowledge him to be of the true race and progeny of the Sun.

Though this people was in no capacity of giving conditions to the *Inca*, yet he was pleased to accept such as they offered: being resolved to adhere to the old Maxim of his Ancestours, which was rather to conquer with love and affection, than by force; and therefore he assured them on his word, that in case they did not think to adore his Father the Sun, nor yet to accept his Laws, he would then leave them to their own choice and freedom: The which promise he made on an undoubted confidence, that so soon as those Mysteries and excellent Secrets were revealed to them, they could not but accept and embrace them; and that they would only be troubled, that such admirable beauty of reason arrived so late to their hearing and knowledge.

Upon this assurance and promise the *Inca* entered into *Chayama*, where he was received with much awe and veneration, but not with that mirth and rejoycing as they used in other parts at this Solemnity: For as yet these poor people stood wavering between hope and fear, untill the Reverend Counsellours deputed by the *Inca*, with the Prince his Son and Heir, took some pains for several days to declare, and expound to them the Laws relating to their Idolatrous Religion, and to their Secular Government: the which they inculcated so frequently, and with such patience and plainness, untill at length they became capable of that Doctrine which they taught. The *Indians* stood gazing all this while with wonderfull attention, admiring that such Laws should be made for their honour and advantage; and then burst out into Acclamations, saying, That worthy were they to be accounted Gods; and esteemed for Lords of the Universe, who were able to frame and deliver such Laws and Statutes to Mankind; the which they promised to receive and obey; and that renouncing all their former Idols, rites and vain customs, they vowed and swore to embrace the Religion of the *Inca*; and in token thereof they prostrated themselves before the Prince, who represented the Person of his Father the Sun, and the *Inca*, *Capti Tiyaymhi*.

Having thus yielded themselves in a solemn manner, they fell to Dancing after the fashion of their Countrey, shewing some new Dances which they had purposely made for the entertainment of the *Incas*; and all people habited themselves in their best cloathes, with Tinsel and Ribbons, singing Ballads made in honour and praise of the Sun, and the *Incas*, and of their good Laws and Government; and in fine, they made all the demonstrations of love and affection imaginable.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the many Inventions which the Indians made to pass Rivers, and to take Fish.

HAVING already mentioned the two several sorts of Bridges, which the *Incas* made for passing Rivers; one of which was composed of Officers, and the other of Rushes and Canes. We shall now proceed to declare some other Inventions which the *Indians* projected for the same purpose; for in regard the labour and charge of making Bridges was so great, that they were only made for convenience of the great Roads and the King's High-ways; and that the Countrey being in other places large and wide, wanted that convenience whereby the people might maintain communication one with the other; wherefore Necessity, which is the Mother of Ingenuity, taught them several contrivances according to the disposition and nature of the Rivers; as also how to swim on the Seas with such floats, as served their present occasions; for they had not as yet attained to

the Invention of Boats, or such Canoes, as they use in *Florida*, or the Isles of *Bahama*, and other places of the Main Land, which are a sort of Troughs hewed out of Timber, and are all of one piece: but the Wood in *Pera* is not fit for this use, being sappy, and heavy as Iron, and therefore not boyant, as the nature of such floats require: Wherefore they made choice of another sort, of a more light and spongy Timber, which grows in the Provinces of *Quito*, from whence, by order of the *Inca*, many Trees were felled, and brought down to the banks of the Rivers: Hereof they made all their Boats greater, or lesser, some of them were of five, others of seven pieces of Wood, which served for the bottom, tied one to the other, that in the middle being the biggest: The first Boards on the side were something shorter than those of the Keel; the second above were shorter, and the third shorter than those below; that so that being pinched in above, and not all of the same breadth, the Vessel would find less resistance in its motion through the Water; and the Stern and the Head of the Boat were both of the same fashion: To both the ends of these Boats they fastned a Cord, so that Passengers being desirous to Ferry over, they drew the Cord on one side; and being to return, they drew that which was fastned to the other. I remember that I passed a River in one of these Ferries; which because it had been made in a time when the *Incas* reigned, the people accounted it a Relique, and had it in great esteem and veneration.

Besides these Ferries, they have other lesser Boats more manageable, made of Canes and Reeds, closely woven, and shaped upwards sharp, like the Prow of a Boat, that they may with less resistance cut the Water: the Mid-ships are made broad, and wide, and capacious to receive the Loading: One of these Boats is governed by a single Indian, who places himself at the Stern, and lying on his breast with his hands and feet on each side in the water instead of Oars, he Sculls and Steers along with the current to the place he designs: If the current be very rapid, they row, along the bank of the River to take the advantage of a hundred paces upwards, making account that the swiftness of the stream will carry them 200 paces downwards before they can reach the other side: When a Passenger Ferries over, they order him to lye flat on his face, stretched at length in the Boat, with his face towards the Ferry-man, and to hold himself fast by the Cords, and by no means to rise or stir, or so much as open his eyes. I once crossed a very swift current in one of these Boats, which is something hazardous; (though on smooth and still waters there is no danger) I then remember that the Ferry-man conjured me, with all the Loves in the World, that I would neither lift up my head, nor open my eyes: I being then but a Boy, was so affrighted, that I thought either the Earth would sink, or the Heavens fall: Howsoever, I could not for my life but lift up my head, and open at least one of my eyes to see if there were any enchantment, or some discovery of a New World in the matter; and being in the middle, I lifted up my head a little, and seeing the water round, me-thoughts we had fallen from Heaven above; and I became so giddy, that my brains turned, and swam faster than the Boat, which was carried with a very rapid and violent stream; so that I presently shut my eyes again, and confessed that the Boat-man had much reason for the caution he gave me.

They have likewise another sort of Float made of large Gourds, joined and fastned strongly together, about the bigness of a Yard and a half square: Hereunto they fit a Rope in fashion of a Poitral to a Horse's Saddle, wherein the *Indian* Boat-man puts his head; with which swimming away, he Tows the Boat after him with her Lading, untill he passes to the other side of the River, or Arms of the Sea; and if the Lading be heavy, so that the Boat draws much water, he is then assisted by an Indian or two more, who push at the Stern, and drive the Boat forward.

But in those great Rivers, where the current is very forcible and rapid, so that they are not passable in these Boats of Gourds or Rushes; and where also the banks of the River are so rocky, that there is no place to Land either on one shore or the other: there they make use of their great Cables made of Canes, called *Chabmar*, which they throw over from the higher parts of the craggy places, fastening them to great Trees or firm Rocks: Within this great Cable they put a Case, or Basket made of Officers, capable to receive three or four persons; to each end whereof they fix an Ear, or handle of Wood, through which they pass the Cords for drawing it from one side to the other; and in regard the Cable is very

large, it hath a mighty fving and fall in the middle; and therefore they lore the Ropes of the Basket very easily, and by degrees, untill it comes to the middle, which is the lowest part of the Cable; and thence by main force they draw it upwards. There are certain *Indians* who live near that place, and are appointed by the Countrey for that work, and are very assifant and helpfull to Passengers without any consideration of interest, or payment whatsoever. Some Passengers who have used that kind of Ferry, putting their legs and feet in the basket, have without other help than their armes and hands onely forced themselves upwards upon the Cable. I remember, when I was a Boy, that I passed this way three or four times; but being very young, the *Indians* carried me on their backs; in the same manner they transport their Cattel on the other side; but this is done with much more trouble: For but few of them can pass at a time, and those of the lesser sort, such as Sheep, Goats and Kids, which they tie fast within the basket; and as for Mules, Horses, Asses or Cows, they are of too great a burthen for this sort of Ferry, but are driven about to the great Bridges, or to shallower places, where the River is fordable. This kind of passage the *Indians* call *Uruga*, and is onely made use of by the Countrey people, that have occasion to pass from one side to the other; but in the great Roads the convenience is better.

The *Indians* all along the Coast of *Pern*, Fish in their little Boats made of Rushes, and adventure four or five Leagues out at Sea in them, and farther if occasion require; for that Sea is called the Pacifick, being calm for the most part, and not subject to bad weather; but when they carry things of great burthen, they use Floats made of Timber. The Fisher-men, when they go to Sea, kneel down in their Boats, and sit on their legs, and so row with a Paddle made of a large Cane, cleft towards the end; for in that Countrey they have great Canes, which are as big as a Man's thigh; of which we shall treat more largely hereafter. This Cane they hold with both hands, one being placed at the top, and the other in the middle; and the end being made broad in the shape of an Oar, they Row their Boat forward; the Boat being very light, feels every stroke of the Oar, and turns, then they change the hand to the other side, and so shift it over again, which moves the Boat with an incredible swiftness.

Then for their Fishery, when they go to take great Fish, they use a Fisgig in the same manner as they strike Whales with in *Biscay*. To this Fisgig, which is a sharp Spear at the end of a Staff, they fasten a line of about 20, 30 or 40 fathom in length, the end of which they tie to the head of the Boat; the Fish being strook, the *Indian* veers his Line, and gives him Rope as fast as he can; and when he hath given it all out, he then plays with the Fish untill it is quite tired; and so mastering it, they take it, and some of them are of an incredible bigness. They Fish also with Nets and Hooks; but they make no great matter of their Fishing in that manner; for their Nets being small and manageable by one Man, can never inclose any number; and their Hooks being ill made, not knowing the use of Steel or Iron, they take very few with that Art; for though they have Mines of both Metals, yet they know not how to separate and purifie the Ore: Their Boats of Rushes are not able to bear Sail, because they have no Keel, nor hold in the water, and perhaps make better way with a Paddle, than with a Sail; though on their Floats made of Wood, they set up a Sail, which serves them better for the Wind.

These are the Arts which the *Indians* have invented for making short Voyages on the Seas, and for passing swift and rapid currents; the which have received little improvement, for they were in use when I was there, and believe they have still continued in the same manner without alteration; for they being a poor sort of miserable people, of mean dejected spirits, follow the old road, not aspiring to greater matters, than a supply of their necessities. In the History of *Florida*, the sixth Book, treating there of their *Canoes*, we have touched upon their contrivances to Pass and Navigate on Rivers, which have a swift and rapid current; so that now we shall not enlarge farther thereupon, but rather proceed to the other Conquests of the *Inca*, *Casac Tupanqui*.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Conquest of five large Provinces, besides others of less consideration.

THE *Inca* having secured the Countrey of *Chayanta* with a sufficient force and supplied it with Officers requisite for administration both of their religious and civil Government. He proceeded forward to other adjacent Provinces, amongst which *Charca* was of great Renown, comprehending many different Nations and Languages under its Dominion; all which were in the Division of *Colasuyu*: The chief or principal Countreies of which were *Tuturu*, *Sipispe*, *Chagui*; to the Eastward of which, and towards the Mountain *Antis*, are other Provinces called *Chamuna*, where grows great plenty of the Herb which they call *Coca*, though it be not so good as that which grows about *Cocca*. There is also another Province named *Sacaca*, with divers more, which for brevity sake we omit; to all which the *Inca* sent his Summons in his accustomed form and manner.

These several Nations, who had already been informed of all the particulars which had passed in *Chayanta*, returned their answers much after the same manner; the substance of all which was, That it was their great honour to have the knowledge of so holy a Religion, as that which enjoined them to adore the Sun, and to serve the *Inca*, who was descended from him; and that they had the privilege to be offered such good and wholesome Laws for their Government: And therefore desiring his Majesty to receive them under his potent Protection, they resigned up their lives and fortunes to his disposal; and in regard, that having received new Laws and superstitious Rites, differing from those of their adjacent Neighbours, they stood in great danger of having their Apostacy revenged by them; they therefore desired, that those people also might be reduced, and obliged to embrace the same Laws, Religion and Worship with them.

The *Inca* returned them answer, That they should not need to trouble themselves for those matters, but that they should rather with entire confidence remit all their care unto him, who knew the times and ways best for their protection, being assured that their subjection to him was their best security, and that none had ever suffered for receiving his Laws and Vassalage, but rather lived with joy and comfort under those infallible Oracles which the Sun had graciously dispensed to them. With these assurances this people, without other Queries or Demurs, yielded themselves; on which particulars we shall not farther enlarge, in regard nothing of moment offers on that subject. In this Conquest the *Inca* spent two, and some say three years; and having left Guards sufficient in the Countrey to curb and prevent all Incurfions of the Neighbourhood, he returned to *Cocca*, visiting in his way all those Nations which had formerly submitted themselves; he commanded the Prince his Son to take another way, that so he might please his Subjects in other parts, who esteemed themselves highly honoured with the presence of their Kings and Princes.

The Entry which the *Inca* made to his Court was very Magnificent and Royal, being attended by his own Captains, and with the *Circacas* of the late subjected Provinces, who out of honour to the *Inca*, and curiosity to see the Imperial Court, made up some part of his Equipage; and the people with Demonstrations of Joy and Triumph were not wanting to welcome the return of their *Inca*. Some few days after the Prince *Rocca* likewise came, whose Arrival the people also celebrated with Dances and Songs in praise of his Noble and Victorious Actions. Then the *Inca* having gratified his Commanders for their pains and faithfulness in the late Expedition, he gave them leave to return to their own Houses, there to enjoy repose and rest after their long and tedious journeys; and residing now at his own Court, he attended to the government and administration of those matters which respected the happiness and advantage of his Subjects; for his Territories

were now become very large, extending from *Cusco* along the Coast of that Sea which is called *Zur*, above one hundred and eighty Leagues as far as *Tutuya* and *Chagui*; then to the Westward from the City, the Dominion reached seventy Leagues one way, and eighty another: and to the Eastward it ran to the River *Pancar tampu*, being thirteen Leagues full East from the City; and to the South-east forty Leagues; so that the Empire being grown thus large and wide, the *Inca* thought fit for some time to fix boundaries to his Conquests, that so he might attend to the conservation of what he had already gained, and to the benefit and security of his Subjects: And now living for some years in peace and plenty, he had leisure to enrich and adorn the Temple of the Sun, and of those selected Virgins which the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, had endowed: he also built many other Edifices, both within and without the City, and in divers Provinces, where they were most to advantage. He made likewise Aqueducts, and opened Springs for watering the grounds; he built divers Bridges to pass Rivers and Streams, to the great convenience of publick Roads; he opened divers new ways for commodious travel, and for better communication of one Province with another. In short, he omitted nothing which might conduce to the publick benefit, to the advantage of his Subjects, and to the greater Glory and Grandeur of his own Majesty.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Prince Inca Rocca reduces many and great Provinces, both within the Land, and along the Sea-coast.

IN these, and such like Affairs, the *Inca* employed himself, for the space of six or seven years; and then it was judged fit to reassume again the thoughts of War: for the farther enlargement of Empire; to which end orders were given for raising an Army of twenty thousand men, under the conduct of four Major Generals, and of the Prince *Rocca*, who was to command in Chief: The Design was to march towards *Chinchafayn*, which lies Northward from *Cusco*; on which side their Dominion did not reach farther than *Rimac tampu*, which was not above seven Leagues, and was the utmost Bounds in those Quarters to which the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, had proceeded; since which time the other *Incas* did not esteem it worthy the troubles of a Conquest, being a Countrey desolate, rocky and without Inhabitants.

The Prince leaving *Cusco*, came to the River *Apurimac*, which he passed on great floars, prepared for that purpose; and because the Countrey was desolate, he proceeded as far as *Curahuaci*, and *Amancay* being about eight or ten Leagues from the City, and without any opposition reduced all those poor *Indians* where-soever he passed. From the Province *Amancay* he took to the left hand along the great road, which leads from *Cusco* to *Rimac*, and leaving the Desert which is called *Cachacalla*, being about twenty two Leagues over, he entred into the Province called *Sura*, which is very populous, and rich, both in Gold and Cattel, and where the *Inca* was received with ready submission. Thence he proceeded to the next Province, called *Apucara*, where also he was received without opposition; for in regard these Countries were always at enmity together, they were not able to unite in a common League, nor yet resist in a single condition.

From *Apucara* he marched forward to the Province *Rucana*, which is divided into two parts, the lesser and the greater: The People hereof are both beautiful in their Bodies, and ingenious in their Minds, by advantage of which they more easily apprehended the felicity they should obtain under the Government of the *Inca*, and therefore with joy and applause received his Commands. Thence he descended

descended to the Sea Coast, which the *Spaniards* call the *Lanar*, and passed the first Valley, which in those parts hath the name of *Nanasca*, which signifies doleful, or dismal; what might be the occasion of this Epithet, is not certain, but it is believed that it might be from some great punishment, or calamity, which had happened there; the *Spaniards* call it *Lanasca*, where also the *Inca* was received without opposition, and obeyed without conditions; the like submission was yielded by the Inhabitants of all the Vallies from *Nanasca* to *Arequipa*, which lies by the Sea-coast for the space of above eighty Leagues in length, and fourteen or fifteen in breadth: the chief Vallies are *Hacari* and *Camata*, containing twenty thousand Inhabitants; there are other Vallies of less consideration, which are *Auca*, *Ucuma*, *Atiquipa* and *Quelica*, all which yielded ready Obedience, both because they neither had force to resist, being a poor naked People, and because every Valley had its particular Lord, and some of them two or three, amongst whom were perpetual Quarrels and Diffentions.

And since we are now treating of those places, it will not seem an improper Digression, though perhaps out of its due order; if we should recount a remarkable passage, which happened in the Valley of *Hacari*, some time after that the *Spaniards* were Masters of it. The occasion was this: Two *Curacas*, who had not as yet been baptized, were greatly at variance together, about the Limits or Bounds of their Jurisdictions, which increased so high, that they often endeavoured to decide the Difference in Battel; to prevent which, the *Spanish* Governors sent a Commissioner to them, with power to determine, and put a final end to their Disputes by a friendly and amicable Composition: The Judge, or Umpire, having heard both sides, allotted unto each such Boundaries as he thought did of right belong unto them, respectively obliging them to maintain Peace and Friendship together; which though they promised to do, one of them who thought himself injured and aggrieved by this Division, concealed his passion and intention to Revenge under the specious appearance of Friendship: for the Day being come, when the Solemnities of the Peace were to pass, they both ate and drank together; the Banquet being ended, the offended *Curaca* arose, and taking two Cups in his hand, filled with Liqueur; as if he intended to drink a Health to the confirmation of their Friendship, (as the custom amongst the *Indians* is) he offered one of the Cups, which was prepared with poison, to his Enemy, reserving the other, which was wholesome, for himself; but the other *Curaca* observing some change in the Countenance of him who made him the offer, and a Dissatisfaction in the terms he received, refused the Cup which he reached to him, desiring rather to have the other which he reserved for himself. The *Curaca*, not to seem cowardly, or to offer that which he refused himself, was easily persuaded to change his hands, and with that reached to his Enemy the wholesome Cup, and without difficulty drank up the Poison himself; of which dying in a few hours after, he gave a sufficient evidence, that the Draught was not more deadly than the Poison of his own Rage and Malice, with which he swelled and burst.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIX.

How Colonies were transplanted from parts on the Sea Coast to the Inland Countries.

FROM *Nanaska* the *Inca* translated some *Indians*, who were *Incas* of that Nation, to plant themselves on the River *Apurimac*, because that the Climate of that Region, from *Cusco* to *Rimac*, being very hot, agreed best with the Temperament or Constitution of the People of *Nanaska*, whose Country was in the same degree of heat with that of *Apurimac*, whereas on the contrary, the People which were transplanted from the Desert, which is a more cool and moderate Climate, were subject to Difeases and Calentures, and not able to support the intolerable heats; for which reason the *Incas* in the establishment of their Colonies, had always a respect to the Constitution of the People, that so they might not pass from one Extreme to another, but that their new Habitation might correspond in some degree with the Air of their native Soil. This regard the *Inca* having always to his Colonies, the People which he planted on the Banks of the River *Apurimac*, were extracted from the hotter Climates; but there was no need of great numbers for this occasion, because that most of the Land on both sides of that River is rocky and barren; only there are some pieces of good ground, which the *Inca* was desirous to have manured in the manner of Gardens, and places of Pleasure; because that soil which borders on the River, produces most excellent and rare Fruit.

Matters being settled in this posture, and every thing established in due order, relating to the Government of the new acquired Provinces, the Prince *Rocca* returned to *Cusco*, where he was kindly received by his Father, and the whole Court, and being then to disband his forces, he dismissed the Commanders with signal marks of his Favour and Esteem.

And now the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, finding himself to decay with Years, and to enter into a Region of Life, which required ease and repose, he resolved to put a full stop to the enlargement of his Conquests, and onely spend the remainder of his Days in the Administration of Justice, and performing matters tending to the Benefit and Advantage of his People. In this easiness several years passed, during which time the *Inca* performed the part of a kind and indulgent Prince, and the People of loving and loyal Subjects, who with all readiness and affection applied themselves to the service of the *Inca*; particularly in building the Temple of the Sun, and erecting other Edifices, wherein they shewed great willingness and diligence, because they were works recommended to them by the *Inca*; moreover they of their own accord, within the Division of every Province, built other Houses for the Convenience and Divertisement of the *Inca*.

In this Prosperity and Ease the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, died, with the Character of a valiant and able Prince, and worthy of the Title *Capac*, which caused him to be much lamented in the Court, and in all parts of his Kingdom, with deep Repentments; he was afterwards embalmed, and interred in the Sepulchre of his Fathers. He left for his Heir and Successor *Rocca*, his Eldest Son, which he had by *Coya Mama Curi-ylla*, his Wife and Sister; he left also many other Sons and Daughters, as well natural as legitimate, the precise number of which we cannot determine, though some say, that they were above Eighty, which is not much, for some of these *Incas* have arrived to a hundred, some two hundred, nay some are confidently reported to have had three hundred Sons and Daughters.

C H A P.

C H A P. XX.

The Description of the Temple of the Sun, and of its great Riches.

THE principal Idol in esteem both with the *Inca* and his Subjects, was the Imperial City of *Cusco* it self, which the *Indians* adored as a sacred Relique, both because it was founded by the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and because it was the Repository of innumerable Trophies acquired by Victory, and was the Seat and Throne of the *Incas*, who were esteemed for Gods. This superstition appeared in every little instance; for in case two *Indians* of equal quality did but meet on the way, one coming from *Cusco*, and the other travelling thither; he that came from thence, gave always the first salutation, and the upper hand to him who was going thither; and if he, who had been at this City, was ever after esteemed by his Neighbours as a Pilgrim or a Holy Man, how much more was he to be revered, who was a Citizen, or Native of the place: And in pursuance of this humour and opinion, whatsoever was said to come from *Cusco*, though it were but Lentils or Seeds, and did not surpass others of like kind in its Excellency, yet it had always the pre-eminence, and was thought an impiety to think or judge otherwise. To keep up this fancy and belief in the people, the *Incas* laboured to adorn and enoble the City with many Sumptuous Edifices and Royal Palaces, many of which they built for their own use, as we shall hereafter declare, when we come to describe the publick Buildings, amongst which there is none comparable to the Temple of the Sun, which was enriched with incredible Wealth; to which every *Inca* particularly added something, and improved and perfected that which his Predecessor had left deficient. The Riches of that Temple were so immense, that I should not adventure to describe them, did I not find them mentioned in all the *Spanish* Histories of *Peru*; but neither what they have wrote, nor I delivered, are able to reach the vastness of that real Wealth. The Building of this Temple is esteemed the Work of the King *Yupanqui*, the Great Grandfather of *Huayna Capac*; not that he was the Founder of it, having received its beginning from the first *Inca*, but because he completed the Adornment of it, and exalted it to those immense Riches and Majesty in which the *Spaniards* found it.

Now to describe this Temple; it is to be noted, that that place which was the Chamber of the Sun, is now the Church of the Divine St. *Dominick*; but because I have not the exact measures of the length and breadth of it, I omit to mention it at guess; onely that how large soever it be, it is all made of Freeze-stone well polished.

The High Altar (which for our better understanding we call by that Name, though the *Indians* knew not how to erect an Altar) is placed at the East-side; the Roof was flat, made of lofty Timber; but the Covering was thatched with Straw, because their Art arrived not to make other. All the four Walls of the Temple were Waincoated from the top to the bottom, with Panes and Frames of Wood all over gilded: In the upper place, where we seat the High Altar, was the Figure of the Sun drawn upon a Plate of Gold, much broader and thicker than the Boards which covered the Walls; this Figure represented the Face of the Sun in a round shape, with all his Rays and Emissions of Fire, and Light proceeding from him much in the same manner as our Painters draw him: The Figure was so great and large, that it took up all the Quarter of the Temple, from one Wall to another: Besides this Representation of the Sun, the *Indians* erected no other Idols in their Temples, because they did not acknowledge, nor adore any

any other Gods, though some Writers maintain a different opinion. When the *Spaniards* first entered the City of *Cusco*, this Figure of the Sun fell to the lot of a certain Nobleman called *Macio Serra de Leguizano*, whom I knew, and left there alive when I came thence for *Spain*; he was so great a Gamester at * *Primer*, and all other Games; that though the Image was very great, yet he made a shift to lose it in one Nights play; whence that Proverb came, as *Acosta* says, *Play for the Sun before the Day breaks*. Sometime after which, the Common-Council of the City taking notice, how much this Son or Member of theirs was given to play, and how much he lost, thought fit, as the best expedient to wean him from that Vice, to chuse him *Alcalde*, or Chief Justice in Ordinary, for the space of a year: In execution of which employment he applied himself with so much diligence and care in the discharge of his trust, that being a Gentleman of excellent parts, he took not a Card in hand for the whole year following; the City observing this his active diligence, continued him in Office for a year longer, and afterwards kept him constantly employed in one publick charge or other; so that this *Macio Serra* difusing his course of Gaming, came at length to abhor it, calling to mind the many dangers, troubles and inconveniences to which it had betrayed him; which serves as a pregnant example to demonstrate to us, how much idleness contributes to Vice, and employment unto Vertue. But to return to our History, we say, that a Calculate may in some measure be made of the Riches of that City, when an Image of Gold of that proportion and value fell to the lot and share of one single person. On each side of this Image the Bodies of the dead *Incas* were placed, embalmed with such rare Art (we know not how) that they seemed still living: their postures were sitting on Chairs of Gold, erected on those very Frames of Gold on which they usually fate when they were alive: their Faces were turned towards the people; only *Huayna Capac*, as if he had merited a supereminence over all the others, was placed with his Face towards the Figure of the Sun, as if he had been the most beloved, and greatest Favourite of all his Race; and indeed his Vertues and Royal Endowments, which appeared in him from his Infancy, were such, as procured for him a degree above the rest, and a place amongst the Gods which they adored. These Bodies, with what Treasure they were able, the *Indians* concealed in such secret Vaults, that none of them came to appear untill this year of 1559, when the *Licenciado Polo* made a discovery of five of them, three whereof were Kings, and the other two were Queens.

The principal Gate opened to the North, as it is at present; besides which there were several other small Doors for better convenience of the Temple; all which were lined on the inside with Plates of Gold, as also the Jambs or Posts of the Doors. On the top of the Temple without, on the highest Wall, was a large Circle of Gold in form of a Crown, of above a Yard in breadth, which encompassed the whole Temple.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Cloisters of the Temple, and of the several Chambers of the Moon and Stars, Thunder and Lightning, and of the Rain-bow.

FROM the Temple there is a passage into the Cloisters, which are encompassed with four Walls, one of which is the Wall of the Temple: the top of this Cloister is spread with a Cieling of Gold, of about a Yard in breadth, and was the Ornament and Crown aloft; but the *Spaniards* afterwards despoiled the Roof of the Gold, and in place and memory thereof laid a Cieling of white Plaster, the which, when I departed thence, was still white and fresh, and the Walls found and standing as formerly. The Provost, or Master of this Cloister, had five large Chambers square allowed him for his Lodgings, not contiguous, or joyning one to the other, but separate and apart, being covered in form of a Pyramid, and which made the other three Walls of the Cloister.

One of these square Chambers was dedicated to the Moon, whom they styled the Wife of the Sun, and therefore was nearest to the principal Chapel of the Temple; all the sides Within, as also the Doors were Plated with Silver, for the better correspondence and resemblance with the colour of the Moon, whose Image was also erected in Silver, with the face of a Woman, and placed in the same manner as that of the Sun. Into this Chamber they did usually enter to make their visits to the Moon, and recommend themselves to her favour; for that being the Sister and Wife of the Sun, was consequently the Mother of the *Incas*, and of all their generation; wherefore they called her *Mamaquilla*, which signifies as much as Mother-Moon, to whom they offered Sacrifices as they did to the Sun. On each side of this Image they placed the Bodies of the dead Queens, according to their Order and Seniority. Only *Mama Oello*, who was the Mother of *Huayna Capac*, had the chief place, being seated nearest, and with her face just opposite to the Moon; in regard, that having been the Mother of a Son so excellent and famous, did seem to have merited the primary place of Honour.

The Chamber next hereunto was dedicated to *Venus* the Evening-Star, and the other seven Stars, and to all the other Stars in general. The Star *Venus* they called *Chasca*, which is as much as to say, long and curled Locks; they named this Star the Page of the Sun, because it always attended on him, going sometimes before, and sometimes after him; for the seven Stars they entertained a particular respect, because of the strangeness of their position, and their equal proportion: These Stars they fancied to be the Attendants and Hand-maids to the Moon; and for that reason they lodged them in the Lobby, or Chamber next to her, that so they might be near, and the place more commodious for their service; for they were of opinion, that the Stars were Attendants belonging to the Court of the Moon, and not of the Sun, because they appeared in the Night only, and vanished so soon as the Morning dawned, and the Sun arose.

This Chamber had its Walls and Doors all plated with Silver like that of the Moon; the Roof was painted like a Starry Sky, full of Stars of the greater and lesser Magnitude.

The next Chamber hereunto was dedicated to the Lightning, Thunder and Thunder-bolt, which three they comprehended under one common Name of *Tlupa*, and the distinction of them was denoted by the Adjunct Verb: As for example; when they say, Did you see the *Tlupa*? then they mean Lightning; or did you hear the *Tlupa*? then it is Thunder; or did you see where the *Tlupa* fell, or the damage it did? then they understand the Thunder-bolt.

All which they did not esteem for Gods, but regarded them as Servants of the Sun, as the Ancients did, who fabled the Thunderbolt to be the Arms of *Jupiter*; and for that reason they allotted them Lodgings in the Temple of the Sun, the which were adorned all over with Gold: howsoever they formed no Statue or Representation of them, because they knew not how to decypher any Similitude or Hieroglyphick to express them. This triple signification of *Ulapa* the *Spanish* Historians have not understood, for if they had, they might have made a proper use of it, in making our word *Trinity* more intelligible to the capacity of the *Indians*, than by some other less significant terms which they have used and framed, but have not reached the Imagination or Genius of that People. Thus much I write, and as I have often said, so I still aver the same to be true, because I have sucked it in with my milk, and have heard it from my Ancestours; and as to other matters concerning the Thunder, we refer the Reader to what we have already declared.

The fourth Chamber they dedicated to the Rain-bow, because they apprehended it to be a Ray, or Emission from the Sun; and for that reason the *Incas* placed it in their Arms, or Scutcheons, as a badge of their Family and Alliance; this Chamber was also furnished with Gold, and on the Walls a Rainbow was painted very naturally, with all its colours, which reached from one side to the other; the *Indians* call it *Coychu*, and have it in such Veneration, that when they see it in the Air, they shut their Mouths, and clap their Hands before it; because they have an opinion, that if the Rainbow should discover their Teeth, his Influences would spoil them, and cause them to rot; the which was one amongst their vulgar Errors, which they held without any reason, or foundation for it.

There was moreover a fifth and last Chamber appropriated to the High-Priest, and other inferior Priests under him, who attended on the service of the Temple, who were all *Incas*, descended from the Royal Blood: This Chamber was not ordained for a room to sleep or eat in, but for a place of audience, or consultation, in what manner to regulate the Sacrifices, and all other matters appertaining to the Services of the Temple; the which Chamber, as all the others, was furnished and adorned with Gold from the top to the bottom.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Name of the High Priest, and of other parts of this House.

THE *Spaniards* call the High Priest *Vilama*, by corruption of the true word *Villac Umu*, which is compounded of *Villa*, which signifies as much as to speak or utter, and *Umu*, which is to divine or foretell; as if we should say, a Soothsayer, or one skillfull in Divination; not that he is to declare his own sentiments, but such as by his frequent intercourse and communication with the Sun, and by virtue and privilege of his Priesthood, he shall have received from him, namely, all those Fables which the Devils have uttered through the Organs of their Idols, or by secret voices, sounding in their Sanctuaries, or by the Interpretation of Dreams, or such kind of superstitious Rites, have all been esteemed oracularous and mysterious sayings, conveyed to them by the Administrations of the High Priest.

Of

Of those five Chambers which we have already mentioned, there were three only that I saw remaining in their ancient state of Walls and Roof; and these also were despoiled of their Plates of Gold and Silver; but the other two, which were the apartments of the Moon and Stars were demolished, and laid level with the ground. In the outside of these Walls, which bordered on the Cloisters, were four Niches, or Tabernacles made of free Stone, as the Walls themselves were; and these Niches had cases of Stone cut and placed within the hollow of the Tabernacle, the which were lined with Plates of Gold, not only on the top and sides, but on the bottom also; and the corners of these stone-cases, or frames, were all inlaid with precious Stones, such as *Emeralds* and *Turquoises*, because that Countrey neither yields *Diamonds*, nor *Rubies*: On great festival Days the *Inca* did usually sit in one of these Tabernacles, sometimes in one, and sometimes in another, as was appointed for the Festival.

In two of these Tabernacles, in the same Wall which looked to the Eastward, I remember that I observed many little holes in the Cases, or Frames, which were embossed within the Stone, and those which were in the corners reached from one side to the other; those holes which were in the middle of the Tabernacle, only marked or pitted the Wall: Enquiring of the Religious which belonged to that House, what these holes meant, they told me, that in the times of *Indian* Gentilism those were the places in which the precious Stones were set; these Tabernacles, and all the Doors, which were twelve in number, that opened to the Cloister, were all plated with Leaves of Gold, excepting only the Chambers of the Moon, together with those of the Stars, which, as we have said, in resemblance of what they represented, were overlaid with Silver only.

Besides these five principal Chambers (which we have already mentioned to be appertaining to the Temple of the Sun) there were other Rooms of lesser note, which belonged to the Priests, and the Servants under them, who were made *Incas* by privilege, because that no other *Indian*, how great soever he were, though a *Curaca*, or Lord, had not the liberty to enter within that House, much less was it granted to Women, though Daughters, or Wives of the King himself: The Priests attended to the service of the Temple by Weeks, which they reckoned by Quarters of the Moon; during which time they abstained from the company of their Wives, not departing from the confines of the Temple, either by day or night.

Those *Indians* which performed the Drudgery of inferior Services of the Temple, such as Porters, Sweepers, Cooks, Butlers, and the like, were the very same that were Menial Servants and Officers in the Palace of the *Incas*; for these two Houses of the Father and Son were served with like attendance, excepting only that in the Temple of the Father no Woman had admission, and in the Palace of the Son no Sacrifices were offered; all other matter had an equality of Grandeur and Majesty.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Places where they offered Sacrifice, and where they put off their Shoes before they entred into the Temple; as also of the Fountains which belonged to it.

THE places where they burned their Sacrifices were appointed according to the solemnities of them; for some were offered in one open square, and some in others; for there were many hallowed places belonging to the Temple, in which the *Incas* ordered the celebration of the Sacrifices, according as their pleasure and devotion directed. That general Sacrifice which was made at the great Festival of the Sun, called *Raymi*, was offered in the open-Market-place of the City; other Feasts of lesser note were celebrated in an open Court before the Temple, where all the People and Nations of divers Provinces, belonging to the Dominion of the Empire, assembled together to keep the Holy-day with Dances and Songs, and other Recreations; but they could not pass beyond that place into the body of the Temple, nor remain there with Shoes on their Feet, because the ground was hallowed, being within the confines, and sanctified limits of the Temple; the which we observe here, to denote how far those boundaries extended.

There were three principal Streets, which ran Northward from the Market-place to the Temple; one of which passed by the brook side, and another, which in my time they called the Prison-street, because the *Spaniards* made their Prison in it, (which, as I am informed, is since changed;) a third led from a corner of the Market-place to the Temple. There is another Street to the Eastward of these three, which leads also to the same place, and which is now called the Street of St. *Austin*; through all which four Streets there was a way to the Temple; but the principal Street, and most direct way thither, was that which we call the Street of the Prison, though the *Indians* called it the Street of the Sun, because that that being in the middle, and in the straightest line of all the rest, was the common passage by which they went, and carried all their Offerings and Sacrifices to the Temple. There was also another Street which ran East and West, and crossed the other four mentioned Streets, which was the place determined for them, where to leave their Shoes; and though they intended not to go so far as the Temple, yet that ground being within the Verge of it, no person could pass it, unless descalced, and with bare feet paid his reverence to the hallowed Earth, from which place are above two hundred paces to the Gate of the Temple.

But to return now to the Ornaments of the Temple; there were five Fountains of Water, which ran from divers places through Pipes of Gold; the Cisterns were some of Stone, and others of Gold and Silver, in which they washed their Sacrifices, as the Solemnity of the Festival appointed. In my time, there was but one of those Fountains remaining, which served the Garden of a Convent with Water; the others were lost, either for want of drawing, or opening, or cleansing; and this is very probable, because to my knowledge, that which belonged to the Convent was also lost for six or seven months, for want of which Water, the whole Garden was dried up, and withered, to the great lamentation of the Convent, and the whole City, nor could any *Indian* understand how that Water came to fail, or to what place it took its course.

At

At length they came to find, that on the West-side of the Convent the Water took its course under ground, and fell into the Brook, which passes through the City; which in the times of the *Incas* had its banks kept up with stones, and the bottom well paved, that the Earth might not fall in; the which work was continued through the whole City, and for a quarter of a League without; the which now, by the carelessness and sloth of the *Spaniards*, is broken, and the pavement displaced; for though the Spring commonly yields not water very plentifully, yet at some times it rises on a sudden, and makes such an incredible inundation, that the force of the current hath disordered the Chancel, and the bottom.

In the Year 1558, there happened a great eruption of Water from this Fountain, which broke the main Pipe, and the Chancel, so that the fury of the Torrent took another course, and left the garden dry; and now by that abundance of rubbish and fuggage which comes from the City, the chancel is filled up, and not so much as any mark, or signal thereof remains.

The Friars, though at length they used all the diligence imaginable, yet they could not find the ancient Chancel, and to trace it from the Fountain head by way of the Pipes, it was an immense work, for they were to dig through Houses, and deep conveyances under ground, to come at it, for the Head of the Spring was high: Nor could any *Indian* be found that could give any direction herein, which discouraged them in their work, and in the recovery of the others which anciently belonged to the Temple.

Hence we may observe, the ignorance and inadvertence of those *Indians*, and how little the benefit of Tradition availed amongst them; for though it be only forty two Years at this day since those Waters forsook their course; yet neither the loss of so necessary a provision as Water, which was the refreshment of their Lives, nor of that stream which supplied the Temple of the Sun, their God, could by Nature, or Religion, conserve in them the memory of so remarkable a particular. The truth is, that it is probable that the Undertakers, or Master-workmen, of those Water-works, did communicate, or make known to the Priests only the secret conveyances of those Waters, esteeming every thing which belonged to the Honour and Service of the Temple to be so sacred, that it was not to be revealed to common ears; and for this reason, perhaps, the knowledge of these waters might dye, and end with the order of Priests. Had any thing remained which was to have been enquired into, as matters of Tribute, or of things relating to the Regalities, or Services, which are secular and profane; there is no doubt but the Memory of the People or Tradition would have given us light therein, as we plainly see in the History of these Countries, which were conferred by appointed, and approved Notaries, though in these days they begin to fail, and wear out of memory, being swallowed up by the modern Histories of this New Empire.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the Garden of Gold, and of other Riches belonging to the Temple, and of many other things in that Empire, after the Fashion of them.

TO return now to this Fountain, I say, that at the end of six or seven months after it was lost, it happened, that some *Indian* Boys playing about the Stream, discovered an eruption of Water from the broken Pipe; of which they acquainting one the other, at length it came to the knowledge of the *Spaniards*, who judging it to be the water of the Convent, that had been lost, and diverted from its former course, gave information thereof unto the Friars, who joyfully received the good news, and immediately laboured to bring it again into direct conveyance, and conduct it to their Garden; the truth is, the Pipes lying very deep, were buried with Earth, so that it cost much labour and pains to reduce it to its right channel; and yet they were not so curious or industrious as to trace the Fountain to the Spring Head.

That Garden which now supplies the Convent with Herbs and Plants, was the Garden which in the times of the *Incas* belonged to their Palace, called the Garden of Gold and Silver, because that in it were Herbs and Flowers of all sorts, lower Plants, and shrubs, and taller Trees, made all of Gold and Silver, together with all sorts of wild Beasts, and tame, which were accounted rare and unusual; there were also strange Insects, and creeping things, as Snakes, Serpents, Lizards, Camellions, Butter-flies and Snails; also all sorts of strange Birds and every thing disposed and in its proper place with great care, and imitated with much curiosity, like the nature and original of that it represented.

There was also a *Maysalt*, which bears the *Indian* Wheat, of an extraordinary bigness, the seed whereof they call *Quinna*, likewise Plants which produce lesser Seeds, and Trees bearing their several sorts of Fruit, all made of Gold and Silver, and excellently well representing them in their natural Shapes. In the Palace also they had heaps or piles of Billets, and Faggots, made of Gold and Silver, rarely well counterfeited. And for the greater adornment and Majesty of the Temple of their God the Sun, they had cast vast Figures in the forms of Men; and Women, and Children, which they laid up in Magazines, or large Chambers, called *Pirvas*; and every year at the principal feasts the People presented great quantities of Gold and Silver, which were all employed in the adornment of the Temple; and those Gold-smiths whose Art and Labour was dedicated to the Sun, attended to no other work than daily to make new Inventions of rare workmanship out of those Metalls. In short, they made all sorts of Vessels, or Utensils, belonging to the Temple, of Gold and Silver, such as Pots, and Pans, and Pails, and Fire-shovels, and Tongs, and every thing else of use and service, even their very Spades, and Rakes of the Garden were made of the like Metall, that with very good reason they might call the Temple, and all the House of the Sun, the *Coricancha*, or the Ingot of Gold.

In imitation of this Temple at *Cusco*, they made the Temples which were in the other Provinces of that Kingdom, of many of which, as also of the select Virgins *Pedro de Cieza de Leon* makes mention in his Observations of that Country; but omits to describe either the number of them, or the places, in which they were, but only such as occurred to him in his travels through the great roads leaving those unmentioned, which remained on both hands out of the way; perhaps to avoid a tedious prolixity he might pass them by, in regard that by the model of one, the others may be described.

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In the adornment of which Temples the *Chiracas* contended, according to that abundance which their Countries produced of Gold and Silver, and herein they were very zealous, that so they might both honour their God, and flatter their Princes, by which means all the other Temples were plated with Gold and Silver, and might stand in some competition and terms of comparison with that of *Cusco*.

The nearest Kindred or Relations to the *Chiracas* were made the Priests of those Temples which were in the Provinces, though the Chief Priest, or Superintendent over them was an *Inca* of the Blood Royal; because it was necessary that he should direct the manner and order of their Sacrifices, after the use and customs of *Cusco*; for in regard they were now to abhor and reject their Sacrifices of Men, and Women, and Children, and were forbidden to eat Man's Flesh, and many other barbarous Rites of abomination and superstition; it was necessary for them to have the superiour guidance of an *Inca*, lest they should forget the true way, and relapse back again into their former customs. This Superintendency which the *Incas* exercised was very acceptable to the *Indians*, for as they esteemed much of their management both of civil and martial Affairs, so likewise they believed that they had most need of their direction in religious Worship, from whom all the knowledge thereof was descended to them. And thus much shall suffice to have touched concerning the riches of that Temple; other matters of which may be properly related in their due places.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the famous Temple of Titicaca, and of the Fables and Allegories alluding to it.

AMONGST the many famous Temples, which were dedicated to the Sun in *Peru*, and which in Ornament and Riches might compare with that of *Cusco*; that in the Isle of *Titicaca* was of chief Fame and Renown. The word *Titicaca* signifies the Forest of Lead, being compounded of *Titi*, which is lead, and *Caca*, which is a Forest, the Lake in which this Island is situated, hath taken the same name, being about two Mulquet shot from the main Land, and is about five or six thousand paces in compass, where the *Incas* reported, that the Sun their Father first placed his two Children, the Man and Woman, whom he sent into the World to convert Mankind from the Error of their ways, and to teach and instruct them the Rules of right Reason and Religion. To this Fable they add many others of ancient date, saying, that the Rays of the Sun, after the general Flood, were first seen in that Island, and in that Lake, before they appeared in any other place; and that this Lake is seventy or eighty fathom deep in some places, and about eighty Leagues in compass; the reason they give for not being navigable, or why Boats cannot go upon it, I can say little unto, only *Blas Valera* writes, that there is such quantities of the *Magnet*, or Load-stone in all parts of it, that hinder the Navigation, or use of the Compass.

By help of this Fable, and his own Ingenuity, the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, took the advantage to persuade the *Indians*, that he and his Wife were the Children of the Sun, and that they were placed in it by their Father, that from thence they might proceed into the World, to teach and instruct it in the way of true Religion, as we have at large related in the beginning of this History. The *Incas*, who were *Amantur*, or Philosophers, and wise in the politicks, made use of both these Fables, and related them by way of Prophecy: saying, that when the Sun darted his first Rays of Light into that Island, he then gave a sign and promise, that from that place the first Doctrines of Light should issue; the which promise

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was afterwards accomplished by those Kings, who proceeded thence, and taught the World how to cast away the turpitude of their manners, and live by another Law and Rule of Reason. By advantage of these, and other such Inventions, it was not difficult for the *Incas* to persuade the other *Indians* of their descent from the Sun, and to confirm their belief by those many benefits and advantages which their Doctrine and Religion brought with them. On the assurance of these two Fables the *Incas*, and all his Subjects did really esteem this Island to be a sacred and a holy piece of Ground; and with that opinion they erected a rich Temple on it, all plated with Gold, and dedicated to the Sun; where generally all the Provinces subjected to the *Inca*, did yearly offer Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones, in a thankful acknowledgment of those two Blessings he had given them in that place; and that Temple being of greater Devotion, had the same attendance, and Officers belonging to it, as that of *Cusco*. And so immense was the quantity of Gold and Silver, which was amassed in that Island, besides that which was cast and framed into Utensils, for the service of the Temple, that the Report which the *Indians* make of it is incredible, and more to be admired, than believed. *Blas Valera* speaking of the Riches of this Temple, and of the quantities of Gold and Silver which abounded, after all Vessels and Ornaments were supplied, saith, that he was informed by those *Indians* who are called *Mitmac*, and are a Colony who inhabit in *Copa-Cavano*, that there was such a superfluity of Gold and Silver, after all was finished, as might have been sufficient to have raised and completed another Temple, without other materials whatsoever; and that so soon as those *Indians* had news of the Invasion of the *Spaniards*, and were informed that their Errant and Business was to despoil them of their Riches, they demolished their Temple, and threw all the materials, and the immense Wealth of it, into that great Lake.

There is another Story which passes, not unlike this, That in the Valley of *Orcos*, which is about six Leagues from *Cusco*, towards the Sea of *Zur*, there is a little Lake of less than half a League round, but very deep, and encompassed with high Woods; It is reported, that when the *Indians* understood of the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, they threw a great quantity of the Treasure belonging to *Cusco* into it, and amongst the rest, that Chain of Gold which *Huayna Capac* caused to be made, of which we shall speak in its due place; upon assurance and belief hereof twelve or thirteen *Spaniards*, who sojourned at *Cusco*, not Inhabitants, but Merchants, and Adventurers, entered into an agreement together, on terms of equal benefit and loss, to possess themselves of that Treasure by draining the Lake for it; in order whereunto they sounded the depth, and found twenty three or twenty four fathom water, besides the mudd, which was also deep; then they resolved to open a sluice, or bay, at the lowest ground, or level of the Lake, that to a wide channel being made for the water to pass into the River of *Tucay*, the Lake might be sewed or emptied by the great vent it would find by such an evacuation; in other parts they could not open it farther, because of the Rocks, and disadvantage of the ground, nor did they lay their Trench open to the top, (which perhaps might have been better,) but to save charges made a Mine, and cut their Drain under ground. This work was begun in the Year 1557. with great hopes and expectations of Treasure; and being entered about fifty paces within the Earth, they unhappily crossed upon a Vein of hard Rock, at which pecking a long time, they found that they struck more fire out of it, than they drew water; in which having spent much money, time and labour, they at length gave over the work as desperate, and desisted from their Enterprize. I remember that I entered two or three times within the vault, whilst they were working, and have heard it often reported, that the *Indians* threw infinite Treasure into Lakes, Caves and Mountains, beyond all hopes or possibility of recovery.

Those Kings who were *Incas*, besides the Riches they bestowed, and encouragement they gave for the adornment of this Temple, they endeavoured much to improve the very Land of this Isle, that so they might render it fertile, and fit to bear Fruit; and that in gratitude to this place, on which their Ancestours descending from Heaven, had set their first footsteps, they might enable it with all sorts of good Husbandry and Agriculture: to this end they levelled and cleared it of Rocks and Stones, then they made Walks, and covered them over with good Earth, and Manure brought from far; and made the ground capable to produce *Mays*, or *Indian* Wheat, which by reason of the coldness of the Climate, is not

produced in that Country; this grane, with other seeds they sowed in the Gardens, which they had made, and which yielded good increase, together with a small quantity of Flax, the which Fruits the King sent as sacred Presents to the Temple of the Sun, and the select Virgins at *Cusco*, with orders to disperse them all over the Convents and Temples of his Dominions, of which they sent some grane of this Year to this place, and next Year to the other, which were in high esteem, as Reliques or sacred Donatives; and hereof they sowed some in the Gardens belonging to the Temples of the Sun, and of those Houses which were of publick use within the Provinces; and divided and reparted them amongst the People; some Granes of this Corn they cast into the Granaries of the Sun, and of the King, and into the publick Magazines of Corn, believing that some divine virtue was contained in it, and that it would bless and increase the Corn with which it was mixed, and conserve it from corruption, and render all more wholesome but one grane of this *Mays*, to throw into his Heap, was possessed with a certain belief, that he should never want Bread in the whole course of his Life; so superstitious were they in all matters relating to their Religion, and their *Incas*.

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There is another Story which passes, not unlike this, That in the Valley of *Oreco*, which is about six Leagues from *Cusco*, towards the Sea of *Zur*, there is a little Lake of less than half a League round, but very deep, and encompassed with high Woods; It is reported, that when the *Indians* understood of the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, they threw a great quantity of the Treasure belonging to *Cusco* into it, and amongst the rest, that Chain of Gold which *Huayna Capac* caused to be made, of which we shall speak in its due place; upon assurance and belief hereof twelve or thirteen *Spaniards*, who sojourned at *Cusco*, not Inhabitants, but Merchants, and Adventurers, entered into an agreement together, on terms of equal benefit and loss, to possess themselves of that Treasure by draining the Lake for it; in order whereunto they sounded the depth, and found twenty three or twenty four fathom water, besides the mudd, which was also deep; then they resolved to open a sluice, or bay, at the lowest ground, or level of the Lake, that so a wide chanel being made for the water to pass into the River of *Tucay*, the Lake might be sewed or emptied by the great vent it would find by such an evacuation; in other parts they could not open it farther, because of the Rocks, and disadvantage of the ground, nor did they lay their Trench open to the top, (which perhaps might have been better,) but to save charges made a Mine, and cut their Drain under ground. This work was begun in the Year 1557. with great hopes and expectations of Treasure; and being entered about fifty paces within the Earth, they unhappily crossed upon a Vein of hard Rock, at which pecking a long time, they found that they struck more fire out of it, than they drew water; in which having spent much money, time and labour, they at length gave over the work as desperate, and desisted from their Enterprize. I remember that I entered two or three times within the vault, whilst they were working, and have heard it often reported, that the *Indians* threw infinite Treasure into Lakes, Caves and Mountains, beyond all hopes or possibility of recovery.

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BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K I V.

C H A P. I.

Of the Convent of those Virgins who were dedicated to the Sun.

AMONGST the many things worthy of Observation, which those Heathen Kings followed in their vain Religion and Gentilism; the Profession which some of their Women made of perpetual Chastity, and the Retirements which were built for them in several Provinces are not here to be omitted; and for better understanding who those Women were, to whom they dedicated themselves, and wherein they were employed, we shall declare very distinctly, because it is a matter which the *Spanish* Historians touch but slightly, and as the Proverb goes, as the Cat doth a Coal of fire: and particularly we shall here treat of the House at *Cusco*, because that that was the model or pattern of all the rest.

In that City is a certain Lane, which they call *Acllahuasi*, which is as much as the House of the separated Virgins: This Lane, passed through the two Streets, which lead from the Market-place to the Convent of St. *Dominick*, which was anciently the Temple of the Sun; one of these Streets passed directly from a Corner of the Market-place, bending on the left hand towards the great Church to the Northward. When, in the Year 1570. that I departed from that City, this then was the chief Street for the Merchants; and the other Street which passes from the middle of the Market-place, where in my time the Prison was, led directly on the right hand to the said Convent of St. *Dominick*: The Front of this House was just opposite to the Market-place, and opened between those two Streets before mentioned; the backside of it bordered on another Street, which crosses East to West; so that this House was placed in an open square between the Market-place and the three Streets; and between this and the Temple of the Sun, there was a separate pile of Buildings, with the great *Area*, or Court-yard, before the Temple. Whence we plainly perceive the mistake of those Writers, who report, that those Virgins had their Lodgings within the Temple of the Sun; and that they were Priestesses, and Assistants to the Priests in their Offertories and Sacrifices. For in regard it was the design and intention of the *Incas* to separate these Virgins from the conversation, and society of Men; and that as Women were not permitted to enter within the Temple of the Sun, so neither were men allowed admission into the retirements of these Virgins; it cannot be rationally believed that these Virgins could have any other than a distinct House, distant and disjoined from any other; and for this reason they called them the select, because

was afterwards accomplished by those Kings, who proceeded thence, and taught the World how to cast away the turpitude of these, and other such Inventions, it was not difficult for the *Incas* to persuade the other *Indians* of their descent from the Sun, and to confirm their belief by those many benefits and advantages which their Doctrine and Religion brought with them. On the assurance of these two Fables the *Incas*, and all his Subjects did really esteem this Island to be a sacred and a holy piece of Ground; and with that opinion they erected a rich Temple on it, all plated with Gold, and dedicated to the Sun; where generally all the Provinces subjected to the *Inca*, did yearly offer Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones, in a thankfull acknowledgment of those two Blessings he had given them in that place; and that Temple being of greater Devotion, had the same attendance, and Officers belonging to it, as that of *Cusco*. And so immense was the quantity of Gold and Silver, which was amassed in that Island, besides that which was cast and framed into Utensils, for the service of the Temple, that the Report which the *Indians* make of it is incredible, and more to be admired, than believed. *Blas Valera* speaking of the Riches of this Temple, and of the quantities of Gold and Silver which abounded, after all Vessels and Ornaments were supplied, saith, that he was informed by those *Indians* who are called *Mitmas*, and are a Colony who inhabit in *Copa-Cavano*, that there was such a superfluity of Gold and Silver, after all was finished, as might have been sufficient to have raised and completed another Temple, without other materials whatsoever; and that so soon as those *Indians* had news of the Invasion of the *Spaniards*, and were informed that their Errand and Business was to despoil them of their Riches, they demolished their Temple, and threw all the materials, and the immense Wealth of it, into that great Lake.

There is another Story which passes, not unlike this, That in the Valley of *Orcoz*, which is about six Leagues from *Cusco*, towards the Sea of *Zur*, there is a little Lake of less than half a League round, but very deep, and encompassed with high Woods; It is reported, that when the *Indians* undertook of the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, they threw a great quantity of the Treasure belonging to *Cusco* into it, and amongst the rest, that Chain of Gold which *Huayna Capac* caused to be made, of which we shall speak in its due place; upon assurance and belief hereof twelve or thirteen *Spaniards*, who sojourned at *Cusco*, not Inhabitants, but Merchants, and Adventurers, entred into an agreement together, on terms of equal benefit and loss, to possess themselves of that Treasure by draining the Lake for it; in order whereunto they sounded the depth, and found twenty three or twenty four fathom water, besides the mudd, which was also deep; then they resolved to open a sluice, or bay, at the lowest ground, or level of the Lake, that to a wide chanel being made for the water to pass into the River of *Tucay*, the Lake might be sewed or emptied by the great vent it would find by such an evacuation; in other parts they could not open it farther, because of the Rocks, and disadvantage of the ground, nor did they lay their Trench open to the top, (which perhaps might have been better,) but to save charges made a Mine, and cut their Drain under ground. This work was begun in the Year 1557. with great hopes and expectations of Treasure; and being entred about fifty paces within the Earth, they unhappily crossed upon a Vein of hard Rock, at which pecking a long time, they found that they struck more fire out of it, than they drew water; in which having spent much money, time and labour, they at length gave over the work as desperate, and desisted from their Enterprize. I remember that I entred two or three times within the vault, whilst they were working, and have heard it often reported, that the *Indians* threw infinite Treasure into Lakes, Caves and Mountains, beyond all hopes or possibility of recovery.

Those Kings who were *Incas*, besides the Riches they bestowed, and encouragement they gave for the adornment of this Temple, they endeavoured much to improve the very Land of this Isle, that so they might render it fertile, and fit to bear Fruit; and that in gratitude to this place, on which their Ancestours descending from Heaven, had set their first footsteps, they might enoble it with all sorts of good Husbandry and Agriculture: to this end they levelled and cleared it of Rocks and Stones, then they made Walks, and covered them over with good Earth, and Manure brought from far; and made the ground capable to produce *Mays*, or *Indian* Wheat, which by reason of the coldness of the Climate, is not produced

produced in that Country; this grane, with other seeds they sowed in the Gardens, which they had made, and which yielded good increase, together with a small quantity of Flax, the which Fruits the King sent as sacred Presents to the Temple of the Sun, and the select Virgins at *Cusco*, with orders to disperse them all over the Convents and Temples of his Dominions, of which they sent some grane of this Year to this place, and next Year to the other, which were in high esteem, as Reliques or sacred Donatives; and hereof they sowed some in the Gardens belonging to the Temples of the Sun, and of those Houses which were of publick use within the Provinces; and divided and reparted them amongst the People; some Granes of this Corn they cast into the Granaries of the Sun, and of the King, and into the publick Magazines of Corn, believing that some divine virtue was contained in it, and that it would bless and increase the Corn with which it was mixed, and conserve it from corruption, and render all more wholesome for humane sustenance; and that *Indian* who was so happy as to be able to get but one grane of this *Mays*, to throw into his Heap, was possessed with a certain belief, that he should never want Bread in the whole course of his Life; so superstitious were they in all matters relating to their Religion, and their *Incas*.

O

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Of the Convent of those Virgins who were dedicated to the Sun.

AMONGST the many things worthy of Observation, which those Heathen Kings followed in their vain Religion and Gentilism; the Profession which some of their Women made of perpetual Chastity, and the Retirements which were built for them in several Provinces are not here to be omitted; and for better understanding who those Women were, to whom they dedicated themselves, and wherein they were employed, we shall declare very distinctly, because it is a matter which the *Spanish* Historians touch but slightly, and as the Proverb goes, as the Cat doth a Coal of fire; and particularly we shall here treat of the House at *Cusco*, because that that was the model or pattern of all the rest.

In that City is a certain Lane, which they call *Achabugay*, which is as much as the House of the separated Virgins: This Lane passed through the two Streets, which lead from the Market place to the Convent of *St. Dominick*, which was anciently the Temple of the Sun, one of these Streets passed directly from a Corner of the Market place, bending on the left hand towards the great Church to the Northward. When in the Year 1570. that I departed from that City, this then was the chief Street for the Merchants, and the other Street, which passes from the middle of the Market place, where in my time the Prison was, led directly on the right hand to the said Convent of *St. Dominick*. The front of this House was just opposite to the Market place, and opened between those two Streets before mentioned, the backside of it bordered on another Street, which crosses East to West, so that this House was placed in an open square, between the Market place and the three Streets; and between this and the Temple of the Sun, there was a separate pile of buildings, with the great *Arroyo*, or Court-yard, before the Temple. Whence we plainly perceive the mistake of those Writers, who report, that those Virgins had their Lodgings within the Temple of the Sun; and that they were Priestesses, and Assistants to the Priests in their Offerings and Sacrifices. How inward it was the design and intention of the *Inca* to separate these Virgins from the conversation, and society of Men; and that as Women were not permitted to enter within the Temple of the Sun, so neither were they allowed admission into the retirements of these Virgins. It cannot be rationally believed that these Virgins could have any other than a distinct House, distant and disjoined from any other; and for this reason they called them the *House*, because they

they were selected apart and chosen with respect to their lineage and beauty; and that for assurance, that they were Virgins at the time of such admission into the Monastery, they were received into that Order at eight years of age, or under.

And because these Virgins who belonged to the Monastery at *Cusco* were dedicated, and as it were espoused to the Sun, it was esteemed necessary that they should be of his Lineage and Blood, that is, Daughters of the *Incas*, of of his Uncles, and such who were defended by Father and Mother of the same Lineage, and not Bastardized by mixture of humane blood with divine race, but pure and unspotted; for since their opinion was, that they were espoused unto the Sun, and that he was to have Children by them, 'twas reason that they should be without spot or blemish, and their blood pure and undefiled.

These Monks, or Nuns, were commonly about 1500 in Number, governed by grave Matrons, admitted to the same profession, who had lived and grown old under the same rules and observance of their Vow: To these were properly committed the care and government of the younger sort, and from this Office they took the Name of *Mamacuna*, or Mother of the Maids, the word *Mama* signifying a Mother; and *Cuna* in composition, care or watchfulness. With this Title their Offices were very agreeable, for some were Abbesses, others Mistresses to instruct the Novitiate, not only in their Religious Workshops, but likewise in Spinning, Weaving, Sewing, and the like employments; some also were Porters belonging to the Gates, others took care of the Hufwifery, and Management, of the domestick affairs, and to make a provision of Necessaries, with which they were sufficiently supplied out of the Estate of the Sun; for they being his Wives, could not be denied a maintenance out of his Revenue.

CHAP. II.

Of the Rules and Statutes, and Employment of these Select Virgins.

They were Recluses, and for ever shut up, during the whole term of their lives, and obliged to perpetual Virginity; they had no Locutory, or place allowed them at which they might see or converse with Man or Woman; nor had they other society than one with another; for they held, that the Wives of the Sun were to have no communication with other, than with himself; and this their Seclusion was so strict and rigorous, that though the *Inca* might personally have claimed this privilege, yet because no other should dare or adventure on this attempt by his example, he also denied himself this liberty; onely the *Coza*, or Queen, with her Daughters, had the freedom to enter in, and visit this Monastery; and by them the *Inca* presented his Salutes, demanding of their health, and what their occasions and necessities required. I once saw this House standing alone, without any other Building before it; for onely that, and the Temple of the Sun, which made up two Streets, and four other great Courts, which had been the Palaces of their Kings, remained entire; having been spared by the *Indians*, out of respect to their God the Sun, and the *Incas* their Kings, when in a general Insurrection against the *Spaniards* they set fire, and consumed all the rest of the City. Amongst other rarities of this Building, there was a narrow Gallery, in which two onely could go a-breast; that ran through the whole House; and this was the passage to several Chambers and Apartments on each hand, where the Offices of the House were kept, and where the Women worked: At every one of these Doors was a Portress; and in the farthest Chamber, at the end of the Gallery, was the Apartment for the Wives of the Sun, where none entered besides themselves. This House had its common Gate, which we call the Great

Gate;

Gate; at which none entered besides the Queen, and such as intended to profess the Order.

At the entrance of this Gallery there was a Gate for the common use and service of the House, at which there were twenty Porters always attending to bring in, or carry away whatsoever was needfull; but none of them could pass farther than the second Gate upon pain of Death, though they received Commands from within so to doe; nor could any that was within give such Command, or Licence, but on the same penalty.

There were 500 Maidens appointed to attend the Service of these Virgins, who were Daughters of those who had the privilege to be called *Incas*; not such as were descended from the true Line, and pure Blood of the Royal *Incas*, for those were esteemed and separated as Wives, or Spouses of the Sun; but such as the first *Inca* had made *Incas* by title and privilege, as before related; to which strangers, or those who were afterwards reduced, could not attain. These Maidens had also their *Mamacunas*, or Matrons of the same Lineage appointed to them, being such, as having passed their years, and grown old in that House, had part of the care and management thereof committed to them. When the *Spaniards* had overcome this City of *Cusco*, and that they divided the publick Buildings amongst themselves for places to dwell and inhabit; one half of this Convent, which belonged to the Offices, fell to the lot of *Pedro del Barco*, whom in the sequel of this History we shall have occasion to mention; and the other half was the share of the *Licenciado de la Gama*, who resided there when I was very young; and afterwards it belonged to *Diego Ortiz de Guzman*, a Gentleman born at *Sevil*, whom I knew, and left at *Cusco*, when I departed thence for Spain.

The principal employment of these Wives of the Sun was to Spin and Weave all the garments which the *Inca* and the *Coza* his lawfull Wife wore on their own Persons; they made also all the fine Linnen which was offered to the Sun in Sacrifice; and what the *Inca* wore about his head, which was called *Llawn*, which was about the breadth of the middle finger, but very thick, and so long as to take four or five turns about the head, with a coloured Lift reaching from one temple to the other.

Their Cloathing was a shirt which reached to their knees, called *Unca*; the *Spaniards* called it *Cusma*, which was not the common name of it, but onely that which a particular Province gave to it: They wore also a square Mantle of about two Foot deep, which served for a Cloak, called *Tacolla*. Moreover, these Nuns made Purfes for the *Inca* of about a quarter of a Yard square, which they carried under their Arme, hanged by a fine Twift curiously embroidered, of about two fingers broad, and was in fashion of a Ribbon on the left Shoulder, reaching cross to the right side: These Purfes they called *Chuspa*, and served them to put their *Coca* into, which was an Herb that *Indians* now commonly eat, but was then so rare, that none had the privilege to eat of it but the *Inca* onely, and his Kindred; unless some *Curacas*, to whom the King out of a particular favour and affection sent perhaps some Baskets of it every year.

They also made certain Twists of two colours, which were Straw-colour and Carnation, which they called *Paycha*: these Twists were very fine, of about a Yard long; but were not designed for service of the *Inca*, but for others of the Royal Blood, which they wore on their Heads, binding their Foreheads from one temple to the other.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Of the respect they shewed to the Works which these Select Virgins made, and what Law there was against those who attempted on their Chastity.

ALL these Curiosities were the handy-work of these Virgins, made in great quantity for their Spouse the Sun; but because he was not capable to receive or wear those Ornaments on his own Person, they were sent unto the *Inca* as his lawfull and undoubted Son and Heir, that so he might use them in the stead and place of his Father; the which were esteemed by him as Sacred, and with great reverence and devotion respected by the Subjects of his whole Empire. And if the *Greeks* and ancient *Romans* did in the times of their Gentilism adore *Juno*, *Venus* and *Pallas* for Goddeses, it ought not to seem strange if these poor and simple people, who were under the highest circumstances of invincible ignorance imaginable, should with a superstitious zeal, and devout affection, adore and worship whatsoever their Religion taught them to be Divine and Sacred; for they apprehending that these Virgins were *Coyas*, or Queens and real Wives of the Sun, could not but shew respect and reverence to whatsoever proceeded from their hands and labour; for which reason, the *Incas* themselves could not bestow their Works on any that was not an *Inca* of the true Bloud; for that were a profanation of such holy things, and a direct sacrilege to employ divine productions to common and humane services. And though, as we have formerly said, the King gave Vestments to *Curacas*, and other Governours, as Signals of his grace and favour; yet those were of another sort, as we shall hereafter make appear.

Moreover, the employment and office of these Virgins was to make the Bread, called *Canchu*, which at the great Festivals of the Sun, named *Raymi* and *Cittua*, were offered to him in Sacrifice: they also made the Liqueur which the *Inca* and his Kindred drank on the Holy-days of those Festivals called *Aca*. All the Vessels which were used in this House, such as Kettles, Pots, Jars, and the like, were all made of Gold and Silver, it being reasonable that the Wives of the Sun should live in an equipage agreeable to the quality of such a Husband; so that their Garden also was adorned with Trees and Fruit all made of Gold and Silver, with Plants, and Flowers, and Herbs, and Birds, and other Animals, all rarely counterfeited after the manner of those in the Garden of the Sun.

These were the chief employments of those Nuns which lived in the City of *Cusco*; the other part of their Life and Actions was agreeable to the profession they made of perpetual Virginity, and of Reculcs from the rest of the World. That Nun who violated her Chastity, was buried alive, and her Lover hanged: But in regard that (as they said) a simple death onely seemed too mean a punishment for so exorbitant an offence, which imported no less than the violation of a Wife dedicated to the Sun their God, and Father of their Kings; they ordained, that with the Delinquent his Wife and Children, Servants and Kindred, with his very Neighbours and Herds of Cattel, should without any remorse, compassion or lamentations of any be put to death; that all his Fields and Farms should be laid desolate, and covered with heaps of stones, that so no Cattel might ever feed more thereon, or ever be more trod with humane feet, which had produced or maintained a wretch so vile and impious as this accursed transgressor.

This was the Law, but it was never put into execution, because none ever did transgress against it: For as the *Indians* of *Peru* (as we have said before) were great observers of their Law, and especially devoted to that part which respected their Religion, and the awe and reverence due to their Princes, so they were very severe in execution of those punishments which the Law prescribed, adhering

ring to the very rigour of the letter without more remorse or compassion, than if they had destroyed a swarm of Wasps, or drowned a litter of Whelps; for the *Incas* designing their Laws for the Rules of Humane life, would never suffer them to be frustrated or eluded by the boldness of any that attempted to break them.

C H A P. IV.

That there were many other Houses of these Select Virgins. The severity of the Law before-mentioned, is proved by Example.

ALL that we have said before had relation to the House of those Virgins at *Cusco*, who were dedicated to the Sun: But besides this, there were several other Houses for Women of the same profession in divers of the principal Provinces, which the *Inca* out of his bounty and favour commanded to be built and endowed; but into these, Maids of all conditions and qualities had admission, as well those whose bloud was tainted with common mixture, as those who were of the pure and limpid streams of Royal Bloud. The Daughters also of *Curacas*, as a mark of favour, were sometimes admitted here; some Maids also of exact beauty, and rare features, though of the common race, were sometimes also received in, the which both their Fathers and themselves esteemed for an extraordinary favour; but then they were not admitted under the notion of Wives, or Concubines, to the Sun, but of the *Inca* onely. Howsoever, they reserved themselves with the same retirement and care as those of the Sun; and were attended with young Maidens for their Servants, and maintained at the charge of the *Inca*: Their employment also was the same with those at *Cusco*, being to Spin and Weave, and make Garments for the *Inca*, which they performed in great abundance, and in the same manner as we have related of the others: But howsoever, those Vestments were not esteemed so sacred, as to be onely appropriated to the Person of the *Inca*, but were such as the *Inca* bestowed on his great Lords and Captains, and other Subjects, whensoever he was pleased to honour them with some signal note, or mark of his favour.

These also had their *Mamacunas*, or Matrons to oversee them, as those had which lived at *Cusco*, and were governed by the same rules; excepting that those who lived at *Cusco* were all of the true Royal Bloud, and obliged to a perpetual Cloister and Virginity; but these were Maids of all sorts and conditions, provided that they were beautiful, being not designed for Wives of the Sun, but Concubines to the *Inca*.

The same rigour of Law was practised against those who debauched and defiled the Women of the *Inca*, as against those who became Adulterers with the Virgins espoused to the Sun; for the crime being the same, required the same punishment; but as there was never any such offence committed, so there was never any such severity executed; but to confirm that there was such a Law, we have the authority of *Augustin de Carate*, who in the seventh Chapter of his second Book, discoursing of the causes of the violent Death of *Atabalipa*, hath these very words, which I have copied out *Verbatim*, being very much to our purpose. And as (saith he) all the Allegations which were made hereupon were all pronounced by the Tongue of the same *Filipillo*, he interpreted nothing but what made to his own purpose. What might be the cause which moved him hereunto, can never be certainly determined; though it must be one of these two things, either that this Indian entertained private Amours with one of the Wives of *Atabalipa*, and expected by his death to enjoy her with

with more security; which being come to the knowledge of Atabalipa, he complained thereof to the Governour, saying, That he was more sensible of that misfortune, than he was of his imprisonment; and that no misery, though accompanied with Death, could touch him so nearly as this; for that a common Indian of base extraction, should esteem him as so mean a rate, as to make him the subject of so high an affront, in despite of that Law of their Country, which assigned no less a punishment for it, than that such offenders should be burnt alive, with his Wives, Fathers, Children, Brothers, and all the rest of his Kindred, nay the very Flocks and Herds of such an Adulterer were to be destroyed, his Lands laid desolate, and sowed with Salt, his Trees eradicated from the very Roots, his Houses demolished, with many other inflictions of the like nature. Thus far are the words of Augustin de Carate, which serve to confirm what I have wrote concerning this matter, and indeed I was pleased to have my words avouched by the testimony of this Spanish Cavalier: For though other Historians mention this Law, yet they onely say, that it was with the Death of the Offendour, omitting that of his Wife, and Father, and Relations, and all the other Solemnities of this punishment; whereby we may understand how grievous that offence was esteemed; and how deeply that poor Inca Atahualpa relented it, when in the Agony of his Heart, he said, That he felt it more than his Imprisonment; and all other infelicities, though attended with Death it self.

Those Women who had the honour to be extracted from these Houses for Concubines to the King, were made incapable of ever returning thither again, but remained in the Court as Ladies and Attendants on the Queen, untill such time as they were dismissed, and licence given them to return into their own Countries; where for ever afterwards they were provided with Houses and Revenue agreeable to their Quality, and to the Dignity and Honour they had acquired by having been Mistresses to the Inca. Those who could not attain to this Honour, were obliged to remain in their Cloister untill they were ancient, and then had liberty either to continue till the time of their Death, or to return to their own Country, where they were treated with such respect as was due to the profession they had made.

CHAP. V.

Of the Quality and Ornament of these Select Virgins, and that they were not to be given unto any person whatsoever in Marriage.

Those Virgins which were dedicated or designed for the present King, had the Title after his Death of Mothers to the Successour, with the Addition also of *Mamacha*, which was a Name properly belonging to their Office, which obliged them to teach and oversee the young Novices, who were admitted for Concubines of the New Inca, and treated by them as their Children and Daughters-in-law. Every one of these Convents had its Governour or Superiour, who was an Inca, and whose business it was to provide all Necessaries for the use of these Wives of the Inca; for though in reality they were but Concubines, yet in respect and courtesy they gave them the Honourable title of Wives. In every one of these Houses belonging to these Maidens, separated for the use of the Inca; all their Utensils and Services of the House were made of Gold and Silver, as those were which belonged to the Wives of the Sun, and to the famous Temple, and (as we shall hereafter declare) to the Royal Palaces; for indeed all the Gold and Silver, and precious Stones which were found and amassed in that great Empire, were, for the most part, employed to no other use, than to the Service and Adorn-

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ment of the Temples of the Sun, which were very numerous, and of the Cloisters of those Virgins, which were equally considerable, and to embellish the Royal Palaces with agreeable pomp and magnificence; the quantity consumed in the Services of Curacas, and great Men was little, and that chiefly in their Cups, or drinking Vessels, which was also limited and moderated according to such a degree of Weight and Number as the Inca was pleased to allow them; there was also some small matter licensed for their Garments and Cloathing, when the grand Festivals were celebrated.

It is a great error and mistake of those who report, that any of these separated Virgins might lawfully be given for Wives to the great Commanders and Captains by any favour or dispensation of the Inca; for being once dedicated and consecrated for Wives of the Inca, and admitted to that profession, they were ever after rendered incapable of so low a condescension as to own any other Husband; for that were to prophane that Sacred Character whereby they were dedicated to the Inca, and an injury to the Woman, who thereby would be forced to renounce all the grandeur and privileges she enjoyed, under the Reverend Title of one Married to the Inca, that she might receive the less honourable condition of a private person. And since it was a fundamental Law amongst them, *That none was to be injured*, much less ought any diminution to be offered to their Kings, who, as we have said, were honoured and adored by them under the Notion of Gods.

CHAP. VI.

What Women those were whom the Inca presented and bestowed in Marriage.

THE truth is; there were some Women, of whom the Inca made Presents to such Curacas and Captains, who by their Services had merited rewards from him; but then these were but the Daughters of other Curacas, which the Inca took from them to bestow in Marriage upon those who had deserved well from him, which seemed a favour to them both; unto the one that the Inca would vouchsafe to receive and prefer his Daughter; and to the other, that he was pleased to bestow her on him with his own hand, being for that reason esteemed precious; for not so much the gift, as the Donor being regarded, rendered the least present from the Inca's hand equal to the highest treasure, as if it had something of Divinity conferred with it. Sometimes, though but seldom, the Inca preferred their natural Daughters of the Royal Blood to the Curacas, and Governours of Provinces for Wives, as signals of his favour, and as engagements to them to continue in their Loyalty; of which sort the Inca having many to bestow abroad, had no necessity to have recourse to those for a supply, who were entred in the Sacred and Royal Foundations; for that would have been a diminution to their exalted Degree, a violation to their Religion, and an impiety to mix divine race with prophane Blood.

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CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

Of other Women, who conserved their Virginity, and of Widows.

BESIDES these Virgins, who lived Recluses in Cloisters, under the Vow of perpetual Chastity, there were many other Women of Royal Blood, who lived in retirement, and vowed to conserve their Virginity, though with liberty to go abroad, and visit their nearest Relations, and assist the sick, and Women in their Travels, and to be present at the Ceremony of shaving, when they gave a Name to their first-born. These Women were held in great Esteem and Veneration, for their Chastity, and purity of their Lives; giving them by way of Excellency, or of some Vertue Divine, the Title of *Occlo*, which signifies something of super-eminent Sanctity; and this their Chastity was not pretended, or feigned, but true and real; for if any falsity or hypocrisy were discovered in it, they burnt them alive, or threw them to the Lions to be devoured. I remember that I knew one of these that was very ancient, and had never been married, which they called *Occlo*; sometimes she visited my Mother, and, as I have heard, she was her Aunt by the Grandfather; I can say, I am a witness of the great respect they bore towards her, and especially my Mother, who for her Relation, Years and Vertue, behaved her self towards her with all imaginable Reverence and Veneration.

Nor must we here omit the Modesty and Vertue of Widows in general, who for the first Year of their Widowhood kept themselves retired, and free from all conversation, there being very few of those, who had not Children, that married again, much less those who were provided with them, did ever return to a second Marriage, but lived with Continence and Chastity; for which reason the Laws were favourable towards them, commanding Labourers to plow and cultivate their Lands before those of the *Curacas*, with many other privileges, which the favour of the *Inca* indulged to them. The truth is, it was a disparagement for a Man, who was not a Widower himself, to marry with a Widow, for as they said, he lost I know not what quality and repute by such a condescension. And this is what is most observable in reference to Virgins, and Widows, and modest Women.

C H A P. VIII.

Of their Marriages in general, and how their Houses were governed.

IT will now be proper in this place for us to treat of their Marriages, and how they were joined together in the Kingdoms and Provinces subjected to the *Inca*: In order hereunto it is to be noted, that every year, or every two years, the King commanded his Officers to take an account of such young Men and Maidens of his Lineage, as were marriageable, within the City of *Cusco*, that so they might be matched together; the Maidens were to be of eighteen to twenty years of age, and the young Men from twenty to twenty four, and upwards; under which age they were not esteemed to be of years of consent, for that it was necessary they should be of a ripe age and judgment to govern their Families, which could not be done by Children

Children in their minority. At the Ceremonies of Matrimony the *Inca* stood between the two Persons, and casting his Eyes upon them both, he called the Man by his Name, and then the Woman, and taking their hands into his, joined them together, which being the bond of Matrimony, the Function was performed; and being by the *Inca* consigned to their Parents, they went home to the House of the Bridegroom's Father, where the Wedding was kept for four or six days with great rejoicing: This was the manner and form of their legal Marriages, which for the great Favour and Honour the *Inca* had performed in this Function, were called in their Language, the *Incan* Couple. The King having in this manner matched those of his own Lineage, then the next day following the Officers for this Employment joined the Neighbourhood of the City, with respect to that Division, which we have mentioned at the beginning of this History, of the Upper and the Lower *Cusco*.

The Houses which were appointed for the Habitation of the new married Couples, who were *Incas*, (concerning whom we treat at present) were prepared by the *Indians* of those Provinces, whose charge it was, according to such provision as was made in that case. All the Furniture and Utensils of the Houses were provided at the charge of the Parents; every one of their Kindred giving them something towards House-keeping, which was all the Ceremony or Sacrifice performed at that Solemnity; and though many *Spanish* Historians report divers other barbarous Customs in use at Marriages, it is for want of a distinct knowledge of the Rites of one Province from another; for in those Provinces indeed which were remote from *Cusco*, and where the Seigniority and Rule of the *Incas* had not as yet arrived, there may have been many absurd and impious Ceremonies in use, which since have been corrected, and abolished by the more wife and refined Government of the *Incas*.

But as to the true Politicks of the *Incas*, they observed no other Form of Marriage than this before recited, according to which the *Curacas* in their Provinces, and the Governors in their respective Divisions conformed their discipline, and as Fathers and Lords of their Countrey, practised it in the same manner as did the *Inca*. And though the *Inca*, who was Governor, was present at the Marriages which the *Curaca* solemnized; yet it was not to interpolate, or diminish the Authority of the *Curaca* therein, but onely to approve that in the name of the King which the *Curaca* had performed by virtue of the power he exercised over his own Vassals. When the Commonalty, or ordinary sort married, the Community of the People were obliged to build, and provide them Houses, and the Parents to furnish them. It was not lawfull for any to marry out of his own Province, or People; but, as the Tribes of *Israel*, they were obliged to match within their own Lineage and Nation; and excepting onely Sisters; they joined promiscuously together, like Sheep of the same flock; so that the People of a Province were not allied onely by Nation, but by Kindred and Blood. By which it appears, that it was not lawfull for any to change his Countrey or Habitation, or pass the limits of his Division, or Decurion, but to keep himself close to his People and Families; for in regard the Assemblies within the Community were obliged to build the Houses of the new married, it was their own duty to conserve them in Repair, and not to wander without the Barrier, and Confines of their Parentage.

C H A P. IX.

That the Prince, who was Heir apparent, was to marry his own Sister, and the reasons which they gave for it.

HAVING now declared the manner in general, and the way how the common Indians married; we shall in the next place proceed to treat of the Marriage of the Prince, who was Heir apparent. In explanation of which it is to be noted, that it was the most ancient Custome, and fundamental Law of those Kings, that the Prince, who was Heir, should marry with her that was his own Sister by Father and Mother, and the onely was capable of being his Legitimate Wife, whom they called *Coya*, which is as much as Queen, or Empress; and the Eldest Son of these two was allowed for the true and lawfull Heir of the Kingdom.

The Original of this Law and Custome was derived from the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and his Wife, *Mama Occllo Huaco*, who feigning themselves to be the Children and descended from the Sun, and to be Brother and Sister, it was therefore concluded by all the *Indians*, (who perfectly believed this Story) that by the example of these two, the same Rule was to be observed in the succession of all future Ages; and this they confirmed by another Example of the Sun and Moon themselves, who being Brother and Sister, were joined in Marriage; and therefore this served for an undeniable Authority and Argument to prove the Legality of such a Marriage, by an instance so convincing, as that of these Deities: Yet for want of such illust female, the Prince might then marry with the nearest of Kindred, such as his Cousin-German, or Aunt, who, for want of Heirs male, were capable of inheriting the Crown, according to the Custome in *Spain*.

For want of Heirs male by the first Sister, the Prince might marry with the second, or third, and so on, until he met with one that produced such issue: and this Rite was punctually observed, and maintained to be legal, from the example of the Sun and Moon, and of the first *Inca* and his Sister, and from that Rule which enjoined them to keep the Streams of Royal Blood pure and unmixed, lest they should incur the impiety of mixing Divine Blood with Humane Race. And because the right of this Inheritance came as well by the Mother as the Father, the same could not be conveyed, unless they both concurred to make an Heir with an undoubted Title. Hereunto they added farther, that the Majesty of the Queen could not be communicated to any other, unto whom it did not appertain by Nature; for that her Conjunction and Union with the King could not render her capable of such a Character, which was to be worshipped and adored in the place of a Deity, for that were to commit Idolatry, by giving Divine Worship to a Humane Creature.

Besides the lawfull Queen those Kings might have many Concubines, both of their own Kindred, to the fourth Degree, and also of Strangers; but the Children by them were observed with different degrees of respect; the Sons by the Kingwomen were esteemed legitimate, having no mixture of common Blood, which quality was ever esteemed with high Veneration, when those by Strangers were accounted Bastards; and though they had some respect shewn them above that of common degree, yet it was not with such exterior and interior Devotion, as to those of purer Blood, who were accounted Gods, when these were onely honoured as Men. So that the King had three sorts of Children, one by his Sister and Wife, who were legitimate, and capable of the Succession; another sort was by his Kingwomen of the same Blood; and a third by Strangers, who were reputed Natural and Bastard-Sons.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

Of the different manners of inheriting Estates.

FOR want of Issue male by the legitimate Wife, the Law then was, that the Eldest of the true blood should succeed, as it happened in the case of *Manco Inca* a *Huascar*, as we shall hereafter make appear in its due place, for in no wife it would be permitted that a Bastard should inherit; and for want of lawfull Sons of the blood, the Inheritance fell to the next of Kindred, provided he were truly defended by Father and Mother.

By reason of this Law *Atahualpa* destroyed the whole Race of the true and Royal Blood, both Men and Women, (as we shall relate in its due place;) for he being a Bastard, and therefore incapable to inherit, made way to his usurped Kingdom by the death of the lawfull Heirs, left one of them remaining alive, should recover it again from his Power. All those of the Blood married together, to the fourth Degree, that so the Generation of them might multiply to great numbers; onely the eldest Sister was reserved for the King, it not being lawfull for any to take her besides himself. The eldest Son always inherited the Kingdom for a series of twelve Kings, who succeeded without interruption, until the Spaniards invaded them.

Howsoever amongst the *Curacas*, or Lords over Vassals, a different Rule and Custome was observed; for in some Provinces the Eldest Son succeeded, in others the most beloved, and esteemed for his Vertue, and Affability was the qualification required, of which the People being Judges, the Government seemed rather Elective than Hereditary. This Law was a curb to the Sons of the *Curacas*, restraining them from Tyranny, and an obligation to be virtuous; for in regard the Disposal of the Inheritance depended on the pleasure of the People; the Sons contended in kindness towards their Subjects, and every one laboured to render himself, by his Valour and Gentleness, the most beloved and acceptable to the People.

In some Provinces the Sons inherited according to their Birth, as when the Father dyed, the Eldest Son succeeded, then the second, then the third, and so forward; and when all the Brothers were extinct, the Inheritance fell to the Eldest Son of the Eldest Brother, and so successively; so that hence appears the mistake of a certain Spanish Historian, who says, that it was the common Custome of all *Peru*, that the Brothers of the King should gradually succeed one after the other; and that all of them being dead, then the Kingdom ascended again to the Eldest Son of the eldest Brother; which Error proceeded from a misunderstanding of the true difference between the manner of inheriting by *Incas*, and *Curacas*. For though the *Incas* did reduce and subdue many Provinces to their Power, yet they did not alter their Customes, and ancient Laws, unless they interfered with their Religion, and their own supreme and absolute Jurisdiction; but rather they confirmed many of those Customs which were good and laudable; particularly that whereby the most deserving Son was chosen to the Government, it seeming a spur and incitement to Vertue, to have Power and Grandeur set up for the Prize and Reward of their Merit: the which appeared so reasonable, that a certain *Inca* King desired once to have introduced this Custome into his own Family, and in despite of their own severe Law of Primogeniture, have made his Sons depend on the favour and air of the Peoples Suffrages, as we shall discourse in its due place. There is a People about forty Leagues to the Eastward of *Cusco*, which I have been amongst, of the Nation of *Quechua*, some call them *Sutucunca*, where a particular instance happened, relating to the different manner of inheriting in that Country. The *Curaca* of that People, called *Don Garcia*, finding himself at the point of death, called for his four Sons, who were Men grown, with the Nobles of his Province, and admonished them by way of his last Words and Testament, that

that they should observe and keep that Law of Jesus Christ which they had lately received, and for ever praise and thank God for sending them so inestimable a benefit and honour, and serve the *Spaniards* for having been the means and instruments of such Divine Revelations; and that they should serve and obey their Master with singular Affection, to whose lot and fortune it should fall to be their Lord and Governour; lastly, he told them, that since it was the Custome of their Countrey to elect the most vertuous unto their Government, he charged them to make choice of that Person amongst his Sons, whom they esteemed the most deserving; and that in case none of them appeared worthy of their paternal Succession and Honour, that then, passing them by, they should chuse such a Person from amongst themselves, whom they reputed of greatest Honour and Worthiness; for that since nothing was so dear to him as the common Good, and Benefit of his People, he desired not the promotion of his Children farther than as it tended to that end and design: All which a Priest, who had been his Confessor four, reported as a remarkable Testament and Passage in those barbarous parts.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Ceremonies when they weaned, and shaved, and gave Names to their Children.

THE *Incas*, when they weaned their Eldest Sons, they made great Feasts and rejoicing, which they did not observe for their Daughters, or second or third Sons, at least not with that solemnity; for the order of Primogeniture of Males was in high Esteem with the *Incas*, and by their Example with all their Subjects.

They weaned them at two years of age, and upwards, and then clipt off the Hair of their Heads, and with that gave them their Names: At which ceremony the Kindred assembled, and he that was to impose the Name, shored off the first lock of the Infant's Hair. Their Scissers were made of a Flint, for as yet the *Indians* were not arrived to a better Invention; after the God-father had snipped his lock, the rest of the Kindred did the like, one after the other, according to their Age and Quality; and when the Infant was quite shorn, then the Name was given, with the Presents which they brought; for some gave him Garments, and clothing, others bestowed Cattle, others Arms of divers Fashions, others Cups of Gold and Silver to drink in; the which was performed onely towards the Princes of the Royal Blood, for that the Commonalty were not permitted this Honour, unless by particular Privilege or Dispensation.

After this Ceremony was ended, then came in their drink, for a dry Feast was accounted dull, and with Singing, and Dancing, they passed the whole Day, untill Night parted them; which Jollity being the next day renewed, continued for three or four days, according to the quality of the Parents; the like Ceremony was observed, when the locks of the young Prince, and their apparent, were clipt, at which the High Priest of the Sun assisted, and was the first to cut his Hair; moreover at this solemnity the *Cumacas* of the whole Kingdom, either in Person, or by their Deputies appeared, and were assisting at this Festival, which continued for the space of at least twenty days, offering their Presents of Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones, and what else was curious and rare, in their respective Provinces.

In resemblance hereof (because it is natural for People to imitate their Prince) the *Cumacas*, and generally all the Nations of *Pern* followed this Example; in some proportion agreeable to their Quality and Ability; and this was accounted one of their most jolly and merry meetings.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

That they educated their Children without any tenderness.

AS well the *Incas*, as the Commonalty, both rich and poor, bred up their Children with the least of tenderness and delicacy that was possible: for so soon as an Infant was born, they washed it in cold water, before they swathed it in its Mantles; and then every morning they bathed it in cold water, and sometimes exposed it to the dew of the night; perhaps the Mother would sometimes out of tenderness spirt the water out of her mouth on the Child, and so wash it; but generally they had an opinion, that cold and exercise did corroborate and strengthen the Body and Limbs: their Armes they kept swathed, and bound down for three months, upon supposition, that to loose them sooner, would weaken them; they kept them always in their Cradles, which was a pitifull kind of a frame, set on four legs, one of which was shorter than the rest, for convenience of rocking, the Bed was made of a sort of coarse knitting, which was something more soft than the bare boards, and with a string of this knitting they bound up the Child on one side, and the other, to keep it from falling out.

When they gave them suck they never took them into their Lap or Armes, for if they had used them in that manner, they believed that they would never leave crying, and would always expect to be in Armes, and not lie quiet in their Cradles; and therefore the Mother would lean over the Child, and reach it the Breast, which they did three times a day, that is, at morning, noon and night; and unless it were at those times, they never gave it suck; for they said, that not accustoming it to set hours, would cause it to expect suckling the whole day, and be never quiet, but when the Breast was at the Mouth, which causes frequent vomits and pawkings, and made them, when they were grown Men, to be gluttons, and drunkards; for we see, said they, in other Creatures, that they administer their Dugs and Nipples to their Young at certain hours and seasons. The Mother always nursed her own Child, for though she were a Lady of the highest degree, she would never suffer her Infant to be nourished with the milk of another, unless in the case of sickness, or some other infirmity; and during the time of their nursing, they abstained from the Bed of their Husbands, as that which would curdle their milk, and make the Child a Changeling. Such as were thus transferred to stranger Nurse, were called *Ayusca*, which is a participle of the preterperfect tense, and is as much as to say, one denied, or renounced, or changed by its Parents; and by way of Metaphor the younger sort would reproach one the other with that word, intimating that his Mistress shew'd more favour to his Rival than to himself; to utter that word to a married man were a high affront, being one of those five words that are scandalous, and will bear an Action. I knew once a *Pallas*, or Lady of the Blood Royal, who was forced to give her Daughter to be suckled by another; the faithless Nurse proving with Child, her Foster-child fell into a Consumption and Convulsions, and became nothing but Skin and Bones; the Mother finding her Daughter in this manner made *Ayusca*, at the end of eight months after, when she had almost dried up her milk; she restored her Infant to her own natural Breasts, which fetched down her milk again, and applying an Unguent of Herbs to the Shoulders, the Infant recovered, which was before given over, as in a desperate condition; such is the virtue of the Mother's Milk, that there is nothing more medicinal, and nothing more restorative than that natural sustenance.

If the Mother had a sufficient stock of Milk, the Child never received any other nourishment than that, untill the time it was weaned; for they were of opinion, that all other sorts of food created nothing but crudities and indigestions. When it was time to take it out of the Cradle, they made a little pit for it in the floor, which reached to the Breast, in which they put it, with some old clouts to make

it soft, to which the Child being inured, did not trouble the Mother's Armes, and having some few play-things thrown before it, it pleased and contented it self without the least disturbance; and so unwilling were they to accustom it to the Lap, that though it were a Child of the greatest *Curaca* of the Kingdom, it was not treated otherwise; and that when it was grown so big as to crawl about, they would use it to suck upon its knees at one Breast, and then teach it to creep about to the other, but would never take it into the Armes. The Woman in Child-bed was treated yet more hardly than was the Child; for so soon as she had brought forth, she went to the next stream, or to some cold water in the House, where she washed her self and her Infant, and afterwards applied her self to her domestick Affairs, without any concernment whatsoever: They had no use of Midwives, or others, at their Labours, and if any did assist, she was rather a Witch, or Enchantress, than a Midwife. And this was all the custom and manner in *Peru*, which was equally practised by the Rich and Poor, Nobility and Commonalty, both at the Birth of their Children, and breeding them up afterwards.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Huswifery of the married Women.

THE married Women always employed themselves at home in spinning and weaving Wool in the cold Countries, and of Cottons in the hot, every one spinning and making Cloaths for themselves, their Husbands, and Children; sowing was the least of their work, either for Men or Women, for their thread was bad, and their needles worse; notwithstanding whatsoever they wove, whether Wool, or Cotton, all was spun, and twined into threads. All their Cloth was made of four threads, and not woven wider or longer, than just as much as was sufficient to make a Mantle, Shirt, or Waistcoat; their Vestments were not cut out, or shaped, but all of a piece, after the manner that they came from the Loom; for before they began to weave them, they designed the proportion of length and breadth, which they intended to give them; so that they had need neither of Taylors, Hosiery, nor Shoemakers; for they had no need of those things which we make necessities, and their Women took care of their Houses and Clothing, onely the Men were to provide the Hofs, or Stockings, and Arms; and though the *Incas* of the Royal Bloud, and such as were *Curacas*, and rich Men, had Servants to perform all these works for them; yet sometimes for divertisement, and in compliance with the Profession which their Law enjoined them, they sometimes did not disdain to work themselves, and make a pair of Breeches, or Stockings, or an Arrow; or some other sort of Arms; but as to the Labours of the field both Men and Women, did jointly concur in their assistance one of the other.

In some Provinces far distant from *Cusco*, where the Lands were ill-manured, there the Women laboured in the Field, and the Men remained at home to spin and weave; but my Discourse is here of those Countries onely to which the Power and Jurisdiction of the *Incas* did extend, for other parts were so barbarous, and void of all humanity, that it were not worth our time or labour to give an account of their Customs or Manners. The *Indian* Women were so addicted to spinning, and so unwilling to lose time from their Labour and Work, that as they walked from the Villages to the City, and so in their return home, and also in their Visits, and Conversation together, they still made use of their Spindle and Reel; for this was the constant employment of the common People; but the *Pallas*, or Ladies, who were of the Royal Bloud, whenever they made their Visits, they made their Serving-Maids carry their Spindles and work with them,

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and during their Visits, not to loose time, or be idle; they spun and worked as they discoursed; their Spindles were made of Canes, as we in *Spain* have them of Iron, they were crooked, but not hollow at the point, as ours are; with their thread they made a kind of Filleting, which they wound in upon their Spindles, twisting it with the fingers of their left hand; their Distaff they carried in their left hand, and not at their girdle; being about a quarter of a yard long, and held between two of their Fingers, and then with both hands they formed the fineness of their thread, and cleared it of foulness; but did not wet it at their mouths, because in any time they spun nothing there besides Wool and Cottons; nor do they make any great riddance of their work, because their Instruments and Tools are bad, as we have already declared.

CHAP. XIV.

How the Women made their Visits; how they worked; and that common Whores were permitted amongst them.

WHEN any Woman, that was not a *Palla*, though she were the Wife of a *Curaca*, who is a Lord that hath command over his Subjects, came to make a Visit to a *Palla*, who was a Lady of the Bloud Royal; so soon as the first Salutations and Complements were ended, the presently asked whether she had any Work for her, or Service to command her; for the carrying not her Work with her, did seem to intimate, that she pretended not to so much familiarity as to come onely for Converse, but as an inferior, to demand wherein she might be esteemed usefull in her service. The *Palla*, to make a courteous return to this humble proffer, would usually give her some of the same work which she, or one of her Daughters was then working; for to have put any thing else into her hand, which her Maids were doing, would have equalled her Visitant with them, which in this manner was a Complement, and a courteous preferring her to some degree of equality with her self and her Daughters. Such was the courtesie and obliging carriage of one to the other; for it was the design and fashion in that state, for the Superiours to carry themselves with an affable and winning behaviour towards their inferiours, and for them with all Modesty and Obedience; to honour and respect their superiour Magistrates and Rulers; which was the common practice of all, even from the *Inca*, who was King, to the meanest Peasant, or Shepherd, whom they called *Llamamiches*.

The *Spanish* Women, which came afterwards to live at *Cusco*, imitated this custom, after the manner of the *Indian* Women, carrying always their Work with them, whenever they came to make their Visits; and this fashion was in use amongst them to their great commendation, untill such time as *Francisco Hernandez* began his Civil War, which as it introduced nothing but Tyranny and Cruelty, so it abolished this laudable custom, and discountenanced all virtuous and innocent practices. I forgot to mention the great care they had in mending their Clothes, in case they were broken by any accident, as torn by a Nail, or burnt with a coal of fire, for then they presently darned it up again with their needle made of a Thorn, and with thread of the same colour; and bringing it again to the Loom, they so neatly wove in the Thread, that it could not be seen where the rent was made; and in this matter they thought they had more wit than the *Spaniards*, and would laugh at the patches they laid on their Clothes. The truth is, the Web which the *Indians* wove, was different to the fabrick of Cloth which the *Spaniards* made, and would not bear the same sort of mending. It is also observable, that the Fire-hearths which the *Indians* used to dress their meat in, were a kind of Ovens, made of clay, bigger or less, according to the Wealth or Estate of

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of the Master: the Fire vented it self at the mouth of these Ovens, and on the top was a place for two or three Dishes, in which they set their Meat, and was so very a great convenience for their Cookery, both in dressing their Meat well, and saving their Wood; that it seemed the most ingenious of all their contrivances; and therefore it was strange, that the *Spaniards*, when they came in amongst them, should despise and destroy this invention.

To avoid greater evils, the *Incas* thought fit to permit common Whores to live amongst them; but then they were not to remain in the City, but in little Huts without in the Fields, separate from all society, that so by their conversation they might not have opportunity to corrupt other Women: the Name they gave them was *Pampayruna*, which signifies both their profession and place of residence; *Pampa* is a Country or open place; and *Runa* properly is a Person, either Man or Woman; so that these two words in composition, are as much as one who lives alone in the Field; and as we say, a Hedge-whore; and that as the Fields are open, so is her Body, and embraces to receive any one who hath an appetite to come to her. The Men treated these Women with all sort of contempt and scorn; and the Women were not so much as to name them, under penalty of incurring the same title and censure; and of having their Heads publicly thorn, of being stigmatized for infamous, and divorced from their Husbands: they never called them by other name, than that of *Pampayruna*, which is as much as Common Harlot.

CHAP. XV.

The Inca Roca, the sixth King, subdues many Nations, and, amongst others, the People of Chancas and Hancohuallu.

THE Father being dead, his Son *Inca Roca* (whose Name, as *Blas Valera* says, signifies prudent and considerate) took upon him the Government, binding his Head with the coloured Wreath; and having accomplished the Solemnities of his Father's Funeral, he made a progress into all parts of his Dominions, to visit, and settle, and order what was there amiss; in which Journey he passed the three first years of his Reign: And then determining to proceed farther in his Conquests, he ordered sufficient force to be levied, and therewith passed on the side of *Chimbohyu*, which lies Northerly from *Cusco*. He commanded also that a Bridge should be made over the River *Ashimay*, which is in the great Road from the City of *Cusco* to the King's Town; for that he being now King, it seemed too low and mean for him to transport his Army over the River on Floats, as he had done when he was Prince; being more Great and Royal to erect the fixed convenience of a Bridge, which for better uniting a correspondence with the Provinces lately conquered, was now become almost necessary.

The Bridge being finished, he departed from *Cusco* with an Army of twenty thousand Men, under the Command of four Major-Generals, ordering his Men to March three a-breast over this Bridge; which being a new device, and not before practised, was Recorded to the Honour of his Memory. Thence he proceeded to the Vale of *Amanay*, or the Cowslip Vally, because of the great quantities of them which grow in those parts; this Flower is in the fashion of a Bell, and in that Country are of a greenish colour, smooth, without Leaves; and for their similitude with the Cowslip, the *Spaniards* gave them that name. From *Amanay* he took to the right hand, towards the Mountain *Cordillera*, which overtops the stony desert, and between that and the great Road he met some few people,

people, whom he reduced under his Dominion; the which were called *Tichuara* and *Quinnalla*; then he came to *Cochacalla*, where he made some stay and abode; and from thence he proceeded to *Curampa*; and, without difficulty, subdued that people, because they were few in number: from *Curampa* he came to the Province called *Antahuaylla*, which is inhabited on both sides of the way for the space of sixteen or seventeen Leagues; by a people both rich and warlike: This Nation is called *Chanca*, boasting themselves to be descended from one *Leon*, whom they esteemed and adored for a God; and at their great Festivals, both before and after they were subdued by the *Incas*, they carried twenty four Pictures in Procession, painted after the manner of *Hercules*, with a Lion's skin, and a Man's head: I remember I saw these Pictures once brought forth on *Corpus Christi* day, or the Feast of the Holy Sacrament. Under this denomination of *Chanca* many other Nations were comprehended, as *Hancohualla*, *Umsilla*, *Oramarca*, *Vilca* and others; all of which make their boasts of being descended from different Originals; some from this Fountain, others from that Lake; every Nation esteeming that for their God, and thereunto offering Sacrifice, from whence they owned and derived their Pedigree; the Ancestours of these people were said to be come from far; and to have conquered many Provinces in their passage until they arrived at the Country of *Antahuaylla*; the which they subdued by force of Arms, and expelled the ancient Inhabitants of it; and afterwards gaining much Land from the *Quechuas*, they drove them up, and straitned them in their Quarters, made them pay a Tribute, which they exacted with the highest Tyranny, besides many other famous Achievements, of which their posterity did greatly glory. Of all which the *Inca Roca* being well informed, he thought them worthy of his Conquest; so that so soon as he arrived on the Confines of *Antahuaylla*, he dispatched his usual Summons to the *Chancas*, requiring them to submit to the Offspring of the Sun, or otherwise prepare themselves for battle. These people assembling together to consider of these Summons, were divided into two several Parties and Opinions. Some maintained that they ought not to refuse to receive the *Inca* for their Lord, who was descended from the Sun; others who boasted of their Lineage from *Leon*, were of a contrary persuasion; for being Allied to *Leon*, and Masters of many Countries and People, judged it a disparagement to be subjected to any other, or to be cheated with a fabulous pretence of the Sun and his Family; and that it was more agreeable to the Banners which they carried, and the ancient Honours which they had acquired by the Conquest of so many Nations, rather to subdue others, than tamely to submit to an unknown Master; and forgetting all their ancient bravery, poorly and basely to yield themselves at the first Summons without so much as an appearance in the Field, or displaying their Banners would argue the highest piece of degeneracy and cowardice of mind in the World.

In this ambiguity of mind and irresolution, sometimes inclining to a surrender, and then again to adventure a battle, the *Chancas* persisted many days; of which the *Inca* having intelligence, determined to enter their Country, and affright them with the advance of his Army; for that perhaps to a people of their disposition, who availed themselves much upon their ancient Prowess and Victories; indulgence and gentleness would be argued as a point of fear and cowardice, and that therefore to attempt them briskly was the onely way to strike a terror in them, and astonish them with the fear of a cruel War, and a severe Punishment as an effect thereof; in pursuance of this resolution, he ordered his Major-Generals to invade the Country of *Antahuaylla*; and immediately upon their entry to send their Summons to the *Chancas*, telling them plainly, that they must either receive the *Inca* for their Lord, or else must prepare to offer their lives a sacrifice to his Sword; for that their contumacy and rebellion was such as was not longer tolerable, and that their delays and impertinencies had already wearied his patience. The *Chancas* observing this resolution of the *Inca*, and that the *Quechuas*, and other Nations, whom in former times they had injured and provoked, judged it convenient to temporize, and with a feigned submission to accept the conditions of Surrender, being moved thereunto out of fear of his force, and of that revenge which their Enemies might by this opportunity take upon them, rather than out of any affection or esteem they had to his Laws and Ordinances, as will be proved hereafter in the process of this History.

The *Inca* leaving his Officers to receive their submission, proceeded forward in his Conquests to another Province called *Uramarca*, which also is surnamed *Chanca*, and is a small Countrey, but very populous, and inhabited by such a hardy and war-like Nation; that had their Numbers been equal to their Courage, they had been capable to have made a stout and considerable resistance; for that the people on this side were not so easy, and simple, and fond of the *Incas*, and their Government, as were those of *Contisuyu* and *Collasuyu*; howsoever, to be short, those of *Uramarca* submitted, but with much reluctance, and against their inclinations. Thence the *Inca* marched forwards to the people called *Hancobuallo* and *Vilca*, named by the Spaniards *Vilcas*, who with the same unwillingness yielded to the power of the *Inca*; for that these people, being all *Chanças*, were Lords themselves of divers Provinces, which by force of Arms they had subdued, and did daily enlarge their Dominions; with which their ambition and covetousness increasing, they could not, without difficulty, forego their Usurpations and Tyranny over others, to yield themselves to the same conditions; the which refractory humour of theirs the *Inca* Roca observing, reproved in them with severe reprehension; and though they received his Admonitions with Mortification and Anger, yet they durst not openly own and discover their dislike. In both these Provinces their custome was to Sacrifice Children to their Gods at their principal Feasts; of which the *Inca* being informed, he made a discourse to them of the inhumanity and unreasonableness of such a custome, and that for the future they should Adore the Sun for their God, and receive the Statutes and Ordinances which he had given them; declaring to them by his own mouth, that he would exact the life of every Child at their hands, whom they should in that manner attempt to destroy; and that in punishment for the offence, he would destroy and root out their whole Nation, and give their Countrey to be inhabited by a better sort of people, of more bowels and compassion, who should love and cherish their own blood, as nature required them. Nothing could come more dolefull and sad, than this news to the Ears of these people, who were persuaded by the Devils, whom they worshipped for their Gods, that this Sacrifice of tender Infants was most acceptable of any to the Infernal Powers.

From *Vilca* he took the way on the left hand, and marched Westward, towards the Sea-coast, and entered one of those two Provinces, which are both styled by the name of *Sulla*, though for distinction sake one of them is called *Umsulla*: these two Provinces comprehend under them many Nations of different Names, some of them being full of people, others having but few. And in the Histories of these matters, to avoid tedious discourses, they report, that the Number of them might be of about forty thousand Families; in the subduing of which, the *Inca* is said to have spent much time, and some report three years; which were chiefly taken up in the persuasions and gentle Arts which the *Inca* used for reducing of that people, being more desirous to conquer them by kindness, than the severity of Arms. For those *Indians* confiding much in their own Numbers, and Art of War, did often incline to a breach, and a defence of themselves; but that the moderation of the *Inca*, and his prudent conduct of affairs was such, that with time he reduced them to his service, and a willingness to receive his Laws, and such Governours and Ministers as he was pleased to constitute over them; and then afterwards with this success and victory he returned to *Cusco*. In these two Provinces of *Sulla* and *Umsulla*, there were about thirty two years past, some very rich Mines discovered of Silver, and Quick-silver; the latter of which is very usefull in Melting the Silver Ore.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Prince Yahuarhuacac, and the Interpretation of his Name.

THE King *Inca Roca* having passed some Years in the quiet possession and government of his Kingdoms, thought it fit to employ his Son and Heir, named *Tabuarhuacac*, in the entire Conquest of *Antisuyu*, which lyes to the East of *Cusco*, and not far from the City; for on that side no great advance had been made since the time of the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, who had not proceeded farther than the River *Pancartampu*.

But before we proceed farther in the Relation of this Story, it would be requisite to explain the signification of this long name of *Tabuarhuacac*, and the reason which they had to give it to the Prince. It is a Tale amongst the *Indians*, that when he was a Child of three or four years old, his Tears were blood, perhaps it was because he had some disease in his Eyes, and that the blood, when he cried, might fall from thence with his tears: But it is a general belief amongst them, that so soon as he came crying into the World, his Tears were blood: It might likewise perhaps be, that he brought something of the Matritial blood with him on his Eyes, which the superstitious *Indians* were ready to interpret for Tears; but be the cause what it will, they would not be persuaded out of this belief; and on this supposition founded many of their Witcheries and Prognostications, foretelling the anger and displeasure of his Father the Sun against him, and that therefore he would be unfortunate and accursed. The derivation therefore of his Name, is evident from *Tabuar*, to weep, and *Huacac*. This manner of Weeping must have been when he was a Child, and not at Man's estate; for then he was neither overcome nor taken Prisoner, as some will have it; for none of the *Incas* was ever so unfortunate, untill the time of the wretched *Huascar*, whom the Traytor *Atahualpa* his Bastard-brother took Prisoner, as we shall relate in its due place, if God Almighty gives us life and power to arrive so far in this our History. Nor was he stoll away when he was an Infant, as some Writers will have it; for it is not probable, that when *Indians* conceived generally such awe and veneration for their *Incas* and the Royal Blood, that any person should be found so profligate, and daring as to steal the Prince and Heir to the Empire; nor is it probable, that the Tutors and Servants should be so remiss in their care and charge; for such was the reverence that the *Indians* bore towards their *Incas*, that the very imagination of such an attempt would have terrified them to that degree, that they would have believed the very thought would have procured the vengeance of Heaven, and caused the Earth to have opened and swallowed both them and their whole Families: For, as we have formerly said, they worshipped the Sun for their God, and for his sake the *Incas*, whom they accounted Children descended from him, were adored with the same divine Honours.

These Tears of blood which the *Indians* interpreted to be ominous, and to be fore-runners of some dismal fate, put me in mind of another superstitious fancy of theirs, which they gathered from the motion and twinkling of the eyes; for it was a common opinion both of the *Incas* and his Subjects, that the Eyes did Prognosticate by their motion and twinkling either good or bad fortune; for it was accounted good luck when the upper eye-lid of the left eye twinkled, for they said, that it foresaw matters of contentment and satisfaction; but much more when the right eye-lid sparkled and twinkled, that was a most excellent sign of all happiness and prosperity, peace and plenty imaginable: And to the contrary, when the lower Curtain of the right eye trembled, it betokened weeping and tears for some sad and unfortunate accident; but if the lower part

of the left eye moved, it foretold nothing but woe and sorrow, and such miseries as would produce nothing but grief, and abundance of tears: And such confidence and belief did they put in these symptoms, that in case the lower eyelashes did but so much as tremble, they immediately put themselves into most violent passions of fear and weeping; and in apprehension of what they feared, they made themselves more miserable, than if all the misfortunes of the World had already fallen upon them: And then for the only remedy of the ensuing evils, they entertained another superstition more ridiculous than the former: they would take the point of a Straw, and wetting it with Spittle, they would stick it beneath their eye; and would then say, comforting themselves, that that blessed Straw which crossed their under eye-lid would flanch the tears which were to flow from their eyes, and prevent the Evils which the tremblings did prognosticate: The like conjectures almost they made from a buzzing, or singing in their Ears, which I forbear to enlarge upon, because it was not so remarkable and certain as that of the Eyes; and both one and the other I can testify, because I have seen and heard their Lamentations on those occasions.

The King *Inca Roca* (as we have said) resolving to send his Son to conquer *Anisuyu*, ordered an Army of fifteen thousand Souldiers to be raised, under the Command of three Major-Generals, whom he joined with him for Companions and Counsellours. The Prince being well instructed in all matters, proceeded with good success as far as the River *Pancartampu*, and thence marched forwards to *Challapampa*, where he reduced those few poor Indians which he found in those Quarters; thence he passed to *Pillcupata*, where he planted four Colonies with a sort of wandering and vagabond people. From *Pillcupata* he travelled to *Havisca* and *Tuna*, where the first Subjects of *Chacras de Cuca* submitted to the Dominion of the *Incas*, and where great quantities of that Herb called *Cuca* grows: the Inheritance of *Havisca* was afterwards given to my Lord and Father *Garcilasso de Vega*, and he was pleased to bestow that Estate upon me for my life, but I renounced, and left it upon my going into Spain. The passage into these Vallies where the *Cuca* grows, is over that high Mountain called *Canac-huay*, descending five Leagues almost perpendicular, which makes a Man's head giddy to look down; how much more laboursome must it be to ascend and descend those ways turning and winding in form of a Serpent?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Idols which the Indians of Antis worshipped, and of the Conquest made over the Charcas.

IN those Provinces of *Antis* they commonly worshipped Tygers for their Gods, and great Serpents, much thicker than a Man's Thigh, and twenty five, or thirty foot in length, though some others might be less, called *Amarus*; they are a certain sort of a sluggish Serpent, which are not venomous, and, as they say, were charmed by a skilfull Sorcerer, that they should doe no harm, having before been dangerous, and very poisonous. The Tiger they adored for his nimbleness and bravery, saying that Serpents and Tygers were the true and natural Inhabitants and Lords of that Countrey, and therefore did justly require reverence and respect from Men, who were but Strangers and Aliens in it. They worshipped also the Plant *Cuca*, or *Coca*, as the Spaniards call it. Thus far the Prince *Tahuar-Huacac* having enlarged his Dominions, being almost thirty Leagues in length, and in a Countrey ill Inhabited, he found himself stopped in his farther progress, by the Mountains, moorish Grounds and Bogs, which interrupted him in his passage, and all that side takes the Denomination of *Anisuyu*.

The Prince having finished this Conquest, returned to *Cusco*, where his Father for that present, thought fit to repose, and lay aside all farther designs of new Enterprises; for on the side of *Anisuyu*, which is to the Eastward, there remained nothing more to conquer; and to the Westward, which they called *Chimisuyu*, there was nothing more to be reduced, for they were come as far as to the Pacific Sea, or the Sea of *Zur*, so that the Empire, from East to West, extended at least an hundred Leagues cross along by the way of *Cusco*, and then from North to South it reached two hundred Leagues: All which tract of Land the *Incas* laboured to manure, and cultivate, and adorn with Royal Palaces, Gardens, Baths, and places of Pleasure for divertisement of the *Incas*; and for better convenience of the Countrey, they erected in all the great Roads Magazines and Granaries, wherein to lodge their Ammunition, Arms, Corn, Provisions, and Clothing for the common Souldiery.

Some Years being passed in this manner with peace and quiet, when the King *Inca Roca* resolved to add another famous Archievement to the glory of his Reign, that so in person he might put an end to the entire Conquest of those great Provinces, which were called *Charcas*, the beginning of which was commenced in the time of his Father, in the Division of *Collasuyu*: And in order hereunto he commanded thirty thousand Men to be levied, which was an Army greater than any that his Ancestours had yet brought into the field; to command this Army six Major Generals were appointed, besides other inferior Officers; and the Prince *Tahuar-Huacac* was, with four other *Incas* for his Counsellours, ordained to remain at home for government of the Kingdom. The *Inca* took his Journey from *Cusco* by way of the great Road towards *Collasuyu*, and in his march all the forces came in to make up his Army: And being come to the Confines of those Provinces of *Chunchuri*, *Pucuna*, and *Muyumuyu*, which bordered on his Kingdom; he sent his summons to them, acquainting them, that he was come to reduce those Nations, and require them to live under those Laws which his Father the Sun had ordained; and that leaving their Idols made of Stone and Wood, they should worship him onely for their God; and that forsaking their corrupt Customs, and Manners, they should learn and follow the light of Nature, and the Instructions of his Wisdom, which would direct them in ways more agreeable to humane Life. The Natives of these Countries received the message with great anger, and the young and hot Captains betook themselves to their Arms, and answered with fury and rage, That it was a hard case for them, that they must be forced to renounce their own natural Gods, and adore a stranger, and a God unknown to them; that

The *Inca* leaving his Officers to receive their submission, proceeded forward in his Conquests to another Province called *Uramarca*, which also is surnamed *Chanca*, and is a small Countrey, but very populous, and inhabited by such a hardy and war-like Nation; that had their Numbers been equal to their Courage, they had been capable to have made a stout and considerable resistance; for that the people on this side were not so easy, and simple, and fond of the *Incas*, and their Government, as were those of *Contisuyu* and *Collasuyu*; howsoever, to be short, those of *Uramarca* submitted, but with much reluctance, and against their inclinations. Thence the *Inca* marched forwards to the people called *Hancoballlo* and *Vilca*, named by the *Spaniards* *Vilcas*, who with the same unwillingness yielded to the power of the *Inca*; for that these people, being all *Chancas*, were Lords themselves of divers Provinces, which by force of Arms they had subdued, and did daily enlarge their Dominions; with which their ambition and covetousness increasing, they could not, without difficulty, forego their Usurpations and Tyranny over others, to yield themselves to the same conditions; the which refractory humour of theirs the *Inca* Roca observing, reproved in them with severe reprehension; and though they received his Admonitions with Mortification and Anger, yet they durst not openly own and discover their dislike. In both these Provinces their custom was to Sacrifice Children to their Gods at their principal Feasts; of which the *Inca* being informed, he made a discourse to them of the inhumanity and unreasonableness of such a custom, and that for the future they should Adore the Sun for their God, and receive the Statutes and Ordinances which he had given them; declaring to them by his own mouth, that he would exact the life of every Child at their hands, whom they should in that manner attempt to destroy; and that in punishment for the offence, he would destroy and root out their whole Nation, and give their Countrey to be inhabited by a better sort of people, of more bowels and compassion, who should love and cherish their own blood, as nature required them. Nothing could come more doleful and sad, than this news to the Ears of these people, who were persuaded by the Devils, whom they worshipped for their Gods, that this Sacrifice of tender Infants was most acceptable of any to the Infernal Powers.

From *Vilca* he took the way on the left hand, and marched Westward, towards the Sea-coast, and entered one of those two Provinces, which are both styled by the name of *Sulla*, though for distinction sake one of them is called *Urimisulla*: these two Provinces comprehend under them many Nations of different Names, some of them being full of people, others having but few. And in the Histories of these matters, to avoid tedious discourses, they report, that the Number of them might be of about forty thousand Families; in the subduing of which, the *Inca* is said to have spent much time, and some report three years; which were chiefly taken up in the persuasions and gentle Arts which the *Inca* used for reducing of that people, being more desirous to conquer them by kindness, than the severity of Arms. For those *Indians* confiding much in their own Numbers, and Art of War, did often incline to a breach, and a defence of themselves; but that the moderation of the *Inca*, and his prudent conduct of affairs was such, that with time he reduced them to his service, and a willingness to receive his Laws, and such Governours and Ministers as he was pleased to constitute over them; and then afterwards with this success and victory he returned to *Cusco*. In these two Provinces of *Sulla* and *Urimisulla*, there were about thirty two years past, some very rich Mines discovered of Silver, and Quick-silver; the latter of which is very usefull in Melting the Silver Ore.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Prince Yahuarhuacac, and the Interpretation of his Name.

THE King *Inca Roca* having passed some Years in the quiet possession and government of his Kingdoms, thought it fit to employ his Son and Heir, named *Yahuarhuacac*, in the entire Conquest of *Anisuyu*, which lies to the East of *Cusco*, and not far from the City; for on that side no great advance had been made since the time of the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, who had not proceeded farther than the River *Pancartampu*.

But before we proceed farther in the Relation of this Story, it would be requisite to explain the signification of this long name of *Yahuarhuacac*, and the reason which they had to give it to the Prince. It is a Tale amongst the *Indians*, that when he was a Child of three or four years old, his Tears were blood, perhaps it was because he had some disease in his Eyes, and that the blood, when he cried, might fall from thence with his tears: But it is a general belief amongst them, that so soon as he came crying into the World, his Tears were blood: It might likewise perhaps be, that he brought something of the Matritial blood with him on his Eyes, which the superstitious *Indians* were ready to interpret for Tears; but be the cause what it will, they would not be persuaded out of this belief; and on this supposition founded many of their Witcheries and Prognostications; foretelling the anger and displeasure of his Father the Sun against him, and that therefore he would be unfortunate and accursed. The derivation therefore of his Name, is evident from *Yahuar*, to weep, and *Huacac*. This manner of Weeping must have been when he was a Child, and not at Man's estate; for then he was neither overcome nor taken Prisoner, as some will have it; for none of the *Incas* was ever so unfortunate, until the time of the wretched *Huafcar*, whom the Traitor *Atahualpa* his Bastard-brother took Prisoner, as we shall relate in its due place, if God Almighty gives us life and power to arrive so far in this our History. Nor was he stoln away when he was an Infant, as some Writers will have it; for it is not probable, that when *Indians* conceived generally such awe and veneration for their *Incas* and the Royal Blood, that any person should be found so profligate, and daring as to steal the Prince and Heir to the Empire; nor is it probable, that the Tutors and Servants should be so remiss in their care and charge; for such was the reverence that the *Indians* bore towards their *Incas*, that the very imagination of such an attempt would have terrified them to that degree, that they would have believed the very thought would have procured the vengeance of Heaven, and caused the Earth to have opened and swallowed both them and their whole Families: For, as we have formerly said, they worshipped the Sun for their God, and for his sake the *Incas*, whom they accounted Children descended from him, were adored with the same divine Honours.

These Tears of blood which the *Indians* interpreted to be ominous, and to be fore-runners of some dismal fate, put me in mind of another superstitious fancy of theirs, which they gathered from the motion and twinkling of the eyes; for it was a common opinion both of the *Incas* and his Subjects, that the Eyes did Prognosticate by their motion and twinkling either good or bad fortune; for it was accounted good luck when the upper eye-lid of the left eye twinkled, for they said, that it foresaw matters of contentment and satisfaction; but much more when the right eye-lid sparkled and twinkled, that was a most excellent sign of all happiness and prosperity, peace and plenty imaginable: And to the contrary, when the lower Curtain of the right eye trembled, it betokened weeping and tears for some sad and unfortunate accident; but if the lower part of

of the left eye moved, it foretold nothing but woe and sorrow, and such miseries as would produce nothing but grief, and abundance of tears: And such confidence and belief did they put in these symptoms, that in case the lower eyelashes did but so much as tremble, they immediately put themselves into most violent passions of fear and weeping; and in apprehension of what they feared, they made themselves more miserable, than if all the misfortunes of the World had already fallen upon them: And then for the only remedy of the ensuing evils, they entertained another superstition more ridiculous than the former: they would take the point of a Straw, and wetting it with Spittle, they would stick it beneath their eye; and would then say, comforting themselves, that that blessed Straw which crossed their under eye-lid would stanch the tears which were to flow from their eyes, and prevent the Evils which the tremblings did Prognosticate: The like conjectures almost they made from a buzzing, or singing in their Ears, which I forbear to enlarge upon, because it was not so remarkable and certain as that of the Eyes; and both one and the other I can testify, because I have seen and heard their Lamentations on those occasions.

The King *Inca Roca* (as we have said) resolving to send his Son to conquer *Antisuyu*, ordered an Army of fifteen thousand Souldiers to be raised, under the Command of three Major-Generals, whom he joined with him for Companions and Counsellours. The Prince being well instructed in all matters, proceeded with good success as far as the River *Paucartampu*, and thence marched forwards to *Challapampa*, where he reduced those few poor *Indians* which he found in those Quarters; thence he passed to *Pillcupata*, where he planted four Colonies with a sort of wandring and vagabond people. From *Pillcupata* he travelled to *Haviscá* and *Tuna*, where the first Subjects of *Chac-ras de Cúca* submitted to the Dominion of the *Incas*, and where great quantities of that Herb called *Cúca* grows: the Inheritance of *Haviscá* was afterwards given to my Lord and Father *Garcilasso de Vega*, and he was pleased to bestow that Estate upon me for my life, but I renounced, and left it upon my going into *Spain*. The passage into these Vallies where the *Cúca* grows, is over that high Mountain called *Canaq-huay*, descending five Leagues almost perpendicular, which makes a Man's head giddy to look down; how much more labourfome must it be to ascend and descend those ways turning and winding in form of a Serpent?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Idols which the Indians of Antis worshipped, and of the Conquest made over the Charcas.

IN those Provinces of *Antis* they commonly worshipped Tygers for their Gods, and great Serpents, much thicker than a Man's Thigh, and twenty five, or thirty foot in length, though some others might be less, called *Amaru*; they are a certain sort of a sluggish Serpent, which are not venomous, and, as they say, were charmed by a skillfull Sorcerer, that they should do no harm, having before been dangerous, and very poisonous. The Tiger they adored for his nimbleness and bravery, saying that Serpents and Tygers were the true and natural Inhabitants and Lords of that Countrey, and therefore did justly require reverence and respect from Men, who were but Strangers and Aliens in it. They worshipped also the Plant *Cúca*, or *Coca*, as the *Spaniards* call it. Thus far the Prince *Tabuar-Huacac* having enlarged his Dominions, being almost thirty Leagues in length, and in a Countrey ill Inhabited, he found himself stopped in his farther progress, by the Mountains, moorish Grounds and Bogs, which interrupted him in his passage, and which confine and give bounds to that Province, properly named *Antis*, whence all that side takes the Denomination of *Antisuyu*.

The Prince having finished this Conquest, returned to *Cusco*, where his Father for that present, thought fit to repose, and lay aside all farther designs of new Enterprises; for on the side of *Antisuyu*, which is to the Eastward, there remained nothing more to conquer; and to the Westward, which they called *Chusisuyu*, there was nothing more to be reduced, for they were come as far as to the Pacifick Sea, or the Sea of *Zur*, so that the Empire, from East to West, extended at least an hundred Leagues cross along by the way of *Cusco*, and then from North to South it reached two hundred Leagues: All which tract of Land the *Incas* laboured to manure, and cultivate, and adorn with Royal Palaces, Gardens, Baths, and places of Pleasure for divertisement of the *Incas*; and for better convenience of the Countrey, they erected in all the great Roads Magazines and Granaries, wherein to lodge their Ammunition, Arms, Corn, Provisions, and Clothing for the common Souldiery.

Some Years being passed in this manner with peace and quiet, when the King *Inca Roca* resolved to add another famous Atchievement to the glory of his Reign, that so in person he might put an end to the entire Conquest of those great Provinces, which were called *Charcas*, the beginning of which was commenced in the time of his Father, in the Division of *Collasuyu*: And in order hereunto he commanded thirty thousand Men to be levied, which was an Army greater than any that his Ancestours had yet brought into the field; to command this Army six Major Generals were appointed, besides other inferior Officers; and the Prince *Tabuar-Huacac* was, with four other *Incas* for his Counsellours, ordained to remain at home for government of the Kingdom. The *Inca* took his Journey from *Cusco* by way of the great Road towards *Collasuyu*, and in his march all the forces came in to make up his Army: And being come to the Confines of those Provinces of *Chucunari*, *Pucuna*, and *Mayumay*, which bordered on his Kingdom; he sent his summons to them, acquainting them, that he was come to reduce those Nations, and require them to live under those Laws which his Father the Sun had ordained; and that leaving their Idols made of Stone and Wood, they should worship him only for their God; and that forsaking their corrupt Customs, and Manners, they should learn and follow the light of Nature, and the Instructions of his Wisdom, which would direct them in ways more agreeable to humane Life. The Natives of these Countreys received the message with great anger, and the young and hot Captains betook themselves to their Arms, and answered with fury and rage, That it was a hard case for them, that they must be forced to renounce their own natural Gods, and adore a stranger, and a God unknown to them; that

that they must reject their own Laws and Customs, and receive new ones from the *Inca*, who in recompense thereof would impose Tributes and Taxes, and serve himself of their labour and services, as of Slaves and Vassals; which being conditions not to be endured by a People so free as they, they resolved to defend themselves, and dye in the Defence of their Gods, their Countrey and their Liberty.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Argument and Debate which the Old Men held on this matter, and in what manner they received the Inca.

Notwithstanding this huff of the young Souldiers, the more ancient and considerate amongst them, were of opinion, that they should not so soon break forth into a War, but first of all consider, that for several years they have had a neighbourhood and converse with the Subjects of the *Inca*; and that they could never hear otherwise from them, but that their Laws were good, and the Yoke of their Government gentle and easie: that he treated his People rather like his Children, than his Subjects; that the Lands which they required, were not those which the *Indians* had in their possession, but such as lay waste, and unmanured by them; and that he required no other Tribute than the Fruit and Benefit of those Lands, cultivated at his own cost and charge, should produce, and not exact any thing at the labour and cost of the *Indians*, to whom he rather gave than diminished from their Estates; and in proof and evidence hereof, without other argument, they desired them to enquire, and consider seriously without passion, how much the Subjects of the *Incas* were improved in their Estates, and how quiet, civil and prosperous they were become, since their submission to his Government; how all their Discords, Animosities, and Civil Dissentions, which in former times had miserably torn and distracted them, were now appeased; how Estates were more secure, and more protected from Thieves, their Wives, and Daughters from Rapes and Adulteries; and in fine, how quiet and well established was the publick Welfare, where none durst offer injury, nor none could receive it without redress.

That they should farther consider, that many neighbouring Provinces, being well satisfied and allured by the gentleness and happiness of this servitude, did voluntarily, and of their own accords, offer themselves, and beg the Protection of the *Inca* and his Laws. And since these things were thus apparent, it were better to submit readily and without constraint, than defending themselves for the present from that which they know they must in a short time yield unto, provoke the *Inca* to that degree of Anger and Displeasure, as might divert him from those good Intentions and Favours which he designed towards them; and that therefore it were more safe and secure, both for their Lives and Estates, their Wives and Children, to make a Virtue of Necessity, and submit with a voluntary surrender: and that as to their Gods, which the *Inca* imposed upon them, reason it self instructed, and taught them, that the Sun more visibly deserved to be adored and worshipped, than any of those dumb and insensible Idols, which they had made and formed with their own hands. With these Arguments, and others of the like nature, the ancient and sage Persons so far prevailed, that took off the mettle and heat of the young Men, so that they all unanimously went to receive the *Inca*; and the young Men marched with Arms in their hands, and the old with their Prefents of such Fruits as their Countrey yielded, saying, That the Fruits of their Land were in token of that Livery and Seizin which they were to give unto the *Inca* thereof: the young men professed that their Arms were to serve the *Inca* in his

his Wars, and to be employed by him for the acquisition of new Provinces.

The *Inca* graciously accepted this their Submission with his accustomed Goodness, commanding, that in testimony thereof, the Old Men should be vested with the better sort of Garments, in token of greater respect; and that the common People should be clothed with the more common Apparel; and that he might not seem wholly to slight or contemn the offer which the Captains and Souldiers made him of their Arms, he received five hundred of them into his Service, not by choice, but by lot, left the preferring of one before the other, should seem but a kind of a neglect, or discontent, on such as were refused; and to satisfy the rest, he advised them to return to their homes, left they should otherwise leave their own Countrey naked and undefended; with the Vestments which the *Inca* gave them, and his Behaviour towards them, both the young and old were so well pleased and satisfied, that with loud Acclamations they cried out, *How like art thou to a Child of the Sun! how worthy art thou of the Title of a King! how well doth the Name of being a Friend to the Poor besit thee! for no sooner had we submitted to be thy Subjects, before thou didst load us with thy Favours and Benefits. May the Blessings of thy Father the Sun light upon thee, and all the Nations of the four quarters of the World obey and fall down before thee; for thou art truly the Capa Inca, who deserves Riches, and absolute Power, and universal Dominion.* With these, or the like expressions of Honour, the *Inca Roca* being saluted by his new Vassals, and having provided and established Ministers and Officers to instruct and govern them, he marched forwards to the bordering Provinces, called *Misqui*, *Sucaca*, *Machaca*, *Caracara*, and others, as far as *Chinquijaca*, which is now called the City of Plate: all which were comprehended under the common denomination of *Charcas*, though they were of different Nations and Languages, and were all as easily reduced, as those before mentioned. In this expedition he enlarged his Empire North and South, a hundred Leagues, and as many more East and West; and having as accustomedly left Officers and Ministers to teach and instruct them in matters of Religion, and to govern them by Laws, and gather his Revenue, he returned to *Cusco*, where he disbanded his Army, and rewarded the Commanders according to their Deserts.

Having achieved these great matters, he seemed now to desire repose, and attend onely to Peace, and the quiet Administration of his Government, in which he spent the remaining years of his Life, we cannot say how many; but at length he came to dye, having not in the least degenerated from the Vertue of his Ancestours; but rather imitated and equalled them in the highest strain of their glorious and martial Actions, and in Good-will and Beneficence towards his People. He founded some Schools where the *Amautas* taught those Sciences which they had attained; near whereunto he built himself a House, as we shall declare in its due place, instituted Laws, and uttered grave Sentences: And because *Blas Valera* hath made particular mention of some of them, we shall repeat them from him, being very remarkable, and worthy to be noted. He was universally bewailed by all his Subjects, and embalmed according to the custome of those Kings. He left *Tahuarhuacac*, his Son and Heir by his lawful Wife and Sister *Mama Mica*, to succeed him in the Government of his Dominions: besides whom he left others, both legitimate and bastard Children.

C H A P. XIX.

Of some Laws which the King, Inca Roca, made; of the Schools which he founded in Cozco; and of some of his wife Apophthegms, or Sayings.

BLAS Valera, who was very curious, and had taken great pains in his Enquiries touching these Incas, saith, "That this King reigned almost fifty Years, and made many Laws, amongst which these following are the most observable. That the Children of the common People ought not to be educated in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, for that were to make them proud, conceited and ungovernable; but that the Nobility were those only to whom such Literature did appertain, to render them more honourable, and capable of Offices in the Common-wealth. That Thieves, Murderers, and Adulterers, and Incendiaries should be hanged without Mercy. That Sons should obey and serve their Fathers, untill they came to the age of twenty five Years, and that afterwards they should be employed in matters tending to the good of the Common-wealth. It is reported that he was the first who founded Schools in Cozco, where the *Amantus* were the Masters, and taught such Sciences as were fit to improve the minds of Incas, who were Princes, and of the chief Nobility, not that they did instruct them by way of Letters, for as yet they had not attained to that knowledge, but only in a practical manner, and by daily Discourses: their other Lectures were of Religion, and of those Reasons and Wisdom on which their Laws were established, and of the Number and true Exposition of them; for by these means they attained to the Art of Government and military Discipline; they distinguished the times and seasons of the Year, and by reading in their * Knots, they learned History, and the Actions of past ages; they improved themselves also in the elegance, and ornament of speaking, and took Rules and Measures for the management of their domestick affairs. These *Amantus*, who were Philosophers, and in high esteem amongst them, taught something also of Poetry, Mulick, Philosophy and Astrology, of all which they attained to some knowledge, though superficial, and in a low and mean degree. All these particulars were instituted in manner of a Law by this Inca Roca, and afterwards, for their better encouragement, he favoured and enlarged them with fair Endowments; and hereunto *Pachacutec*, to whom he was great Uncle, added many other Laws and Precepts. The Sayings of this King Inca Roca were these: That considering the immense Vastness, Beauty and Splendour of the Heavens, he would often say, *That if the Heavens be so glorious, which is the Throne and Seat of the Pachacamac, (who is the great God) how much more powersfull, glittering and resplendent must his Person and Majesty be, who was the Maker and Creator of them all.* Other sayings of his were these: *If I were to adore any of these terrestrial things, it should certainly be a wife and discreet Man, whose Excellencies surpass all earthly Creatures. When an Infant is born, he grows up, and then he dies. He that yesterday had a beginning, to day arrives at his end. He that cannot make himself immortal, nor recover that Life which Death hath deprived him of, is not worthy of adoration.* Thus far is the report which Blas Valera hath given us.

* What the Knots were, is before mentioned.

C H A P.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Inca, Yahuar-huacac, who was the seventh King; of his Fears and Conquests, and the Disgrace of the Prince his Eldest Son.

THE King, Inca Roca, being dead, his Son *Yahuar-huacac* succeeded him in the Inheritance of his Kingdom, and governed with Justice, Piety and Gentleness, cherishing his Subjects with as much indulgence and tenderness, as was possible. His chief design was to keep and preserve what his Father and Ancestours had left him, not seeking quarrels with any, or encroachments on others right; lest contemplating the ill omen of his Name, and the misfortunes which the skilfull Masters in Divination did daily presage, he should tempt his fortune, and provoke his Father the Sun to afflict him with all those evils which they prognosticated. With this fear and apprehension he lived for many years, desiring nothing more than peace and quietness, both at home and abroad; but not to remain altogether idle, he visited all parts of his Dominions three or four times, and improved and adorned them with stately Buildings, feasted, and generally carested all his Subjects in a higher degree, and with greater demonstrations of love and tenderness, than any of his Ancestours, which were effects of the great dangers he apprehended from the Prophecies concerning him; and in this caution and dread upon his Spirits, he continued for the space of nine or ten years: untill at length considering that this cautious timidity would argue Cowardice and lowness of Spirit, of which none of his Ancestours were ever before taxed, he resolved to send an Army of twenty thousand Men to the Southwest of Cozco, along the Coast of *Arequipa*, where a point of Land runs out far into the Sea, which his Predecessours had overseen, or neglected, because it was ill inhabited: His Brother, called *Inca Maya*, he made Commander in Chief of his Forces, and for that reason was ever afterwards called *Apu Maya*, or General *Maya*, to whom he added four other Incas, to be Major-Generals under him: But as to himself, he would not adventure to go in Person; for the thoughts of the ill Omen did still fo haunt and oppress his Spirits, that he could never resolve to trust the success of any martial adventure to the fortune of his own Person; and where the desire of Glory spurred him forward to any great Attempt, there always the dread of the sinister Omen retracted and drew him back. This apprehension moving him to commit the charge of his Army to his Brother, and Officers, they proceeded so successfully in it, that in a short time they reduced all that tract of Land from *Arequipa* to *Tacama*, which they call *Collasuyu*, to his Empire, being at this time the utmost Limit and Confine by the Sea-coast of that Country which they call *Petu*, the which Land being long, and narrow, and ill peopled, cost more time to march it over than to conquer it.

This Enterprize being thus happily completed, they returned again to Cozco, where they rendred an account to the Inca, *Yahuar-huacac*, of their success; with which taking heart, and recovering new courage, he began to aspire to the Honour and Fame of reducing those great Provinces, yet unconquered in the Division of *Collasuyu*, called *Carancca*, *Ullaca*, *Llapi*, *Chica*, *Ampara*, the which, as they were large, and great, so they were populous, and defended by a warlike Nation; and for this reason the ancient Incas forbore to molest or irritate them, lest being as yet uncivilized, and unacquainted with the gentle and easie Government of the Incas, they should fly to their Arms, and oblige the Incas against their Maxims, and natural Disposition, to subject them with Slaughter and Destruction; and therefore rather chose to tame and mollifie them by degrees, and prevail by the clear Evidences of their Neighbours Happiness, to persuade them into a good opinion of the gentleness of that Yoke which the Inca imposed on his Subjects.

With the cares and fears of this Conquest the *Inca*, *Tabuar-huacac* was greatly troubled, being as it were crucified between his hopes and fears, sometimes he promised himself good success, and that the same Fortune would smile upon him, that did on his Brother *Apu Myata*; then again the dread of the fatal Omen possessed his Mind, which always kept that awe upon him, that he never durst attempt any thing in War, wherein there appeared least Difficulty or Hazard. Whilst he was thus tossed with these Passions and anguish of mind, he was diverted from his foreign Designs by domestick Troubles, caused by the untoward Disposition of his Eldest Son, and Heir of his Dominions; who from his Childhood gave symptoms of an evil and cruel Nature, by his harsh treatment of those Boys of his own age, who conversed and played with him; and though the *Inca* his Father used all the means imaginable to reclaim him by due and severe correction, and that he hoped that Years and Instruction would prevail upon him, yet in the end all proved vain, and without effect, the ferocity of his Mind, and the impetuosity of his ill Nature prevailing over all the means, and endeavours to reduce him; for neither the Examples of his Ancestours, nor the gentle Admonitions, nor severe Reproofs of his Father, had any influence upon him; so that his desperate incorrigibleness became now the greatest fear and affliction of the *Inca*.

For so far was the Spirit of ill Nature engrafted in the Heart of this Prince, that all the Treacle of wholesome Advice he converted into Poison; the which his Father having observed and duly considered, he resolved wholly to discountenance and remove him from his Favour, and if that would not operate, then absolutely to disinheret him, and constitute another of his lawfull Sons in his place, who was of a Spirit more agreeable to that sweet Temper and generous Gallantry of his Ancestours. This Resolution he took in imitation of that Custom practised in some of his Provinces, where the most favoured and most worthy was elected to the Government; the which on this occasion the *Inca* was desirous to introduce, against all the Precedents and Examples of former *Incas*. With this intention the *Inca* commanded the Prince, being now of nineteen or twenty Years of age, to avoid the Court, allotting him a place of Residence about a League from the City, and where were fair and verdant Pastures Eastward from the City, which they called *Chita*, and where I my self remember often to have been, and where his Employment was to feed the Cattle of the Sun, in company with those Shepherds who were designed for that Service. The Prince not being able to resist the Pleasure of his Father, submitted to the Banishment and the Disfavour of the *Inca*, which laid as a punishment on him for the Bravery and Gallantry of his Martial Spirit. In short, he submitted and really applied himself with the other Shepherds to keep and feed the Cattel of the Sun for the space of three years, and more, where we will leave him until the time comes which shall bring him on the Stage; and to speak well of him, if that which we are to mention of him may be called good.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Intelligence which an Apparition gave to the Prince, enjoining him to communicate it to his Father.

THE *Inca* *Tabuar-huacac* having in this manner Banished his Eldest Son, whose Name we cannot assign, because the obscurity of his condition was such, as made no impression in the minds of Men, so as without the help of Letters to conserve it in remembrance: He seemed now to lay aside all the thoughts of War, and Conquests of new Provinces, and to make the Government of his Dominions, and the Conservation of the common peace and quietness to be his only employment: As to his Son, he thought it not convenient, nor secure to remove him far from his sight, that so he might more easily apply those remedies to reclaim him, as best suited with his condition; nor did he judge it fit to imprison, and disinheret, and chuse some other in his place, for that seemed an expedient too violent, and without Example, and was a new and unpractised case to depose the true Heir, and degrade the Divinity of the *Incas* of its Right and Honour; besides, it appeared doubtfull how far the people would assent to this impiety, and how ill they would take this harsh usage of the Prince and Heir to the Empire.

In this wavering and unquiet condition, which deprived the *Inca* of all contentment and repose, he passed three years without any observable occurrence; during which time, he twice Commissionated four of his Kinsmen to visit his Dominions, giving to every one their respective charges, and dispatches into distinct parts of his Dominions, in order to perform such publick Works as might conduce to the honour of the *Inca*, and the common benefit of his Subjects; such as the making of Aqueducts, raising Magazines for laying up Provisions, Royal Houses, Fountains and Bridges, Causeys, and such other Works of publick use: But for his own part, he never had the courage to depart from his Court, but only there to attend and celebrate the Festivals of the Sun, and such like, and administer Justice to his Subjects. At the end of this long time, one day about Noon the Prince entred into the Palace of his Father, without any Companion or Attendance, like a Person forlorn, and in disavour of his *Inca*; and sent him word, that he was there to speak with him, having a Message of high importance to deliver: The *Inca* made a quick Answer in his sudden passion, that he should without Demur or Reply retire again to the place of his Confinement, on penalty of being proceeded against according to that severe punishment which the Law inflicts on those who break the Royal Command. The Prince made answer, that he was not come thither in contempt of his Commands, but in obedience to the Message and Injunction of another *Inca* as great as himself, who sent him to impart unto him matters of high and considerable importance; which if he were pleased to hear, he desired to be admitted and to have Audience; if not, he had complied with the Commands of him that sent him, and should return again to render an account of his success.

The *Inca* hearing him mention another, as Great a Lord as himself, ordered him to be admitted, for he wondered at the impertinence of the Message, and the boldness of any who should dare to employ his banished and disgraced Son with Advices of any nature whatsoever. The Prince being introduced, and standing before his Father, said in this manner: *I am come, Sir, to make known unto you, that sitting this day, about Noon, under one of those great Rocks, which are in the Fields of Chita, where, by your Order, I was employed to feed the Flocks of our Father the Sun; I know not whether I was asleep, or well awake, there appeared before me a Man in a strange Habit, and of a Figure different from us: His Beard was above a span in length, his Garments long and loose, reaching down to his Feet, and about his Neck he carried a sort of living*

creature,

creature, which I know not what to call it, because I never saw the like before: He called to me, and said, Cousin, I am a Child of the Sun, and Brother to the Inca, Manco Capac, and to Coya Mama, Occlo Huaco his Wife and Sister, who were the first of your Family, and by them I am Allied in Blood to your Father, and all of you, being called Inca Viracocha; and am sent by our Father the Sun to order you, that you immediately carry this Advice to my Brother the Inca, acquainting him, that the greatest part of the Provinces of Chinchafuyu, as well those who are under his Dominion, as those which are not, are in rebellion, and are united in confederacy to assault him, and with a strong and numerous Army to cast him from his Throne, and destroy the Imperial City of Cozco; wherefore I order you immediately to give this intelligence to my Brother the Inca, advising him from me, that he provide against this emergency, and take such vigorous resolutions to prevent it, as the importance of this matter doth require. And as to thine own particular, let me tell thee, that in what misfortune soever thou art, thou lose not thy courage or spirit, for I shall ever be at hand, and ready to succour thee as my own flesh and blood; and therefore I strictly admonish thee not to attempt any thing, how great soever it be; unworthy thy Family and ancient Blood, and the Greatness of thy Empire; for I will ever be assistant, and near to succour thee in thy greatest and ultimate exigencies: Having said these words, the Inca Viracocha vanished, and I saw him no more: and then returning to my self, I delayed no time to come and appear before your Majesty to communicate unto you the particulars of these Matters.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Consultation which the Incas held upon the Advice which the Apparition gave.

THE Inca, *Tahuar-huacac*, out of the great displeasure and prejudice which he had taken to his Son, would not give any belief or credence to his Relation, but rather termed him a Fool, and impertinent, and that swelled with the vanity of Revelations from his Father the Sun, he was come to impose his Enthusiastisms for divine Truths; and therefore ordered him immediately to return to *Chiva*, and to confine himself within those bounds on penalty of his highest displeasure; in compliance to which severe admonition, the Prince returned again to his retirement, and the keeping of his Flocks. Howsoever the Incas, who were Counsellors, and had the King's Ear, and of a nature very superstitious and credulous, especially of Dreams, took this advertisement in another fashion, than the King apprehended it, telling him, that such an Apparition as this was not to be slighted, especially since it presented it self in the form of *Viracocha*, who was Brother to the Inca, and of Alliance to the Sun, in whose name and behalf he brought this Message. Nor was it credible that the Prince should be so much an Impostour, as to dare to entitle the Sun to such an apparent forgery, or delude the Inca his Father with a Lye; and therefore that it were best to examine the matter more strictly; and by Sacrificing to the Sun, make judgment of the good or bad Omens, and not neglect any care or diligence whatsoever in a matter of so high importance; for to leave the matter neglected and slighted, were to condemn the advice which the Sun had sent, and his Messenger *Viracocha*; and, in short, to add Error unto Errors, and Sins unto Sins.

Notwithstanding all which, the Inca had conceived that prejudice against his Son, that he could upon no terms admit the counsel which his Kindred gave him, but rather termed the Vision he declared, to be the effect of a wild and furious brain, imagining by lyes and forgeries to bring his extravagant humour again into repute; which was such an aggravation of his former folly, that he deferred on this very score to be deprived of the inheritance, and declared for ever incapable of

of the Succession; and that in the place of him, some other of a more flexible and gentle temper, worthy the title of being allied to the Sun, should be ordained and proclaimed the true Heir in the place and stead of a revengefull, mercilefs and tyrannical Prince, and of one of a far different temper to that sweet and pleasant humour of his Ancestours, which had been the most forcible Arms to win and overcome all the Nations they governed. Moreover, that in Wisdom they ought to provide against all Rebellions, but not on the score or belief of the vain words of a wild fellow; who ought to be punished, and have his Head cut off for daring to break the limits assigned for his Banishment; and profaning the Sacred Name of the Sun with a pretence so false and enthusiastick as this: And therefore he charged them not to mention this matter farther, nor so much as to name the Prince, for that he had already determined in what manner to deal with him.

The Incas upon this Command of the King were silent, and urged the matter no farther; howsoever, they could not forbear to revolve the thing in their minds, as portending some sad and dismal disasters: For the Indians were naturally addicted to Signs and Prognostications; and especially if the King, or the Prince, or the High Priest, who were esteemed Gods and Oracles, had any Dream, they were never at ease until the Diviners, or Magicians, made the Interpretation; in which they esteemed themselves so expert, that they not only pretended to interpret the Dream, but also to declare what the Incas themselves had related short, or mistaken in it.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Rebellion of the Chancas, and of their Ancient exploits in War.

THREE Months after this Dream of the Prince *Viracocha*, (for so afterwards his Friends named him from the Vision he had seen) a confused and uncertain rumour came of an Insurrection in the Provinces of *Chinchafuyu*, and that all the people were in Arms, which is from *Atahualpa*, about forty Leagues Northward from *Cozco*, through all the Countries to the farthest extent of the new Conquests. This News had as yet no certain author or ground, being but whispered as in cases of like nature; and though it agreed with the Dream of the Prince *Viracocha*, and seemed an Accomplishment of the words of his Vision, yet the King gave no heed or credit to it, believing it to be a *Canterbury* tale, or Stories of the way, broached to revive the Dream of the Prince, which seemed almost forgot, and out of memory: Some few days after the report became hotter than before, and common in every Man's mouth, though still uncertain, and without any particulars; for the Enemies had obstructed all the ways and passages in that manner, that no intelligence should be carried, and that the knowledge of their Rebellion might be first made known by appearance of their force before *Cozco*. Howsoever, at length certain and particular information was brought, that the Nations called *Chanca*, *Uramarca*, *Vilca*, *Uinilla*, *Hancobualla*, and other Neighbouring Nations, were all in Arms; and having killed all the Governours and Officers of the Inca, were now Marching with an Army of forty thousand Men against the City.

These Nations (as we have said) being all reduced by the power of the King *Inca Roca*, rather out of fear, than love, had ever since suppressed their rancour and malice to the Incas, with intention to own and testify the same, when occasion presented; which now seemed fairly to offer it self in the time of this Inca, *Tahuar-huacac*, who being a Prince not addicted to War, but rather intimidated by the apprehension

prehenſion and fear he conceived from his ſiniſter Omen; and being alſo moved with compaſſion of the hard uſage, and unnatural treatment which the *Inca* ſhewed towards the Prince his Son, they judged it warrant and reaſon ſufficient to revenge his cauſe in deteſtation of the baſe cowardiſe and tyranny of this mean-ſpirited, and yet cruel, *Inca*: Wherefore with what expedition and ſecrecy they could, they incited their Neighbours to rebell, who being already well diſpoſed in the matter, they eaſily took fire, and putting themſelves in Arms, and with a body of thirty thouſand Men marched directly againſt the Imperial City of *Cuzco*. The principal Authours and Contrivers of this War, beſides other Lords, were three principal *Curacas* of three great Provinces, all comprehended under the common name of *Chanca*: The firſt of theſe Lords was called *Hancobuallu*, a Young Man of twenty fix years of Age, the ſecond was *Tumay Huaraca*, and the third *Aſtu Huaraca*; the two laſt of which were Uncles and Brothers to *Hancobuallu*. The Anceſtours of theſe three petty Kings, before the times of the *Incas*, waged a perpetual War with their Neighbouring Nations, eſpecially with the people called *Quechua*, under which denomination five other great Provinces were contained: For which reaſon, and for the Tyranny and Oppreſſion which they ſuffered from them, the *Quechuas* were greatly pleaſed to accept and receive the Protection of the *Incas*. And ſo on the contrary, theſe petty Kings greatly reſented the curb and power the *Incas* impoſed upon them, by reſtraining them in their Progreſs and Conqueſts, rendering them in the place of abſolute and ſovereign Princes, Tributaries and Vaſſals, which they ſtomached and ſuppreſſed untill this ſeaſon, in which they eſteemed it convenient to vent their hatred. And in regard that the life of all deſigns is ſpeedy execution, and that now they were to ſurprize the *Inca*, unprovided of Men, and power of Reſiſtence, they did not doubt, but by one ſingle Victory to render themſelves Maſters again, not onely of their ancient Enemies, but of all the Empire of the *Incas*.

With theſe probable hopes and expectations of ſucceſſes, they invited all their Neighbours, as well thoſe that were Subjects to the *Inca*, as thoſe that were not, to partake with them in the deſign and reward of the enterprize; the which appeared fair and promiſing in this preſent conjuncture. To theſe Summons the *Indians* eaſily yielded, expecting great advantages, and depending on the great renown and fame in War, which the Ancient bravery of the *Chancas* had acquired: And having conſtituted *Hancobuallu* their Captain-General, and the two Brothers Major-Generals, with other *Curacas* for Colonels and Officers, they marched directly with reſolution to Summon and make demand of the City of *Cuzco*.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Inca abandons the City, and the Prince ſuccours it.

SO ſoon as the *Inca Tabuar-huacac* underſtood the certainty of this News, and of the approach of the Enemy, he was affrighted and terrified within himſelf; for it ſeemed a ſurprize to him to underſtand of a rebellion, for as yet no ſuch thing had ever happened in the Provinces, during the lenity of that Government which the *Incas* had exerciſed from the time of *Manco Capac* to thoſe very days; under the ſecurity of which, and out of the hatred he conceived to his Son, to whom he could not allow the honour of divine revelation, he neither would give credit to the dream, nor hearken to the advice or counſel of his kindred; but having blinded his underſtanding with paſſion and prejudice, he found himſelf enſnared in inextricable difficulties, having neither time to levy a force ſufficient to encounter his Enemies, nor a Garriſon in readineſs to defend the City, untill other relief or ſuccour could be adminiſtered. Wherefore in theſe doubts he reſolved to give way to the Torrent of his Enemies rage, and retire towards *Collaſign*,

ſign, where he promiſed to himſelf ſecurity of life, and defence from the Loyalty and Valour of that people. With this intention and deſign he departed from *Cuzco* with a retinue of ſuch *Incas* as were able to follow him, and came to the Straits of *Mayna*, about five Leagues Northward from the City; towards the Sea of *Zur*, and there poſted himſelf on the top Mountain, from whence he could ſurvey the Enemies Camp, and deſcry what they acted in the way as they paſſed. The King having thus abandoned *Cuzco*, the City was expoſed to open violence, none daring to propoſe, much leſs act in the defence of it; every one endeavouring to ſhift for himſelf, and ſave his life in the beſt manner he was able. Of theſe Fugitives, ſome repaired to the Prince *Viracocha*, informing him of the Rebellion of *Chincalſyn*; and of the flight of his Father; and that there was no poſſibility in ſo ſhort time and warning to withſtand or make head againſt the Enemy.

The Prince deeply reſenting this ſad news of the flight of his Father, and the nakedneſs of the City, commanded thoſe who brought him the advice, and thoſe few Shepherds that were with him, that they ſhould immediately repair to the City, and order thoſe that they ſhould find there, and as many as they ſhould meet in the ways, that they ſhould with ſuch Arms as they had, and with as much ſpeed as they could poſſibly, repair to the *Inca* their Lord and Maſter, giving them likewiſe to underſtand, that it was his intention ſo to do, and that this was his Order and Special Command to them. Having iſſued out this advice, the Prince *Viracocha* proceeded in Queſt of his Father, and without viſiting the City, he took a ſhort cut; and loſing no time, overtook him in the Straits of *Mayna*, from whence he was not as yet departed; and being covered over with ſweat and duſt, holding a Lance in his hand, which he had caſually taken up on the way, he preſented himſelf before the King, and with a grave and melancholy countenance, he thus addreſſed his Speech to him.

How is it, Inca, that upon a report (whether true or falſe, is uncertain) of ſome few of your Subjects riſen in Rebellion, you ſhould abandon your City and Court, and fly before an Enemy, not as yet ſeen, nor appearing? How can you yield and reſign the Temple of the Sun your Father into the power of your Enemies, to be polluted by their prophane and unhallowed feet; giving them thereby liberty to return to their ancient Abominations, and there offer again their deteſtable Sacrifices of Men, Women and Children, with other unhumane and unnatural actions, from which your Anceſtours had reformed them? What account ſhall we be able to render of the charge committed to us for guard and defence of thoſe Virgins dedicated to the Sun, if we abandon and leave them to the brutality and luſts of our Enemies? And what benefit ſhall we get by ſaving our lives, with the loſs of our honour and admillion of all the evils and miſchief imaginable? For my part, I ſhall never aſſent unto it, but rather appear ſingly before the face of my Enemies, and loſe my life in oppoſing their entrance into COZCO, rather than live to ſee the deſolation of that City, and thoſe abominable practices committed in that Sacred and Imperial Court, which the Sun and his Children had founded: Wherefore let ſuch as have courage follow me, and I ſhall ſhew them how to exchange an infamous and loathſome Life for a noble and honourable Death.

Having ſaid thus much with deep ſenſe and heat of ſpirit, he took his way towards the City, without loſing ſo much time as to eat or drink. The *Incas* of the Blood, who untill now had accompanied the King, and with them his own Brothers, Couſins and neareſt Relations, to the number of above 4000 Men, returned and followed the Prince, ſo that onely ſome few old and impotent Men remained with the King: As many as they met in the way they marched, and thoſe alſo who were ſcattered abroad in the Countrey, they called and ſummoned unto them; giving them to underſtand, that the Prince *Viracocha* was returned to the City with intention to defend that and the Temple of his Father the Sun, with the laſt drop of his blood. With this news, which was ſoon ſpread over all places, the *Indians* were ſo encouraged, (the preſence of the Prince giving countenance to the reſolution) that they all unanimouſly returned to the City, intending there to dye with great alacrity and chearfulneſs with their Prince, who evidenced ſo much reſolution and courage in their defence.

In this manner, and with theſe thoughts, he entred the City, and from thence immediately taking the direct road towards *Chincalſyn*, which was the Paſs by which the Enemy marched; he commanded his Army, without any delay, to fol-

low him, intending there to place himself between the Enemy and the City; not that he expected thereby to give a stop to their proceedings, for that it could never be hoped that their inconsiderable number could make head against such Multitudes; but that as valiant and desperate Men, they might dye fighting against their Enemies, rather than behold the *Barbarians* victorious in the Temple and City of their Father the Sun, which was a matter that made the most sensible impression of all these disasters.

And because we must here set a period to the Reign of *Tahua-Inca*, (whose Life we now write) and as hereafter will appear, we shall now put a full stop to the current of this History, that so we may distinguish the Actions of this King from those of his Son *Viracocha*: And for variety sake, and to please the Reader, we shall intermix other matters which are curious and diverting, and then afterwards return to the Achievements and Exploits of the Prince *Viracocha*, which were famous and of great Renown.

BOOK

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

How they enlarged and divided the Lands amongst the People.

SO soon as the *Inca* had conquered any Kingdom or Province, and that he had settled and established his Government and Religion amongst the Inhabitants, he ordered that those Lands which were capable of improvement (that is, such as would bear *Mays*) should be dressed and manured; and in order hereunto they drained all wet Moors and Pans, for in that Art they were excellent, as is apparent by their Works which remain unto this day: And also they were very ingenious in making Aqueducts for carrying Water into dry and scorched Lands, such as the greatest part of that Countrey is, which is situated under the Torrid Zone, being commonly barren for want of Water to refresh and make it fruitfull; and for that reason, wherefoever they intended to sow their *Mays* or Indian Wheat, they always made contrivances and inventions to bring their Water for them, nor less careful were they to water their Pastures, which they drowned in case the Autumn proved dry, that so they might have Grass sufficient to feed the numerous Flocks they maintained. These Aqueducts, though they were ruined after the *Spaniards* came in, yet several Reliques and Monuments of them remain unto this day.

After they had made a provision of Water, the next thing was to dress, and cultivate, and clear their Fields of Bushes and Trees; and that they might with most advantage receive the Water, they made them in a Quadrangular form; those Lands which were good on the side of Hills, they levelled them by certain Allies, or Walks, which they made, as is to be seen in *Cuzco*, and all over *Peru* unto this day; to make these Allies, they raised three Walls of Freezed Stone, one before, and one of each side, somewhat inclining inwards, (as are all the Walls they make) so that they may more securely bear and keep up the weight of the Earth, which is pressed and rammed down by them, untill it be raised to the height of the Wall: Then, next to this Walk, they made another something shorter and less, kept up in the same manner with its Wall; untill at length they came to take in the whole Hill, levelling it by degrees in fashion of a Ladder, one Ally above the other, untill they came to take in all the Hill, and inclose the ground which was capable of improvement, and of receiving Water; where the

ground was stony, they gathered up the Stones, and covered the barren Soil with fresh Earth to make their Levels, that so no part of the ground might be lost: The first Allies were the largest, and as spacious as the situation of the place could bear, some being of that length and breadth as were capable to receive a hundred, some two hundred, or three hundred Bushells of Seed: The second row of Allies were made narrower and shorter, and so went lessening, untill at last, at the bottom and lowermost Ally, they were contracted to so narrow a Compass, as was not capable to produce more than two or three small measures of *Mays*. In some parts they husbanded their matter, that they brought the Channels of water from fifteen or twenty Leagues distance, though it were onely to improve a flip of a few Acres of Land, which was esteemed good Corn-ground.

Having in this manner (as we have said) improved, and enlarged their Lands, the next thing was to make a just Division of them in all Countries; for performance of which they divided the grounds into three parts, one was allotted to the Sun, a second to the King, and a third to the Inhabitants: This Rule was observed with great exactness, and in favour of the People, that so the Natives might not want ground for tillage; for in that case, when the Countrey abounded with numbers of People, they abated of the proportion allotted to the Sun, and to the *Inca*, for the sake and benefit of the Subjects; so that in effect, neither did the King in his own, or in right of the Sun, appropriate to himself any Lands, but such as lay untilled, unpossessed, and without a Proprietor. Most of the Lands belonging to the Sun, and the *Inca*, were inclosed, and laid in Allies, being so manured and improved by special Command. Besides these Lands, which by reason of their convenient situation for receiving water, produced *Mays*, they made a Division of other Land, also that were in a dry soil, without any convenience of water, and yet because they were capable to produce some sorts of grane, and pulse, such as they called *Papa*, and *Oca*, and *Annu*, which were very beneficial; the Sun and the King had their shares allowed thereof. This soil, which for want of water was thus barren, they did not sow above one or two years together, and then broke up fresh ground, leaving the other to lie fallow, untill it had again recovered its former strength.

Their *Mays*, or Wheat fields, which had the benefit of water, they sowed every year, dunging them after every crop, as we do our Gardens, which made them extremely fruitfull; and with the *Mays* they sowed a small seed, like Rice, which they call *Quinna*, and grows much in cold Countries.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Order they observed in manuring their Lands; and what Feast and Joy they made when they tilled the Grounds of the Inca, and of the Sun.

IN cultivating their Lands they observed this Rule and Method; those of the Sun were preferred in the first place, then those belonging to Orphans, and Widows, and Persons impotent, by reason of age and sickness, all which remaining under the notion of poor, were by order of the *Inca* provided for, and their Lands manured by special Command: To perform which, there were Deputies appointed in every Parish, or Community of the People, to take care that those Lands were tilled and dressed. These Deputies were called *Llactacamay*, which is as much as Monitors of the People, whose charge it was according to the Seasons of the Year, to plow, and sow, and reap, and gather the fruit, laying it up in places which they had built like Barns to receive them. The summons which the People had to this work, was by sound of Trumpet, or other loud Instrument, to crave attention; and then the Crier proclaimed, That such a day the work of the poor was to be done, and therefore that every one should provide against that time to attend that service; and then where they were first to begin, and how to proceed, either in that of their Relations, or Neighbours, was assigned by the Overseer. Every workman that came to labour in the fields of the Orphans, or Widows, or impotent brought his own Provisions with him; for that the Poor were obliged to no care, their infirmities and wants excusing them from other troubles, than a patient sufferance of their own evils. If the poor wanted seed to sow their Lands, it was administered to them out of the public Granaries, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The Lands of Souldiers, whilst they were actually employed in the Wars, were manured with the same care and manner as those of the poor; their Wives, during the absence of their Husbands, being listed into the number of Widows, and the Children of those who were slain in the Wars were provided for, and carefully educated, untill the time of their Marriage.

The Lands of the poor being already tilled, in the next place every private Person might attend to his own Farm, and the first that had done was to help his fellows: then the Lands of the *Curaca* were to be served, and were the last in order after those of the People; the which was observed so severely, that in the Reign of *Huayna Capac*, a certain Indian Overseer was hanged for tilling the Land of a *Curaca*, who was his Kinsman, before that of a Widow; and to make the punishment more exemplary, the Gallows was set up in the very Land of the *Curaca*. The severity of this Law was grounded on the same practice, which was observed in the Lands of the *Inca* himself; for that the *Inca* always preferred the Tillage of his Subjects before his own, it being their sure Maxime, that the Happiness of the Prince depends on the Prosperity of the People, without which they become unable to serve him, either in times of War or Peace.

The last Lands to be tilled were those of the King, to which, and to those of the Sun, the People in general applied themselves with great alacrity and rejoicing; they then at that work appeared in their best Cloths, full of Gold and Silver plates, and feathers on their Heads, in the same manner as they were dressed on their festival days. When they ploughed, which seemed the more pleasant work, they sung the Sonnets made in praise of their *Incas*, with which the time passed so easily, that their Labour seemed a Recreation, so great was their Devotion to wards their God and their King.

With

Within the City of *Cusco*, bordering on the side of that Hill where the Cattle was built, there was a spacious Walk or Alley, containing many acres of ground, called *Colcampata*, and is still remaining, unless they have built houses upon it, since the time I was there: the plat of ground on which it was, took its name from the Walk it self, being the best piece of Land, and as it were the Jewel, and Flower of all the Estate belonging to the Sun, and was the first plat of Earth which the *Incas* had dedicated to him. This Walk was like a Garden, manured and cultivated onely by *Incas* of the Royal Bloud, nor was any other admitted to be Gardiner or Labourer there, under the degree of *Inca*, or *Palla*, which was a Lady of the Royal Family. All the Songs they made, were Panegyricks in praise of the Sun; and the substance of them was taken from the word *Haylli*, which in the common language of *Peru* signifies triumph; as if they were victorious, and triumphed over the Earth, when they ploughed and digged into its bowels, forcing it to fructify, and raking fruit from thence. With these Sonnets they intermixed the quick and acute Sentences and Sayings of discreet Lovers, and valiant Souldiers, tending to the Subject and Work in hand, concluding every staff, or stanza of their Verses with the word *Haylli*, which was the burthen of the Song, and repeated as often as was necessary to fill up the cadence of the Tune; and thus they sang, and worked backward and forward, as they made the Furrows, with which cheerfulness the toil and labour was much alleviated.

The Plough they use was made of a piece of Wood, of about four fingers broad, and a yard long, it was flat before, and round behind, and pointed at the end, that so it might the more easily pierce, and enter the Earth; then about half a yard high, on the main shaft they bound two pieces of Wood for a stay to the Foot, with which the *Indian* pressing very hard, thrust his Plough, or Shovel, up to the very step, or stay to the Foot; and therewith seven and seven, or eight and eight a breast, according to the number of the Kindred, or Partnership, drawing all together, they turned up turfs, and clods of Earth of an incredible bigness, so that those who have not seen this Invention before, would wonder that so weak an Instrument could be able to doe so great and heavy a work, and with that dispatch and ease also, as did not put the Labourers out of breath, so as to spoil the Air and Cadence of the Tune. The Women likewise were assistants to the Men in this work, helping to turn up the turf and clods, and pluck up the Weeds and roots, that they might dye and wither; in which labour they bore also part in the Musick, and joined in the *Chorus* of *Haylli*, *Haylli*.

The *Indian* Tunes having a kind of sweet Air with them, the Musick-Master of the Cathedral Church at *Cusco*, in the Year 1551. or 1552. composed an Anthem, and set it to one of their Tunes, which he plaid on the Organ, upon the Festival of the most Holy Sacrament, at which Solemnity he introduced eight Mongrel Boys, of mixed Bloud between *Spanish* and *Indian*, and my School-fellows, singing the Songs which he had set according to the true Air of *Incas* Musick, and each of them carrying a Plough in his hand, accompanied the Procession, representing and imitating the *Haylli* of the *Indians*; all the Chapell in the mean time joining in the *Chorus*, to the great satisfaction of the *Spaniards*, and contentment of the *Indians*, who were over-joyed to see the *Spaniards* so far to honour them, as to practise their Dances and Musick, when they celebrated the Festival of their Lord God, which they called *Pachacamac*, and is as much as to say, he that gives Life to the whole Universe.

Thus I have related the manner how the *Incas* celebrated the Feast which they held at the time of ploughing, and sowing the Grounds dedicated to the Sun, the which I saw, and observed for two or three following years, when I was a Child, and by them we may guess at the form and manner of the Festivals solemnized in other parts of *Peru*, on the same occasion, though those Feasts which I saw, as the *Indians* assured me, were but faint representations of those in ancient times, and were not to be esteemed comparable to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Proportion of Land which was allotted to every Indian, and with what sort of Dung they improved it.

TO every *Indian* was given a *Tupu* of Land, which was as much as he might sow with a *Hanega*, (which is as much as a Bushel and a half of *Mays*, or *Indian*-Wheat, though the *Hanega* of *Peru* is a *Hanega* and a half of *Spain*.) This word *Tupu* signifies also a League in travelling, likewise all sorts of measures of Water, or Wine, or any other Liqueur; as also the great Pins with which Women tuck up their dressings: The Measure of Seed-corn hath also another name, which is *Pocha*.

One *Tupu* of Land was esteemed sufficient to maintain an ordinary Country-fellow and his Wife, provided he had not Children; for then, so soon as he had a Son, they added another *Tupu* of Land to his Estate, and if a Daughter, half an one: When the Son married, so that he left his Father's House, then he resigned over to the Son his *Tupu* of Land, in which he had an Original Right and Propriety.

But this was differently observed as to Daughters, for they were not to take their Lands with them in marriage, it having been given them for their subsistence during their Minority onely, but not to accrue to them by way of Portion; for every Husband claiming his share of Land in his own Right, was obliged to support his Wife, the Law taking no farther cognizance of Women after their Marriage; the Land remaining with the Father, in case he had need of it, and if not, then it returned again to the Community, for it was not lawfull either to sell or alienate it.

Proportionably to those Lands which they gave for bearing *Mays*, they also adjoined others, which were dry Lands, and did not require Water, and yet produced Pulse and other feeds.

To Noble and great Families, such as were those of the *Curacas*, or Lords who had Subjects under them, they allotted so much Land as was sufficient to maintain their Wives and Children, Concubines and Servants. To the *Incas* of the Bloud Royal the same advantage and benefit was allowed, in any part whereforever they were pleased to fix their aboad; and their Lands were to be the best and richest of any: And this they were to enjoy over and above the common share and right which they claimed in the Estates of the King, and the Sun, as Children of the one, and Brothers of the other.

They used to dung their Lands, that they might make them fruitfull, and it is observable, that in all the Valley about *Cusco*, and in the hilly Countries, where they sowed *Mays*, they esteemed the best manure to be Man's Dung; and to that end they saved and gathered it with great care, and drying it, they cast it upon their Land before they sowed their *Mays*. But in the Countrey of *Collao*, which is above an hundred and fifty Leagues long, which, by reason of the coldness of the Climate, doth not produce *Mays*, though it bear other sort of Grane, there they esteem the Dung of Cattle to be the best manure and improvement.

By the Sea-coast, from below *Arequipa*, as far as *Tarapaca*, which is above two hundred Leagues, they use no other Dung, but such as comes from the Sea-birds, of which there are great numbers, and incredible flocks on the Coast of *Peru*; they breed in little Islands, which lie in the Sea, and are unpeopled, where they lay such heaps of Dung, that at a distance they seem to be Hills of Snow. In the times of the *Incas*, who were Kings, great care was taken of these Birds in the season of their Breeding; for then on pain of Death no Man was to enter on those Islands, lest they should disturb the Birds, or spoil their Nests; nor was it lawfull to take or kill them at any time, either off or upon the Island.

Every Island was by order of the *Inca*, assigned to such and such Provinces, and if the Island were very large, then two or three of them divided the soilage, the which they laid up in separate heaps, that so one Province might not encroach on the proportion allotted to the other; and when they came to make their Division to particular Persons, and Neighbours, they then weighed and shared out to every Man the quantity he was to receive; and it was felony for any man to take more than what belonged to him, or to rob or steal it from the ground of his Neighbour, for in regard that every man had as much as was necessary for his own Lands, the taking a greater quantity than what belonged to him, was judged a Crime, and a high offence; for that this sort of Birds dung was esteemed precious, being the best improvement and manure for Land in the World.

Howsoever in other parts of that Coast, and in the Low Countries of *Arica*, *Atiquipa*, *Villacori*, *Malla* and *Chilca*, and other Vallies, they dung their grounds with the Heads of a small fish, like our Pilchards, and with no other soilage. The Natives of these Countries which we have named, and others under the same Climate, live with great labour and toil, where they can neither water their Grounds with streams from the Springs or Fountains, nor yet with the Rain or Dews from Heaven: For it is a certain truth, that for the space of seven hundred Leagues along that Coast it did never rain, nor are there in all that tract of Land streams, or places for water, the whole Countrey being exceedingly hot, dry, and nothing almost but sand; for which reason the Natives endeavouring to moisten their grounds, so as to make them capable to yield *Mays*, they approach as near to the Sea, as they are able, where they turn aside, and cast away the Sand which lies upon the surface, and dig down as deep as a Man's Body is in length, and sometimes twice as deep, untill, having passed the Sand, they come to such a sort of Earth as is able to bear the weight of Water, which places the *Spaniards* call *Hoyas*, or Vaults; and being of different proportions, some greater, and some lesser; some are not capacious enough to receive above half a measure of Seed-corn, others again are so large as to receive three or four measures of Seed: In these places they neither plow, nor reap, because they rather set than sow, planting their grane of *Mays* at an equal distance one from the other; and in the holes or furrows which they make, they cast three or four grains of *Mays*, with a few Pilchards Heads; which being all the dung they use, and which is onely, as they say, profitable in that soil, they expect their Harvest at its due season. And to see how Divine Providence taketh care of all Creatures, for that neither the *Indians* may want that Manure, which onely makes their Land fruitful, nor the Birds of the Islands their food, there are such quantities of Pilchards cast up by the Sea at those seasons, as are not onely sufficient for the Food of Men, and Birds, and for dunging the Earth, but even to lade many Ships, if occasion should require: It is said, that this Fish is chased ashore by some Dolphins, or greater Fish; be it by what means it will, the advantage is great, and the Providence of God is admirable in these his Blessings towards his poor Creatures. Who was the first Inventor of this manner of planting in holes with the Heads of Pilchards, is uncertain; we may rather attribute it to Necessity, which is the Mother of Ingenuity; for in regard, as we have said, that there is great want of Bread in all parts of *Peru*, the same Understanding which in some parts taught them to plant their *Mays* in holes, the same also instructed them to make their Allies in the parts of *Cocco*, and by this means every one sowing for his own maintenance, and not to sell, all People enjoyed sufficient for their support, never any scarcity or famine having been known in that Land.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

How they divided their Water into several Rivulets for the refreshment of their Land; and what Punishment they inflicted on the idle and negligent People that would not work.

IN those Countries where Water was scarce, they took care to divide their Waters to every one according to his necessities, and by such equal proportions; and with that order, that all quarrels and contentions for it were avoided; and hereunto they had most especial regard in dry years, when Rain was wanting; for then they allotted out unto every one his certain hours, having by experience learned in how much time an Acre of Ground might be supplied, and drink the Water it required. In which benefit neither the Rich nor the more Noble, nor the Kinsman of the *Curaca*, nor the *Curaca* himself, nor the Governour, nor the King himself enjoyed any privilege or preference before another, but every one took his turn, as his Lands and Furrows lay in order. He that was negligent to take his turn, and to watch his ground whilst the Water ran into the Furrows, and Dams, was punished for a sluggard in the most affrontive manner; for he was to receive publicly three or four thumps on the Back with a Stone, or whipped on the Armes and Legs with Switches of Osier; and shamed with the disgracefull term of an idle and sloathfull fellow, which was a great dishonour and disreputation to them, calling them *Misquitulu*, which is Eastie-bones, being a word compounded of *Misqui*, which signifies sweet, and *Tulu* which is bones.

CHAP. V.

Of the Tribute which they gave to the Inca, and of the Vessels they made to receive their Fruits.

HAVING already declared the manner by which the *Incas* divided the Lands, and the ways and inventions by which the Subjects improved them; we are in the next place to proceed to shew what Tribute they gave unto their Kings. The chiefest part of their Tribute did consist in their labour, which was to cultivate and manure the Lands belonging to the Sun, and to the *Inca*, and also to gather and reap the Fruits, and lay them up in the King's Barns: One sort of Fruit which was in esteem amongst them, was that which they call *Uchu*, and the *Spaniards* *Asi*, and we in English Red Pepper. The places in which they laid their Corn called *Pirua*, were made of Clay, tempered with Straw: In the times of the *Incas* they were very curious in this work, and made them of different sizes and fashions; some being long and narrow, and others square; some of them were made to receive thirty, some fifty, and some an hundred measures of Corn: Every one of these Clay-vessels was put into a Chamber by it self, just fitted to the proportion of the Vessel, and fixed with Walls on each side, so as not to be removed;

removed; and in the middle of the Chamber a passage was left to go from one to the other to empty and fill them according to the seasons of the year; for emptying these Vessels, they opened a little shutter before, of about a quarter of a Yard square, or bigger, or lesser, according to its proportion, by which they knew certainly the quantity that was taken out; and what remained without measuring of it; whereby, and by the largeness of the Vessels, they easily made the account of the quantity of the Mayz which remained in every Barn or Magazine. I remember that I once saw some of these Clay-vessels, which remained ever since the time of the *Incas*; they were such as were of the best sort, for they had belonged to the Convent of the Select Virgins, who were Wives to the Sun, and made solely for the service of those Women; when I saw them, they were in the House of the Sons of *Pedro de Barco*, who had been School-fellows with me. The Provisions of the Sun, and of the *Inca*, were laid up apart, and in different Vessels, though in the same Store-house or Magazine. The Corn for Seed was given out by the Lord of the Land, who was the Sun and the *Inca*; as also the Corn which made Bread for the Labourers, during the time that they cultivated and manured their Lands; so that all the Tribute which the *Indians* were obliged to give, was nothing but their personal labour, their Lands and Fruits being free of all Tax or Imposition. The truth of which is affirmed by *Acofca* in the fifteenth Chapter of his sixth Book, in these words: "The *Inca* gave the third part of the Lands to the People; but it is not certain whether this third part was so exactly measured, as to answer an equality with that of the *Inca*: But this is sure, that great care was taken to render unto every one a sufficient proportion of Land for his maintenance and support. In this third part no particular person had such a right, as to be able to give it away, or sell, or by any ways alienate it to another; because the *Inca* was the sole Lord of the Fee, and the Original right was in him. Of these Lands, new Divisions were made every year, according to the increase or diminution of Families; so that the proportions of Lands were in general ascertained, and the Divisions already laid out, that there needed no great trouble farther therein. Of all these Lands so given, no Tribute was exacted, unless it was their labour to cultivate and manure the Lands of the *Inca* and the *Quacas*; and to gather the Fruits, and lay them up in their Store-house; which was all the Tribute or Imposition required of them. These are the words of *Acofca*, who calls the Sun by the Name of *Quacas*.

In all the Province of *Colla*, which is above 150 Leagues long, Mayz doth not grow, by reason of the coldness of the Climate; but in the place of it they have great abundance of *Quinna*, which is a sort of Rice, besides plenty of other Grane and Pulse, and such Corn as grows low upon the ground; such as is that which they call *Papa*, which is round and juicy, and by reason of the great humidity of it inclines much to corruption, and is soon rotten; but the better to conserve it, they spread it on the ground upon Straw, of which there is great store, and very good in that Countrey, exposing it for many Nights to the Frost; for the Frosts are very sharp and lasting there; after it hath in this manner, as it were, been digested and ripened by the colds, they then gently press it, that the warminess may pass away with the crude humour caused by the Frost; and after they have thus well pressed it, they lay it out in the Sun, keeping it from the serene damps of the Night, until it is perfectly dried. And by these means they conserve the *Papa* for a long time, which then they call by the Name of *Chunano*, and by that Name all the *Papa* passed, which was gathered from the Lands of the Sun, and of the *Inca*, and which they conserved in their Store-houses, with other Grane, and with their Pease and Vetches, and such like.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

How they made Cloaths, and Arms, and Shoes for the Souldiery.

BESIDES this Tribute of Labour which the *Indians* bestowed on the Lands of the Sun, and the *Inca*, and of the gathering in their Fruit; the second Tribute required was a contribution towards the Cloathing, Shoes and Arms of the Souldiery, as also for the poor and needy, who by reason of Age, or want of Health, were not able to labour and provide for themselves: And herein the same rule and order was observed, as in the former Tribute. The Cloathing in all the Hilly Countries was made of Wool, which was produced by those multitudes of Cattel which were pastured in those parts for account of the Sun; but in the Plains along the Sea-coast, where the Countrey is hot, they made all their Garments of Cottons, which grew in the Lands belonging to the *Inca* and the Sun; so that the *Indians* were at no farther expence therein, than that onely which proceeded from the labour of their hands. Their Woollen Cloathing was of three sorts; the coarsest, which they called *Ausfca*, was for the common people; the next degree, which was something finer, they called *Compi*, which was fit for Captains and Nobles, and the better sort of people, and were made of divers colours, and dressed and curried like the *Dutch* Cloths: To the finest sort likewise they gave the same name of *Compi*, which was onely for the cloathing of *Incas* of the Royal Blood, and such of them as were Souldiers and Officers both of War and Peace. This finest sort was made in Countries where the best Workmen lived, and the most ingenious Artifts; and the courser was made by the more dull and courser sort of Heads. All the Wool for this Cloathing was Spun by the Women; as likewise the *Ausfca*, or courser sort, was Woven by them; but the finest was Woven by the Men, because they always Weaved standing; and both one and the other was the Work of the Subjects, and not of the *Incas*, though it were for their own Cloathing, though some are of opinion that the *Incas* worked and weaved for themselves; which we must contradict, and shall shew hereafter, when we come to treat of the Arms of Horsemen, what it was that they termed the Spinning of the *Incas*. Those Provinces were most charged with the Affessment for Shoeing, where Hemp grew in most plenty, and was made from the Stalk of a Plant called *Maguey*; their Arms likewise were made in those Countries where the Materials for them were most plentiful: In some places they made Bows and Arrows, in others Lances and Darts, in others Clubs and Bills; some Countries provided Ropes and Winlasses for lading and salting of Burthens, and others made Helmes and Targets, besides which they had no other defensive Arms. In short, every Province furnished and supplied such Commodities as the Nature of the Countrey did most easily produce, and such Manufactories as they could make at home; for it was a settled and an established Law through the whole Empire, that no *Indian* should be obliged to seek or ranfack other Countries for the Tribute he was to pay; for as that would not be just nor equal, so it would be a means to make them Vagabonds, and to open a door to the Inhabitants to go out of their Countrey, and forsake their own habitations; so that the Subjects were obliged to furnish the *Inca* with four things, *viz.* Provisions or food arising from the proper grounds of the *Incas*; Cloathing made of the Wool of his own Flocks, Shoes and Arms, arising from Countries where the Materials are most common; all these Affessments were laid and imposed with great order and attention; for those Provinces which were charged with Cloths, by reason of the quantity of Wool, which abounded in their parts, were freed from the charge and care of providing Shoes; those that provided Shoes, were freed from Arms, so that none could be twice charged; nor the Subject agrieved by the weight of his Oppressions. By this gentleness and lenity of the Yoke which the *Inca* laid on his people,

people, every one served him with such cheerfulness and alacrity, that a *Spanish* Historian much admiring thereat, used these words: "The Riches of those barbarous Kings consisted in the Number of their Subjects, who were all Slaves to them; and what is most wonderfull is, that all the labour and toil they used for their Kings, was their greatest delight and recreation; and such was the good rule and order observed in it, that no labour was tedious, but rather of contentment and satisfaction. These words are not my own, but the expressions of *Joseph de Acosta*, a Person of good authority, which I gladly insert here, as in other places, to defend my self against the Malice and Obloquy of those who are ready to charge me with Fables forged in honour and favour to my own Kindred and Countrey. And this is what we have to say of the Tribute which was given to these Idolatrous Kings.

There was another sort of Tribute which the Kings exacted from the Impotent, and such as were called Poor; and that was, that every one was obliged from so many days, to such a time, to deliver into the hands of the Governours a Reed filled with Lice. It is said, that the reason why the *Incas* required this strange sort of Tribute, was, that so no person, how impotent soever, might pretend an entire exemption from Tribute; and because Lice were the easiest Tribute, the King exacted such as they could pay; and the rather, that so this people by such obligation might be forced for payment to clear and make clean themselves of Vermine, and not pretend to be void of all employment; and the care of this Collection was entrusted to a Decurion, or Officer of ten, as before mentioned. By such Acts of mercy and compassion as this towards the Poor, the *Inca* merited the Title of a Lover of the Poor, the which Name he assumed to himself amongst his other Dignities and Titles of Honour.

The persons exempt from all Tribute were the *Incas* of the Bloud-Royal, the Priests and Ministers of the Temple, the *Curacas* and Sovereign Lords, Colonels, and Captains, and Centurions, though they were not of the Bloud-Royal; also Governours, Judges, Ministers of State, during the time of their Offices, they were only obliged to attend their charge and employments, without other trouble or diversion: All Souldiers who were actually in Arms, and attending in the War, were excused from other Services; and Youths under the Age of twenty five years, being untill that time esteemed Servants to their Fathers, and without power over themselves; and not capable to dispose of themselves in Marriage, were not obliged to pay any sort of Tribute; as also new-married persons for the first year were dispensed with in that particular. Old Men from fifty years and upwards, as also Women, and Maids, and Widows, and Married people were also exempt from Tribute, though the *Spanish* Writers alledge, that Women were obliged unto that payment, because they were observed to work and labour as other people; but herein they were mistaken, for that Women were not obliged to this labour by way of Tribute, but only for the help and assistance of their Parents or Husbands, that so they might more speedily dispatch their tasks, and finish the labour allotted to them. It was also an excuse for any to prove himself to have been sick and indisposed in his health; the lame also and the blind, but not the dumb nor deaf were freed from their personal labour; the which belonging properly to every particular person, became a debt not to be remitted, unless on the preceding Conditions and Provisos. And thus much *Blas Valera* alleges so agreeable to our sense, as if what we shall hereafter declare in this matter, or have already herein delivered, had been only a Copy, or Extract, out of his Writings.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

That Gold, and Silver, and other things of value, were not given by way of Tribute, but of Presents.

ALL that great quantity of Gold and Silver, and pretious Stones which the *Incas* possessed, were not Rents, nor Fruits issuing from Tribute, but Presents which the People voluntarily offered to their Kings; for neither Gold nor Silver were esteemed necessary for maintenance of Peace, nor (as we will have it) the Sinews of War, nor reckoned as any part of Riches, or Estate, nor were they measures in buying or selling, or given in payment to the Souldiers; for they could neither drink nor satiate their hunger with those Metals, and therefore were valued at no other rate, than for their glittering Lustre, and resplendent Beauty, designed onely for Ornaments to adorn the Temples of the Sun, and the Palaces of the *Incas*, and the Monasteries of the Virgins, as we have already made appear, and shall hereafter have occasion to prove more at large. They found out the Mines of quick-silver, but knew not the use of it, onely that it was hurtfull, and of a quality noxious to the Head, and for that reason prohibited the People from gathering or meddling with it.

We say then, that Gold and Silver was a free Offering from the Subjects to their Prince, and never demanded by them in way of Tribute, or Duty: and in regard it was a custome amongst that People, never to appear before their Superiours with empty hands, for when nothing better offered, even a basket of dry or ripe fruit was acceptable: and that also it was customary for the *Curacas*, and Princes, who had sovereign Authority over Subjects, to present themselves before the *Inca* at the principal feasts of the Year, which were dedicated to the Sun, such as *Raymi*, and at other times when Triumphs were celebrated for great and signal Victories, or when a Prince and Heir was born, or his Head thorn, or that the *Inca* visited the Provinces, and the like, the *Curacas* did then never presume to appear before the *Inca*, and kiss his Hands, without their Presents of Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones, such as the *Indians*, who were their Vassals, had at their leisure times extracted from the Mines; for in regard that these things were not necessary for support of humane Life, the acquisition of them was scarce esteemed worth their labour, and the employment onely appointed for their vacant hours; for when they knew that there was no other use for them, but onely for the adornment of their Temples, and Palaces of the *Inca*, they then esteemed them worthy their trouble, for no other reason, than that they might appear with confidence before their Gods, who were the Sun and the *Inca*.

Moreover besides such rich Gifts as these, the *Curacas* did commonly present to the King Timber of the best and strongest nature for his Buildings, with excellent Masters, and the most able Artills and Workmen to erect them; for if there were any Persons ingenious, or excellent in Arts, or Crafts, such as Silver-smiths, Painters, Stone-cutters, Carpenters, or others, they were always preferred and recommended by the *Curacas* to the service of the *Incas*; for indeed such Persons as these could find no Employment or Encouragement with the common People, every one of which had skill and art sufficient for building his own poor Hutt or Cottage where he dwelt, and making his own Shoes and Garments; for though anciently the Community had the care of providing every Family with a House, yet now, since every single Person hath learnt that mystery, and become a rare Architect, and can, with the assistance of a few Friends and Relations, be able to form his own Nest and Habitation: the Art of Surveyors, and the Labour of Workmen is of little use to them, for being poor, and living only with design to supply the necessities of humane Life, they have no need of those superfluities

suities which are necessary to support the Magnificence and Pomp of great Personages.

Moreover they presented to the *Inca* wild Beasts, such as Tygers, Lions and Bears, with other Creatures less fierce, such as Drills, Monkeys, Mountain-Cats, Deer, Parots, and other greater Birds, as Ostriches, and another sort of Bird called a *Cuntur*, which is the biggest of any in the world: Hereunto they sometimes added Serpents which were produced in *Antis*; the biggest and largest of which they call *Amaru*, being twenty five or thirty foot in length, as also Toads of a monstrous bigness, and Snakes that were very fierce. And from the Sea-coast they sent Soils and Alligators, which they called *Coymanes*, and were some of them twenty five or thirty foot in length. In short, there was no creature excellent in its kind either for ferocity, or bigness, or nimbleness, which they omitted to carry and present with their Offerings of Silver and Gold, that so by this way of Homage, and Duty, they might acknowledge him the supreme and universal Lord of all, and testify the zeal and affection they bore to his Service.

CHAP. VIII.

How this Tribute was conserved, and laid up, and how it was expended, and in what Service.

WE are come now to enquire in what manner this Tribute was conserved, in what it was expended, and what account was given of it: and herein it is to be observed, that there were three Treasuries in the whole Kingdom, where-in they amassed and kept the Tributes, and publick Profits. In every Province whether it were great, or small, there were always two Magazines, or Store-houses; in one of which they laid up corn, and provisions for support of the Natives against years of scarcity, or famine; in the other, all the Profits and Benefits belonging to the Sun, and the *Inca*, were laid up: besides which they had other smaller Store-houses, built upon the King's High-way, about three or four Leagues one from the other, which the *Spaniards* make use of at present for Inns and Lodgings when they travel.

All the Estate of the Sun, and the *Inca* which lay within fifty Leagues about the City of *Cuzco*, was all brought thither for maintenance, and support of the Court, that so the *Inca* might not only have a sufficient plenty for himself and Family, but likewise to bestow in Rewards and Presents to his Captains and *Cu-racas*, and to entertain and treat them: But some part of the Revenue which belonged to the Sun, and which was within the aforesaid limits of fifty Leagues, was separated, and laid up apart for the common-benefit of the People.

What Revenue was coming in from other places more remote, without the compass of the fifty Leagues, was laid up in the King's Store-houses, which he had in every Province, and from thence it was transported to the places which were built on the common Road, for receiving Provisions, Arms, Cloths, Shoes, and all necessaries for an Army, that so in all parts they might readily be supplied, whensoever they marched unto any of the four quarters of the World, which the *Indians* called *Tawantinsuyu*. These Store-houses being thus, as we have said, provided, were able to supply and furnish an Army with whatsoever they needed; so that in their march they neither lay upon free quarter, nor burthened the People; nor might any Souldier rob or vex the Inhabitants upon pain of Death. *Pedro de Cieza* in the 60th. Chapter of his Book, speaking of the great Roads, hath these Words. "The *Incas* had great and large Store-houses, wherein they stowed and laid up all their Ammunition and Provisions of War, in which they were so careful, that they never failed to make due and large Provisions, and in failure thereof

"the Officer encharged was severely punished; and consequently the Army being thus well provided, no person was permitted to break into the Fields or Houses of the *Indians*, though the damage were never so inconsiderable, under less than a capital punishment. This far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieza*; and the reason of this severity was grounded on the sufficient maintenance which the Souldiers received, who were thus well provided for by the People, on condition that they might be secured from their violence and outrages; and thus as the Magazines in the Roads were emptied by the Souldiers in their March, so they were again replenished, and supplied by the Provincial Stores. *Augustin de Carate* discoursing of the great Roads, or the King's High-Ways, (as we shall hereafter have occasion to mention more at large) doth in the 14th. Chapter of his first Book say: "That besides these common Store-houses on the Roads, *Guzna-caca* gave command for building in all the mountainous Countries large and capacious Houses, able to receive him, and his Court, and all his Army, and to be seated at the distance of a days march, one from the other. In the plains also he built others of the like capacious Form, but those were situated more remote one from the other, being at eight or ten, or perhaps fifteen or twenty Leagues asunder, according as the Rivers or conveniences of Water happened; and these Houses were called *Tambores*, where the *Indians* laid up such quantities of stores of Arms, and other necessaries, for an Army, that every one of them was sufficient to cloath, and arm, and feed twenty or thirty thousand Men, with the Provisions contained within it self; and yet the Army, though it was numerous, was yet well accoutred with all sorts of Weapons, such as Pikes, Halberts, Clubs and Pole-Axes, made of Silver, and Copper, and some of them of Gold, having sharp points, and some of them hardened by the fire, besides Slings, and Darts thrown by hand. Thus far are the Words of *Augustin Carate*, touching the Provisions lodged in the Roads for accomodation of the Army.

If the King were at any time put unto excessive charge in his Wars, so that his Revenue could not reach the expence, then in that case it was lawful for the *Inca*, as universal Heir to his Father the Sun, to make use of his Riches, and Revenue, and that whensoever the Wars were finished, the overplus which remained of such Provisions were carefully laid up in the respective Store-houses, for support and maintenance of the People in Years of Famine and Scarcity; in which such care was taken, that the *Inca* himself judged it an Employment fit to be supervised by his own particular regard and inspection.

The Priests, in all parts of the Empire, were maintained at the charges of the Sun, that is, whilst they were actually employed in the Service of the Temple, for they attended by Weeks, according to their turns; but when they were at home, and out of waiting, they then fed and maintained themselves from the fruits of those grounds, which were equally divided to them with other People; by which, and the like Parimony, used in expending the Revenue of the Sun, his Stores were always great and plentiful, and sufficient to assist, and succour the *Inca*, as his necessities and urgencies did require.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

That the People were supplied with Clothing, and that no Beggars were allowed amongst them.

AS by this good Order, and Method, the Souldiery was well provided with Clothing, so with the like care every two years a certain proportion of Wool was distributed to the Commonalty, and to the *Curacas* in general, wherewith to make Garments for themselves, their Wives, and their Families; and it was the Office of the Decurions to see, and render an account to the Superiour Officers, how far this Wool was employed to the uses, unto which it was designed. The *Indians* were generally very poor in Cattel, and the *Curacas* themselves for the most part were Matters of so few as were not sufficient for supply of themselves and their Families; whereas on the other side, the Sun, and the *Inca*, had such vast Flocks and Herds, as were almost innumerable. The *Indians* report, that when the *Spaniards* came first in amongst them, their flocks of Cattel were greater than their Pastures could feed, and I have heard from my Father, and others who lived in his time, that the *Spaniards* made great Destruction of the Cattel, as we shall hereafter have occasion more largely to relate. In the hot Countries they gave them Cottons to spin for the clothing of themselves and Families; so that every one having a sufficiency of Food and Raiment, none could properly be termed poor, nor could any be forced to beg, because his Necessities were supplied; it is true, that none could be called rich, if Riches be placed in affluence and abundance; for as none wanted, so none had more than his Needs required. What we have declared at large, is confirmed by *Acosta* in a few words, who in the 15th Chapter of his 6th Book, speaking of *Peru*, hath this passage: "At the seasons they shorn their Cattel, and then divided unto every one sufficient for him to spin, and weave for his own, and the clothing of his House and Family, and how diligent he was in his work, and how well he complied with his Task, was carefully inspected by an Officer, appointed for that Affair: what Wool or Cotton remained after such Division, was laid up in the common Storehouses, which was performed with that good Husbandry, that they were found full when the *Spaniards* entered their Country. And herein no thinking Man can without due reflexion admire and wonder at the Providence of this People, and their political Government; for though they had not been refined with the pure Doctrine of the Christian Religion, nor yet had been taught the Rules of a Monastical Life, yet they had learned that point (which we call perfection) how, and in what manner to provide all necessaries both for the King and his People, without appropriating any thing to a particular possession: And thus *Acosta* ends this 15th Chapter, which he entitles, *The Revenue and Tribute of the Inca*. In another Chapter following, discoursing there of the Offices held by the *Indians*, he touches many points which we have already declared, and which we shall have occasion to speak of more at large hereafter, he hath farther these expresse words. "The *Indians* of *Peru* had this Rule and Maxime amongst them, that it was necessary to teach their Children so soon as they were capable, those works which were conducing to humane Life, for in regard they had no Trades amongst them, such as Shoemakers, Weavers, and the like, whose Profession it was to make Shoes and Clothing for others, as well as themselves; but every one applied himself to make and provide that of which he had need and occasion; so that all knowing how to weave and sow, provided themselves with Garments out of the Wool which the *Inca* distributed to them. Every one knew how to plow, and manure his Land without putting himself to the charge of Labourers; every one was a Carpenter, and Mason, and was able to build his own House, especially the Women were the most ingenious and diligent of any; for being bred up, and educated

"in hardship and toil, contributed much to the assistance of their Husbands in all their labours. But those Professions and Arts which were not common, and which did not so properly belong to the necessity of Humane Life, such as Silver Smiths, Painters, *Pixers*, *Boatmen*, Accountants and Pipers, had their particular Masters and Professours; but the ordinary and necessary Works were taught and practised in every Family, every one doing his own business, did not hire, or pay another for it, but made his own Cloaths and Shoes, sowed his own Fields, and gathered in his own Harvest: And this, as it was the ancient custome amongst them, so it hath continued even to this day; wherein they seem to have imitated the Lives of the Ancient Monks, as the Fathers of the Church have delivered them to us. The truth is, they are a people neither covetous, nor luxurious by nature; that, in reality, were the life they lead a point of free-will, rather than necessity, or chosen for the sake of Mortification; certainly these people would be rarely well disposed to receive the Doctrine of the Gospel, which is an enemy to pride, and covetousness, and luxurious living, though the Preachers up of these Graces unto the *Indians* do not always live according to those Precepts which they deliver in their Pulpits: And then soon after he adds, "That it was an Established Law amongst them, that no Man should change the Habit and Fashion of his Country, though he altered his Habitation out of one Province into another; the observance of which Rule, the *Inca* enjoined with great severity as a matter of importance in relation to the Government. Thus last are the words of *Acosta*: To which I shall add, that the *Indians* wonder much to see the *Spaniards* so frequently change their Habits, and attribute it to their pride, presumption, and wantonness of their humors.

In the Year 1560, when I departed from *Peru*, it was not the custome for any to beg, or ask Alms; for where-ever I travelled in that Country, I never observed any Man or Woman to beg, unless it were an Old Woman which I knew at *Cusco*, called *Isabel*; and she neither had no great necessity, onely she was delighted to gossip from house to house, and like a Gypsie, with her Jest and Tricks, persuaded the Neighbours to be kind to her. Howsoever, the *Indians* detested her way of living, and in token of their abhorrence thereof, would reprove her with words, and then spit on the ground, which was a kind of reproach; and for that reason this Woman would never beg of the *Indians*, but onely of the *Spaniards*; and because at that time, in my Country, there was no Money coined, they gave her Mayz, which was the chief thing the desired; and if she found this come freely, she would beg a little Flesh, and then some of their Drink; and then with her Tricks and Jest she would get some of their *Coca*, which is that pretious Plant so much in esteem amongst the *Indians*, and which they commonly carry in their Mouths; and thus she passed a merry and wanton life, but detestable to her Neighbours. Nor were the *Incas*, amongst their other Charities, forgetfull of the conveniences for Travellers, but in all the great Roads built Houses, or Inns, for them, which they called *Corpahuasi*; where they were provided with Victuals, and other necessaries, for their Journeys; out of the Royal Stores, which were laid up in every Province; and in case any Traveller fell sick in the way, he was there attended, and care taken of him, in a better manner perhaps than at his own home: But the truth is, no person Travelled for his curiosity, or pleasure, or business, but for the service, and by order of the King, or his *Curacas*, when they had occasion to dispatch Messengers, such as Captains for the War, or other Officers for conversation of the Peace; and then these were well provided for, and treated with all conveniences; whereas others who had not the pretence and pass-port for their Travels, were taken up for Vagabonds, and punished accordingly.

CHAP. X.

The Rule they observed in the Division of their Flocks, and of other strange Beasts.

THE Flocks of Cattel which belonged to the *Inca* were so numerous, that for the better keeping an account of them, they separated them by distinct Drovers, according to their colours; for their Cattel are of Party-colours in those Countries, as the Horses are in *Spain*; and for every colour they have a proper word: Those creatures which have great variety of colours, they call *Murumuru*, which the *Spaniards* by corruption call *Mormora*. As for instance, so soon as a Lamb was Year'd of a different colour to the Ewe which was her Dam, they presently separated it, and made it to associate with the Flocks of the same colour; in which manner they easily kept an account of their Cattel by their Knots, which were always made of the same colour with that of their Cattel.

The Beasts which carried their burthens were a sort of Sheep, with a bunched back like Camels, but in every thing else had a likeness with our Sheep; and though it was common for the *Indians* to Lade their burthens on these creatures, yet the *Inca* never made use of them himself, unless it were in some case of necessity, or for the publick profit and use; such as carrying Materials for building Fortresses, Royal Palaces or Bridges; or for making the High-ways, Allies and Water-works; these being publick and common concernments, admitted of no excuse or exemption from them.

We have already mentioned that the Gold and Silver which was presented by the Subjects to their *Inca*, was employed in Adorning the Temple of the Sun, and of the Royal Palaces; and herein we shall enlarge, when we come to speak farther of the House belonging to the Select Virgins.

All the strange Birds and Beasts, such as Serpents of all sorts and sizes, Lizards, and other creeping things which the *Cuaracas* presented, they kept in certain Provinces, which to this day have their Names from those creatures: They also kept some of them in the Court, both for grandeur, and also to please the *Indians*, who esteemed themselves greatly obliged by the acceptance which the *Inca* did vouchsafe to make of them.

I remember that when I came from *Cusco*, there remained some Ruines of these places where they kept these creatures, which they called *Amaruancha*; which is as much as to say, the Conservatory of those Serpents which were of the largest size, for *Amaru* signifies a great Serpent, on which place now the College of Jesuits is erected: So likewise they called those Dens where they kept the Lions, and Tygers, and Bears, *Puma curcu* and *Pumap chupan*; for *Puma* was their word for a Lion, one of which Dens was formerly at the foot of the Cattle-hill, and the other just behind the Monastery of St. Dominick.

Their Aviary for the better Air, and cheerfulness of the Birds, was placed without the City, which they called *Suribnalla*, which signifies the Field of Ostriches, which is about half a League Southward from *Cusco*, and was the Inheritance of my Tutor *John de Alcobaca*, and descended afterwards to his Son *Diego de Alcobaca*, who was a Priest and my School fellow.

Those fierce creatures, such as Tygers and Lions, Serpents and Toads of a prodigious bigness, served not only for ostentation and the grandeur of the Court, but also were sometimes made use of to punish and devour Malefactors. of which we shall have occasion to speak where we treat of those Laws and Ordinances which were made against Offenders in Criminal matters.

And thus much shall serve for what we have to say concerning the Tribute which they gave to their *Incas*, and of the Manner and Occasion for which it was expended. From the Papers of that curious and learned Father *Blas Valera*, I have made this following Extract, that so we may by his Authority confirm the truth of

of what we have related, touching the Beginnings, Customs, Laws and Government of this people.

And because he hath wrote on this subject with much perspicuity, order and elegance of expression, I have thought fit to Adorn this History, and supply the defects of it by some of those Excellencies which I have copied from his Works.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Laws and Statutes which the Incas made for the good and benefit of their Subjects.

THAT which now immediately follows concerning the Government of the *Incas*, we have for the better confirmation and authority of what we have already declared, Translated *Verbatim* out of the Elegant Latin of *Blas Valera*. "The *Indians* of *Peru*, saith he, began to lay some Foundations of a Political Government in the Reigns of the *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and of the *Inca Roca*, who was also one of their Kings; for before that time, in all preceding Ages, they lived like Brutes, in all filthiness and bestiality, without order, rule, or any government: But from that time they began to educate their Children with some mean rudiments of learning; and to enter into civil and mutual communication; they then also began to Cloath themselves, not only with a respect to modesty, but likewise for ornament; they then plowed and cultivated their Fields with industry and labour, and therein afforded mutual assistance each to other; they then constituted Judges, and kept Courts, they built Houses both for private Dwellings and publick Meetings, with many other things commendable, and worthy of praise. Those Laws and Statutes which their Princes from the mere light of reason dictated and prescribed to them, they readily embraced, and thereunto directed and conformed all their Actions in that exact manner, that for my part I cannot but prefer these *Incas* of *Peru*, not only before the Inhabitants of *China* and *Japan*, and all those of the *East-Indies*; but even before the Natural Gentiles of *Asia*, and the Natives of *Greece*: For if it be well considered, the labour and industry which *Numa Pompilius* exercised in framing and constituting Laws agreeable to the humour, and disposition of the *Romans*; and that *Solon* was an excellent Legistatour for the *Athenians*, and *Licurgus* for the *Lacedemonians*, is not much to be admired, because they were Men expert, and knowing in all the points of Humane literature; which was a great advantage, and availed them much in composing Laws and Customs proper and necessary for those present days, and the happiness and welfare of future Ages. But it is strange and wonderfull, that these poor *Indians*, who had none of those helps nor advantages, should be able to lay such a solid foundation of excellent Laws, which (excepting the Error of their Idolatrous Worship) were truly rational and comparable in every respect to the Constitutions of the most learned Statesmen, and which these constant *Indians* conserve with sacredness and veneration unto this day: And which is most strange, that without letters or writing, and only by knots of thread of divers colours they should be able to distinguish their Laws, and read them with their true sense and signification; and so well by this invention to commit them to the knowledge of posterity, that since they were established by their first Kings, six hundred years are fully elapsed, and yet are as faithfully and as lively conserved in the memory of that people, as if they had been Laws of later date. Such was their Municipal Law, which treated of the particular advantage of every Nation, and the Privileges and Immunities respective to every people. They had their *Agrarian Law*, which determined and measured out the bounds and limits of

Provinces, which was with singular diligence and rectitude observed; for they had their sworn Measurers, who meted out their Lands with Cords by Acres, which they called *Tupu*, whereby they made a just division to the Neighbourhood, assigning to every one his just share and proportion. They had also that which they called a Common Law, which, as they said, respected every one (unless Old Men, and sick, and Children, and infirm, which were exempted) but all others were obliged to labour in matters relating to the benefit of the Common-wealth, such as in the building of Temples, Palaces for the King, and the great Lords, raising Bridges, making and mending High-ways, and other matters of like nature. They had another Law, which they named the Law of Brotherhood, which laid an obligation on the people to be aiding and assisting one to the other, in plowing, and sowing, and gathering in the Fruits, and in building Houses one for the other, without pay, or expectation of reward. They had another Law, which they called *Mitachanacy*, which was as much as to say, a rotation, or a turn, or circulation of labour, which was no more than that in all the work which was performed by publick assistance, the like account should be observed, and measures taken, as was in the division of the Lands, that so no Province, People, Lineage or Person, should be obliged to labour beyond their due proportion, but that their Lives should have their turns and times mixed with recreation and Leisure, as well as labours. They had also a Sumptuary Law, which prohibited all kind of vanity and expence in Cloathing and Adornments of them with Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones; and especially all profuteness in banquets and delicacies in Diet were forbidden, only the Neighbourhood were enjoined to Dine two or three times a Month together, in presence of their *Curacas*, and then afterwards to exercise themselves in feats of Arms, or in sports and diversifements, which was esteemed a probable means to reconcile Mens affections, and conserve them in love and friendship one with the other: And this Law was also made in favour to the Shepherds, and other Field-labourers, that so they might taste some pleasures and recreations. They had also a Law in relation to those whom they call Poor; which was, That such as were blind, dumb, lame, old, decrepit and lingering with any long or Chronical disease, so as that they were incapable of work, should be clothed and fed out of the King's Store. Likewise it was a Law, that out of these Stores all Strangers and Travellers should be provided; for whom also Inns and places of refreshment were erected, which they called *Corabhuaci*, which is as much as a House of Hospitality in which Men had their charge and expence defrayed by the Publick: And in this Law also it was Ordained, that twice or thrice a Month they were to invite those which, as before mentioned, are termed Poor unto their Meetings and publick Feasts, that so their miseries might receive some consolation and diversion by the common joy and society. Another Law they called the Ordinance of good Husbandry, which enjoined and required two things: First, that no person should remain idle, or be exempt from labour; for (as we have said before) even Children of five years of Age were employed in something agreeable to their capacities, nor were the lame and infirm altogether excused, but some work was given them, which they were best able to perform; for idleness, which was punishable with much dishonour and infamy, was not indulged on any pretence but what was of necessity, and unavoidable. And farther it was Ordained by this Law, That the *Indians* should dine and sup with their Doors open, that so the Officers and Ministers of the Judges might have free and open access to them at their pleasure; for there were certain Officers appointed to visit the Houses of particular persons, as well as the Temples, and publick Houses, and Edifices, whom they called *Llacacamayn*; and these were Monitors, or Visitors, appointed to oversee, and make enquiry into the Houses of particular persons, observing the order, and regular care, and diligence which the Husband and Wife used in their labour and families, and what obedience and respect the Children paid unto their Parents; the evidence and measures of which they took from the neatness and politeness of their Attire, and from the cleanliness of their Utensils and good Housewifery in their Houses: such as they found in all things cleanly, they praised and commended in publick; and such as were slovenly and nasty, they punished with stripes, whipping them on their Armes and Legs, or with such other infliction as the Law required; by which care, and severe in-

specion,

specion, every one became laborious, and that industry produced such abundance of all things necessary to humane Life; that those things were given almost for nothing, which now are to be purchased at excessive rates. What other Laws, and moral Constitutions they observed, either relating to Men in a common or a single capacity, they were all regulated, and squared by the rule of right Reason; and which may be known and collected from those particulars, which we shall hereafter relate, concerning the Lives and Customs of this People. And we shall hereafter, in the eight and ninth Chapters, specify the cause and manner, why, and how they came to loose these Laws and Customs, which were thus worthy and commendable; all which declined, and fell with the Government of the *Incas*: And that the barbarity of the *Indians* is much more savage, and their living much less political, and greater want of all things necessary in these days amongst them, than was in the ancient times, when the *Incas* bore the sway and rule in those Dominions.

CHAP. XII.

How they conquered and civilized their new Subjects.

THE Policy and Arts which the *Incas* used in their Conquests, and the manner and methods they pursued in civilizing the People, and reducing them to a course of moral Living, is very curious, and worthy to be observed. For from the first foundation, which their Kings laid of Government, which served afterwards for an example, or pattern to their Successors, their Maxime was, Never to make War on their Neighbours without just cause, or reason; so the Barbarity and Ignorance of the People seemed a good and lawfull motive, and next the Oppression and Violence which the Neighbours used towards their Subjects, was another; but before they attempted on them by any acts of Hostility, they first sent their summons three or four times, requiring their Obedience: After any Province was subdued, the first thing that the *Inca* did, was to take their principal Idol as an Hostage, and carry it to *Cusco*, where it was to remain in the Temple as a Captive, untill such time as the People, being disabused by the Vanity and Inability of their Gods, should be reduced to a compliance with the *Incas* in their Worship and Adoration of the Sun. Howsoever they did not presently overturn and demolish the strange Gods of the Country so soon as they had subdued it; but rather out of respect to the Inhabitants, they tolerated for some time their Idols, untill that having instructed, and persuaded them in a better Religion, as they thought, they might without their displeasure, and perhaps with their consent, destroy and suppress the God they had adored. Next they carried the principal *Cacique* of the Country, with all his Sons, to *Cusco*; there to care, and treat them with all kindness and humanity; by which occasion they informing them of the Laws, Customs and propriety of their Speech, and instructing them in their superstitious Rites and Ceremonies, they became more easily reconciled to the Laws and Servitude of the *Inca*: After which the *Curaca* being restored to his Ancient Honour and Rule, was permitted to return unto his Subjects, who were commanded, as formerly, to obey him as their natural Prince and Lord: And that the conquered Nations might be reconciled with their Conquerors, and that the rancour and malice which lay on the Spirits of those, who conceived themselves injured, by acts of Violence and War, might be abated, and assuaged by gentle Lenitives, an Act of Oblivion was passed, and Banquets were prepared for feasting of the new Subjects, together with the Conquerors of them, that so a perpetual Peace and Amity might be concluded by a coalition of their Minds, reconciled at these Feasts; to which also the blind, the lame, and the infirm were admitted, that so they also might partake of the bounty and liberality of the *Inca*. At these Banquets they were entertained with the Dances

Dances of the young Maidens, and activity of the Youth, and with the military Exercises of the Souldiers; besides which they presented them with gifts of Gold, and Silver, and Feathers, for the adornment of their Habits, at the times of their principal Festivals; and also they gave them Cloths, and other small curiosities, which they highly esteemed: so that those People, though never so barbarous and brutish at first, were yet made sensible of these kindnesse to such a degree, that they never afterwards so much as attempted to arise in Rebellion. And to take away all occasions of complaint from the Subjects of Aggreivances and Oppressions whatsoever; lest those Complaints should from words proceed to blows, and open violence; wherefore to prevent that, their Estates and Liberties were always conferred to them; onely they were required to be obedient to the Laws, Statutes, and ancient Institutions, which were published, and openly promulged amongst them, for unto these, and to the Worship of the Sun, their submission was required, and no Dispensation allowed in the case; and being obstinate, they were to be compelled by force; sometimes, where it was convenient, they transplanted Colonies from one place to another, but then they provided them with Lands, and Houses and Cattel, and Servants, and whatsoever was necessary and requisite for their livelihood; and into their places they transported perhaps some of the Citizens of *Cusco*, or others of approved Loyalty, which served for Guards and Garrisons, to keep the Neighbourhood in awe and subjection; and also to teach and instruct those Savages, and ignorant People in their Laws and Religion, together with the Tongue and Language of their Country.

All the other points of Government, and Injunctions imposed by the *Inca* Kings, were more easie and gentle than of any other Princes, who ruled the Nations of the New World; the which is not onely made manifest and apparent by their own Historical Knots, by which they committed the occurrences of past times unto memory, but are also approved and confirmed by the faithfull Commentaries of the Vice-King *Don Francisco de Toledo*, who having informed himself of the Customs and manners of every Province from the *Indians* themselves, made a Collection of them with his own hand-writing, and commanded his Visitors, Judges and Registrars to transcribe them, Copies whereof are conserved unto this day in the publick Archives, and serve to evidence that Benignity and Gentleness, which the Kings of *Peru* in exercise of their Government used towards their Subjects: for as we have noted before, that excepting some particular matters, enjoined and imposed for the Defence and Security of the Empire; all other Laws, and Statutes had no other aspect, than what regarded the sole benefit, and interest of the Subjects; for every Man's private Estate and Patrimony had the same Protection, as that of the publick; no Souldiers were permitted to pillage, or plunder even those People whom they had subdued by force of Arms; but received and treated them, as if they were faithfull and true Servants: and for those who voluntarily submitted and surrendered themselves, they conferred in some short time Places and Offices of preferment, relating to civil or military Commands.

The Duty of Tribute which these Kings laid on their Subjects was so trivial, and inconsiderable, that when in the sequel of this History we shall come to treat of the particulars thereof, and wherein it consisted, it will seem ridiculous to the Reader; in return notwithstanding hereof, the *Incas* were not onely contented to bestow on their Subjects their Food and Rayment, but many other presents, which they bountifully conferred on the *Curacas*, and Great Men, extending also their largesses to the poor, and necessitous; as if they had been Stewards or Masters of Families, whose Office was to make Provision for others, rather than Kings, who bore the renowned Title of *Capac Tinu*, which the *Indians* conferred upon them; *Capac* signifying as much as a Prince powerfull in Riches, and *Tinu* is as much as Liberal, Magnanimous, a Demi-God, or *Angelus*. Hence proceeded that great Love and Affection which the *Peruvians* bore towards their Kings, that even to this day, though they are become Christians, they cannot forget the memory of them, but are ready on all occasions, when their present Oppressions grieve them, with sighs and groans to invoke their Names; and in reality they had much reason; for we do not read in all the Histories of *Asia*, *Africa*, or *Europe*, that ever those Kings were so gracious to their Subjects, as these; or that they were so frank, or familiar with them, or so gentle and carefull managers of their Interest. And now, from what we have already said, and what we shall hereafter declare, the Reader may be able to collect, and understand what were the

the ancient Laws, Customs, and Statutes of the *Indians* of *Peru*, and how, and in what manner they lived; and that by the same, accustomed Methods of Gentleness, we may believe, that these People may be best and most easily reduced unto the Christian Religion.

CHAP. XIII.

How, and in what manner they instituted, and invested Officers in their respective Employments.

B*Las Valera*, in the process of this Discourse, hath one Chapter under this title, and also how the Overseers of the labours of the People distributed to every one his respective task. How also they dispensed the Estate belonging to the publick, and to particular Persons, and how also they proportioned and laid their Tributes.

The *Inca* having subdued any new Province, and carried the Idol God captive to *Cusco*, he then endeavoured to satisfie and appease the minds of the Lords of the Countrey, and gain the good-will of the People; commanding that all *Indians* in common, as also their Priests and Sotcerers should worship and adore the God *Tici Viracocha*, under the title and denomination of *Pachacamac*, which is as much as the Almighty, or supreme God of Gods. The next command laid on them, was, that they should acknowledge the *Inca* for their sovereign Lord and King; and that the *Caciques* should by their turns appear, and present their Persons at the Court once every year, or every two years, according as the distance of the Province was remote from *Cusco*; by which means so great was the concourse of people to that City, that it became the most populous part and place of the New World. Moreover it was ordained, that the Natives and Strangers which came to sojourn in any Province, should be numbred, and registred according to their Age, Lineage, Offices, Estates and Qualities; all which being performed by help of their Threads of various colours, served afterwards for a rule, whereby they regulated and proportioned their Tribute; and measured every thing which had relation to the publick Interest. The next thing the *Inca* did after such Conquest, was to nominate his Generals, and several Officers of the Army, such as Colonels, Captains, Ensigns, Serjeants, and Corporals: Some of which commanded ten, some fifty Souldiers; but a Captain of the most inferior degree was set over at least an hundred, others commanded five hundred, others a thousand, but the Major-Generals commanded four or five thousand Men; a General was not called so, unless he were at the Head of ten thousand Men, and then his Title was *Hac-tun Aya*, which was as much as Great Captain. Those whom they called *Curacas*, were sovereign Lords, such as our Dukes, and Earls; and Marquesses, who being the Natural Lords of their People, ruled and presided over them, both in the times of War and Peace. These had power to make Laws, and tax the people for payment of their Tribute; and it was their duty also to provide, and to take care for their Subjects in hard times of want and necessity. The Captains of the highest, as well as those of inferior rank, though they were not capacitated to make Laws, did yet by right of Inheritance succeed into the Offices of their Parents; their military Employments privileged and exempted them from the payment of Tribute, being freed of all Taxes, and Impositions, and in case of want were to be supplied out of the Royal, and not out of the common Stores. However the Officers of inferior rank, such as were the Chiefs of ten or fifty Men, were not freed of their Tribute, because they were not of Noble Descent. The Generals of the Armies had power to make and commissionate Officers, and constitute them in their Employments, but being once so settled and established, they could

could not take away their Commissions, or deſtroy them of their Offices. The diligent and careful diſcharge which the Decurions performed in their duty, ſuch as ſurveying the fields, overſeeing the true and lawfull diſpoſal of Inheritances, the Royal Houſes, and diſpenſing Food and Rayment to the Commonalty, was accepted in the place of their Tribute, and no other charge required at their hands. Under the great Miniſters other ſubordinate Officers were ſubſtituted in all matters relating either to Government, or to the Tribute, it being eſteemed the beſt and moſt certain way to prevent cheats and frauds in Accounts. They had alſo Chief Shepherds, and ſervants that were under them, to whole care the Flocks were committed, which belonged both to the King, and to the Community, which they conſerved with that fidelity, that not a Lamb was miſſing, nor Paſtor *Fido* more faithfull to his charge, than theſe truſty Shepherds, whole chief dread and fear was of Wild-beaſts, which they watchfully chafed away; but as for Thieves, there being none, they paſſed their time with the leſs fear. They had Guardians, and Surveyors of the Fields, and Poſſeſſions; they had alſo Stewards, Adminiſtrators, Judges and Viſitors, whole chief care and incumbency was to ſee that nothing ſhould be wanting, either to the People in common, or to any private perſon whatſoever; for in caſe any one did ſignifie his neceſſities to the Decurions, they were obliged immediately to make their needs known to the *Curacas*, and they to the *Inca*, who readily ſupplied their occaſions, it being his greateſt Glory to be eſteemed the Father of his Country, and the Guardian of his People. It was the Office of the Judges and Viſitors to ſee that the Men employed themſelves in their reſpective duties; and that the Women were good Houſewives, taking care of their Houſes, keeping their Rooms clean, and nurſing and educating their Children; and in ſhort, that every one buſied him or herſelf in ſpinning and weaving. That the young Women obeyed their Mothers and Miſtreſſes, and were diligent about the Affairs of their Houſes, and other works appertaining to their Sex. The aged and infirm were excuſed from all laborious works, and had no injunctions laid on them, but ſuch as tended to their own benefit, ſuch as gathering ſticks, and ſtraws, and looſing themſelves, being afterwards obliged to carry their Lice to the Chief of their Squadron; and ſo they took a diſcharge for their Tribute. The Employment for blind men was to cleanſe the Cottons of the Seeds, and ſoſneſs, and rub out the Mayz from the ſtalks, or Ears in which it grew. And beſides theſe principal Officers which reſpected the orderly Government of the Commonwealth, there were Heads, or Maſter-workmen ſet over the Silver-Smiths, and Goldſmiths, Carpenters, and Maſons and Jewellers; which Order and Rule, had it been continued, and confirmed by the Acts and Patents of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, with the ſame care and policy, as it was firſt eſta- bliſhed by the *Incas*, that People would at this day have been more flouriſhing, and conſiderable, and all things, both for eating and clothing, would have been more plentiful, and this happineſs of affairs would have been a good preparation to the preaching and admiſſion of the Goſpel. But now our negligence, and want of due care, hath been the cauſe of the decay and ruine of that People, of which the poor *Indians* were ſo ſenſible, that they often murmured, and complained of the preſent Government in all their private Cabals, and Meetings; but how they compared the particulars of theſe times with the Reigns of the *Incas*, we ſhall diſ- coure more largely hereafter. in the 9th Chap. of our 2d Book, pag. 55. Thus far are the Words of Father *Blas Valera*. And this Authour proceeding farther, in his Diſcourſe, hath theſe words. “Beſides what we have ſaid already, they had Officers ſet over the Country Labourers, over the Fowlers, over the Fiſher- men, who fiſhed either in the Sea, or in the Rivers; ſome alſo were ſet over the Weavers, Shoemakers, and over thoſe who hewed Timber for the Royal Palaces, and publick Edifices; alſo over thoſe Smiths, who made instruments of Copper, for ſeveral uſes. They had alſo Heads and Chiefs over the Mechanicks, who did all attend with great care and diligence to their Trades; ſo that it is ſtrange to conſider in theſe our days, that theſe People who were ſo fond, and tenacious of conſerving their ancient Cuſtoms and Practices, ſhould be ſo careleſs in conſervation of their Arts, they being wholly diſuſed, and now loſt and forgotten amongſt them.”

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

What the Rule and Account was which they obſerved in publick and private Eſtates.

“After the *Inca* had ſubdued a Province, he confirmed the Right of poſſeſſion to the Natives of it, and then conſtituted Governours over the people, and Inſtruments who were to teach them the Doctrine and Ways of Religion, and to compoſe all troubles and differences ariſing amongſt them: For better diſpatch of which, it was ordered, that they ſhould decipher and ſet down by their Knots, a Plat, or Map, of all the Meadows, Mountains, Hills, Arable Grounds, Mines, Salt-pans, Fountains, Lakes, Rivers, and Plantations of Cottons and Fruit-trees; together with their Flocks which produced Wool, and Herds of other Cattel. All which particulars, with many more, they ordered to be meaſured, and laid down diſtinctly by themſelves. As firſt a Scheme was drawn of the whole Province; then how it was divided into its ſeveral people; and laſtly, how it bordered on all parts and quarters on its Neighbours; then the length and breadth of it was meaſured, and notice taken of the quality of the Land, as what was barren, and what part of it was fruitful; the deſign of all which was, not in order to apply any part or parcel thereof to the Eſtate, or benefit of the *Inca*; but ſimply that a due knowledge and conſideration being had of the fruitfulneſs or ſterility of the Land, ſure and certain meaſures might be the better taken of what every Country was able to provide and give towards their Tribute; and that having made a juſt calculate of all things, they might be the better enabled to lay a due proportion of thoſe ſupplies which were required from them in times of Peſtilence, Famine, or other Calamities: And laſtly, it was publicly promulged, and made known to every Individual perſon, what Service the *Inca*, or the *Curacas*, or the Commonwealth required at his hands: And laſtly, it was Ordained, that according to ſuch Models and Meaſures as were laid down of the Province, and the ſituation of it, that Boundaries and Land-marks ſhould be ſet up for diſtinction and ſeparation from the Frontiers belonging to the Neighbouring Countries. And leſt in times to come there ſhould happen out any miſtakes or conſuſion for want of due diſtinction, they gave new and proper Names to every Mountain, Hill, Field, Meadow, Fountain, and all other particular places; and if any of them had Names anciently given them, they confirmed them again, adding ſomething new and more diſtinguiſhing; the which will be more remarkable when we treat of that great veneration and reſpect which the *Indians* conſerve unto this day of ſeveral places. After this they divided and ſhared out the Land by parcels to the people of the Province according to their proportions, ordering them eſpecially to be careful, that theſe Lands thus meaſured, and laid out, and bounded, ſhould in no wiſe be mixed or confounded with the Paſture or Mountains of other people, but that every one ſhould know its own Land-marks and Boundaries allotted. The Mines of Gold and Silver, whether anciently known, or diſcovered of late times, were allowed to the *Curacas* to enjoy for themſelves, their kindred and ſervants; not for Treafure, for they contemned that, but only to adorn their Cloaths and Veſtments with which they were apparelled on Feſti- val-days, and with ſuch a quantity as might ſerve for Cups and Veſſels for the *Curaca* to drink in, for he was ſtinted and limited to ſuch a certain number of them: beſides theſe uſes, they had little regard unto their Mines, but rather ſuſ- fered them to be forgotten and loſt; which was the reaſon, that when the *Spani- ards* came in, though the Artiſts and Labourers in other Crafts were very nume- rous, yet in this alone few Founders, or ſkilfull in Melting Ore, were to be found. Such as were employed in the King's Service were abundantly provided with all Utenſils and Instruments, together with Cloaths and Diet at the charge and ex- pence of the King, or of the Lord. Theſe Artiſts were obliged to work two Months

"Months of the Year in Service of the *Inca*, which was in discharge of their Tribute, the remainder of the Year was their own, free, and might dispose of themselves as they thought fit; this was a particular Trade and Mystery, and such as laboured in it were called *Smeters*. That sort of Copper which they called *Au-ta*, served them in the place of Iron, of which they made their Knives and Carpenters Tools, and the great Pins with which the Women tucked up their Cloths; and hereof they made great and large Plates, which served for Looking-glasses; and likewise of the same Metal they made all their Rakes and Hammers; so that being of an Universal use to them, they preferred it before Gold or Silver, and for that reason worked more in the Mines of Copper, than in the richer Mines of Gold or Silver.

"The Salt which they made, whether it were from their Salt Springs, or Sea-Water, as also Fish taken in the Seas, or Rivers, or Lakes and Fruit growing from their Wild Trees, as also Cottons and fine Rushes were by Command of the *Inca* deemed and judged to be the Common Estate of the people, and the Goods of the Inhabitants in every Province, of which they had right and licence to take and use as much as their occasions did require; but of those Trees which any particular person had planted, the Fruit was peculiar, and appropriated onely to the use of him who planted them.

"The Corn which the Countries yielded for Bread, and those also which produced other Grane, were by order of the *Inca*, divided into three parts, and applied to different uses. The first was for the Sun, his Priests and Ministers; the second was for the King, and for the support and maintenance of his Governours and Officers, whom he dispatched and employed in foreign parts; and the third was for the Natives and Sojourners of the Provinces, which was equally divided according as the needs which every Family required. This was the division which the *Inca* observed and proportioned in all parts of his Empire; so that there was no other Tribute required of the *Indians* payable either to their King, or their Lords or Governours, or to the Temple or Priests, or any person, or for any other matter or thing whatsoever. What overplus remained of the King's Provisions, were at the end of the Year transported to the Common Stores of the people; and what overplus remained to the Sun, was distributed amongst the poor, the lame, and the blind, and others who were in any manner disabled; but no distribution hereof was made, untill such time as the Sacrifices were completed, which were many; and plentiful provision made for the Priests and Ministers of the Temple, who were almost innumerable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

In what the Tribute was paid, and in what quantity, and what Laws were made in relation to the same.

"Coming now to discourse of those Tributes which the *Inca* Kings of *Peru* exacted of their Subjects, they were so small and inconsiderable, that if we duly reflect on the quality and quantity of the Matters required, we may boldly affirm, that the great *Cæsars*, who were styled August and Pious, were not to be compared to these *Incas*, in respect of that protection and compassion they showed towards their People; for indeed, if it be well considered, these Princes seemed to have paid Toll and Tribute to their Vassals, rather than they unto their Kings, whose care and business it was to lay out themselves for the good and welfare of their people. The quantity of their Tribute being reduced to the Account and Measures we make in these days, would be very inconsiderable; for the days work of the Labourers, and the value of the things in themselves, and the consumption which the *Incas* made of their Stores, being all duly calculated, it will be found that many *Indians* did not pay the value of four Ryals of our Money. And lest this small Tribute should seem burthensome in the payment thereof, either to their *Inca*, or their *Curacas*, they expressed much joy and cheerfulness when they carried it into the Stores; having some consideration that the Tribute was but small, and yet greatly tended to the conservation and benefit of themselves and the publick. Those Laws and Statutes which were made in favour of the Tributes, were so faithfully and inviolably conserved, that neither the Governours, nor Captains, nor Generals, nor the *Inca* himself had power to corrupt or cancel them in prejudice of his Subjects. The which Laws are these which follow. The First and principal Law was this: That whatsoever hath at any time been free, and exempt from Tribute, cannot at any time afterwards be obliged to the payment thereof. Those that were free and privileged, were all those of the *Blond-Royal*, all Captains of high or low degree, even the very Centurions, with their Children and Grandchildren; together with the *Curacas*, and all those of their Generation: Souldiers also actually employed in the War were excused; and Young Men, untill they arrived at the Age of twenty five, were not within the Order, because untill that time they were judged to be under the Tutition, or Pupillage of their Parents. Old Men of fifty years, and upwards, were also exempted from Tribute; as likewise all Women, whether Virgins, or Wives, or Widows: The sick and infirm, untill they had recovered their health, were excused; and the blind, and lame, and deaf, and dumb, were employed in such Tributary Work as they were capable of. The Second Law was, That all others, unless Priests and Ministers attending on the Temple of the Sun, and the Select Virgins, were all without any limitation, or restriction, (except before excepted) obliged to payment of their Tribute. A Third Law was, That no *Indian* whatsoever was obliged to pay his Tribute, or any part thereof, out of his own Stores or Estate, but onely by his Labour, or in discharge of his Office, or by the time which he employed in the publick Service of his King and Countrey; and here- in every Man was equal, the Rich being not farther charged than he that was Poor: We call him Rich that had many Children and Servants, who assisted him in his Work, and speedily to dispatch the task of Tribute which was imposed upon him; for a Man might be Rich in other things, and yet Poor in this particular. A Fourth Law was, That no Man could be obliged to any other Labour, but that which was properly his own, unless it were upon Tillage of Land, and in the Wars, for those were Matters of common concernment. A Fifth Law was, That no Nation, or Province, in payment of their Tribute, was obliged to any Contribution; but of that which was of the Growth of their own Country;

"Country; for otherwise it would be an agreivance unto the people to be obliged to wander into foreign parts for fruits of different nature to them which their soil did produce. The Sixth Law was, That all those Officers and Master-workmen who were engaged in service of the *Inca*, or the *Curacas*, were to be provided at the charge of the Employers, with such Tools and Instruments as their Trade, and such materials as their work required. As for example, he that worked upon Metalls was to be provided with Gold, or Silver, or Copper, on which he was to exercise his art and labour; the weaver was to be supplied with Wool, or Cottons, the Painter with Colours, and so the like in other matters; so that the Artift was not obliged to bestow more than his time and skill: and then at the end of two months, or three at most, he was dismissed from his task, and made free from his Labour, for the remaining part of the whole year: and in case any one, out of his own voluntary good-will and pleasure, or out of a desire to finish and perfect any part of his work, already begun, should think fit to continue his labour untill a longer time, then such overplus of time was passed to his credit, and discounted in the two months of the following Year, and notified, and kept in memory by the help of their knots. The Seventh Law was, That all those Artifts who laboured in any Trade or Myftery, being in discharge of their Tribute, were to be provided of all necessaries, either for Food or Rayment, and of Medicines in case of sickness; and that not onely they, but also their Wives and Children, and those that came to their assistance were also to be maintained with the like provisions; but then the account was kept according to the task imposed, and not by the time; for if a Man could, with the help of his Assistents, perform that in a week, which would require two months of his own single work, he was judged to have complied with his obligation, and so discharged from his service. And this shall serve to discover the error of those who allege, that anciently the Mother, and Sons, and Daughters, paid their Tribute, the same being a mistake, by not rightly distinguishing that from right and duty, which was onely performed by a voluntary assistance, which the Wives, and Children, and Servants, yielded to their Fathers and Masters; for in case the Husband of the Family were pleased to labour singly, and without other assistance, his Wife, or Children, could not be forced to work; nor had the Judges or Decurions any other power, than to correct and punish their idleness, in case they were negligent and remiss in their own Affairs: So that in the time of the *Incas*, those persons were onely accounted rich, who had a numerous Family of Children, able to work, and to be assittent to him, by whose help a quick riddance was made of his task, whilst others moiling and toiling singly for a long time at their work, untill their Tribute was accomplished, often fell sick, and fainted under their burthen: Wherefore for ease and remedy herein, a Law was made, that the rich Family having performed their own task, were to bestow the labour of a day or two on their fellows, which was very acceptable, and pleasing to all the *Indians*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVI.

The Order they used in imposing and proportioning their Tribute; and how the Inca requited the Curacas in return of those pretious things they gave him for Presents.

"THE Eighth Law ordained and prescribed the manner and rule how every person was to be taxed for his proportion of Tribute, for equality and just proportion was observed in all matters by them; and the manner was this: Upon a certain day appointed, the principal People of every Province, such as their Judges, Tax-gatherers, Accountants, and Keepers of their Knots in threads, assembled together, by help of which, and of their Pebles, which were in number as many as the Inhabitants of the Province were, they made their Accounts so exact, that I know not who are more to be commended, either those who without figures of Arithmetick were able by a quicker way, than our Accountants, to make a speedy or just reckoning, or the Governour and Ministers, who easily apprehended the method and reason of their Accounts, by such obscure and unintelligible ways to us.

"By these Knots they were informed of the work done by every *Indian*, what Offices he had acted, what journeys he had undertaken by order of his *Curaca*, or Superiour, what Trade he had exercised, all which was placed to his Account, in discharge of his Tribute. Then they readily made appear to the Judges and Governours every thing distinctly by it self, as how much Provision was laid up in the Stores, and what was the quality of them, as Pepper, Cloths, Shoes, Arms, and other things, which were matters of Tribute, together with the Gold, Silver, pretious Stones, and Copper; and what thereof appertained to the *Inca*, and what proportion unto the Sun. They also accounted for the Stores of every Province; and farther the Law ordained, that every *Inca*, Governour of a Province, should keep a Copy of the Accounts or Tally in his own possession, as a means to avoid and prevent all fraud and cheats in the Ministers. A Ninth Law was, that what overplus remained of Tribute after the occasions of the *Inca* were supplied, were to be transported to the common Magazines of the Country, and there lodged for common support and maintenance of the Natives in the times of scarcity and famine. As to Jewels, and pretious Stones, Gold, and Silver, Feathers of Birds, with various Colours for Painting, and Miniature, with divers other Curiosities, which the *Curacas* every year presented to the *Inca*; they were all taken, and disposed of for adornment of the King, and his near Relations; and then afterwards, in case any overplus remained, or that there was more than the occasions of the Royal Family required, they were in grace and favour to the Captains, and Lords, who presented them, returned again to them; for though they were the goods and product of their own Country, and that they could not make use of them; yet being restored with such obliging circumstances from the *Inca*, the favour and honour was highly esteemed: from all which it is evident, that the *Incas* enjoyed the smallest part of all the Tribute, and that the Taxes and Impositions were more for the benefit of the People, than of the King. The Tenth Law enumerated, and particularized the several Works and Employments which were to be performed by way of Tribute, for service of the King and Country; as making and plaining the High-ways, building or repairing the Temples of the Sun, and other Idolatrous Sanctuaries, erecting publick Houses, as Store-houses, and places for the Tribunals of Justice, and seats for the Governours, making Bridges, or taking the Employment of Messengers, whom they called *Chaquis*, tilling the Grounds, and inclosing Orchards, feeding Flocks and Herds of Cattel, watching the Possessions, and sowing Lands, building Inns, and places of Hospitality for Strangers and Travellers, and giving their attendance there for succour,

and

"and help of such as were in their journey. Moreover they had some farther charge and duty laid upon them, for the common good and benefit, and which had relation to the service of the King, and of the *Curacas*, but in regard there were at that time great numbers of *Indians*, which were obliged to take their turns in that Office, the which was observed without partiality or favour to any, the time of the trouble was so short, that no person could be sensible of the inconvenience. It was also farther provided by this Law, that care should be taken for the amendment of the High-ways, and that the Overseers should repair the Bridges, and clear the Aqueducts and Channels by which the Lands were watered, all which being for the common good and advantage, was to be performed without any charge or expence whatsoever.

These were the principal Laws which had any relation to the Tribute; there were other Orders of less consideration, which for brevity sake we omit; thus far being the words of *Blas Valera*. And now I should gladly demand of a certain Historian this one question; Wherein did the severity of those Laws, relating to Tribute consist? which he charges on the *Incas*; and indeed I would the more willingly be resolved herein, because I find that the Kings of *Spain*, of glorious memory, did afterwards confirm the same, which they would never have done, had they been blameable, and severe to that high degree which he pretends; and in this opinion *Blas Valera* concurs with me. And thus let us now return to the Prince *Viracocha*, whom we left embroiled in a thousand difficulties to defend his own Reputation, and the Honour of his Ancestours.

CHAP. XVII.

The Inca Viracocha receives intelligence of the approach of the Enemy, and of the Recruits and Succours coming to him.

THE noble Actions of the *Inca Viracocha*, do now call upon us to omit other Relations, and return to the History of his Wars and Bravery. We left him towards the end of his Father's Reign at *Mayna*, from whence (as we said) he returned to *Cusco*, rallying; and gathering in his way the People into a body, who were wandering, and dispersed through the Fields and Country; and that when he departed from the City, he intended to march towards the Enemy with resolution to dye with Honour, rather than live with Infamy, and basely to behold his City made captive by the violence of Rebels, and the Temple of the Sun, and the Convent of the pure Virgins, and all that was esteemed sacred by them, prophaned and unhallowed by the insolence of polluted Hands. Now we must know, that about half a League Northward from the City, there is a certain plain, where the Prince *Viracocha* appointed his general rendezvous; that the People both from *Cusco*, and other parts might there meet, and join in a Body, which being in a short time assembled, formed an Army of about eight thousand Men, who were all *Incas*; and resolved to dye before the face of their Prince, and in defence of their Country. During this stay news came to the Camp, that the Enemy was within nine or ten Leagues of the City, having already passed the great River of *Apurimac*; but this ill news was the next day followed by a more comfortable Message, which was, that from the parts of *Conisuyu* an Army of twenty thousand Men were marching for relief of the Prince, being composed of the Nations of *Quechua*, *Cotapampa*, *Cotaveria*, *Imara*, and other parts, bordering on the revolted Provinces, and that they were come near, and not many Leagues distant.

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The *Quechwas*, who were the nearest Neighbours to the *Chancas*, were the first that discovered the Conspiracy, and in regard the urgency of the Affair admitted of no delay, nor time to advise the *Inca*, and receive his orders, they immediately complied with the present necessity, and putting all their People into arms, they marched directly towards the City, resolving to evidence their Loyalty towards their King with the last drop of their Blood. These People were of those, who in the time of the *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui*, (as we have already declared) voluntarily submitted themselves to the Obedience of the *Inca*, and therefore being moved by a Principle of Love and Affection towards his Government, did readily give a testimony thereof, by the seasonable Succours they brought to his service; and also the ancient hatred they bore towards the *Chancas* was a farther incentive hereunto; for being jealous, and fearfull, that in case the *Chancas* should prevail, they were in danger of falling again under their Tyranny, and the Yoke of that Servitude, from whence they had been lately rescued by the power of the *Incas*; they took a resolution to march with all expedition imaginable, that so they might arrive at the City before the Enemy could attempt it, and crossing the nearest way towards the Northward, the Enemy was not sooner come, than they appeared also to bid them defiance.

The Prince *Viracocha*, and his People, were much surpris'd with the news of this unexpected Succour, admiring from whence it should come; untill at length recollecting themselves, they called to mind the Apparition of his Uncle *Viracocha*, who in a Dream promised his favour and assistance, at times of his greatest Extremity, and that he being of his Blood and Flesh, would in all occasions of necessity perform the Office of a faithful Kinsman: from the remembrance hereof they certainly concluded, that these Forces and Recruits were effects and accomplishments of this Promise, and were sent in an extraordinary manner, as it were, from Heaven; the which being often mentioned by the Prince, and inculcated into his People, it took such deep impression in their minds, that being encouraged thereby, they resolved with full assurance of Victory to meet the Enemy, and attack them within the Hills, and disadvantageous Passes, which are between the River *Apurimac* and the Mountains of *Vila-cunca*, which being high and rugged, are not to be attempted without hazard and difficulty. Howsoever it was resolved first to attend the arrival and conjunction of the Recruits with them, and that then afterwards they should allow some day of repose and refreshment to the Forces wearied with their long march, and should likewise give time to the Enemy to dislodge themselves out of their advantageous posts, and shew themselves in a more equal field: It was likewise agreed by the Prince and his Council, that considering the increase of their Army, their best and wisest course was to continue their Camp in their present station, where they were not only enabled to relieve the City, but also more easily supplied with Provisions and Ammunition for their numerous Army: with this resolution the Prince remained quietly expecting his additional succours, which shortly after arrived, to the number of twelve thousand Souldiers. The Prince received them with all the gracious Expressions of Thanks and Acknowledgments for their Loyalty towards the *Inca*, and rewarding the Captains and *Curacas* of each Nation, together with the Souldiery, with such Gifts and Presents, as then offered; he highly applauded their Loyalty; promising for the future some more signal rewards for such eminent and seasonable services. The *Curacas* having performed their Complements and Respects towards the *Inca Viracocha*, acquainted him that about two days march off, were other five thousand Men coming; which for haste and expedition sake they thought not fit to expect, but leave them to follow with what convenient speed they were able. The Prince having returned them thanks for the assistance of both Armies, and consulting with his Kindred in the case, gave orders to the *Curacas*, immediately to dispatch an Express to those who were coming, advising them, that the Prince was encamped with his Army in the plains, and that they should march towards certain hollows, and close places in a mountain not far distant from thence, where they should lie in ambush, expecting the Enemy, where, in case the Enemy should offer Battel, he with his Forces would be ready to enter into the heat of the fight, and they might then fallly forth, and attacking one wing of them, might make the victory easie and secure; and in case they declined the engagement, they had still performed the Office of good Souldiers, according to the Rule of Martial Discipline. Two days after these Recruits came,

came, the Van-guard of the Enemy appeared on the top of the Mountain called *Rimac-tampu*; where having notice that the *Inca* lay encamped about five Leagues off, they made a halt, and passed the Word to the Rere, that both the Main Body and Rere-guard should hasten to come up and joyn with the Van of the Army. In this manner and order having marched the whole day, they came at length and joined at *Sacahuana*, a place distant about three Leagues and a half from the Quarters of the Prince *Viracocha*; where afterwards that famous Battel was given between *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and *de la Gasca*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Bloody Battel which followed, and the Courage with which the Prince overcame his Enemies.

THE Prince *Viracocha* sent his Ambassadors to the Enemy then encamped at *Sacahuana*, with offers of peace and friendship, promising to them Pardon, and an Act of Oblivion for all that was past. But the *Chancas* being well informed that the *Inca Tahuac-huacac* had left his City, and retired into some remote part; they were so encouraged thereby, that though they knew that the Prince his Son was in Arms, and in a posture to defend the City; yet they so slighted his Ambassadors, that they would not so much as hear them, or give them Audience; for being puffed up with the vain opinion, that the Father being fled, the Son would speedily give place, promised to themselves an assurance of Victory, with these hopes; next day following they removed their Camp from *Sacahuana*, and marched towards *Cusco*; and though they made what haste they were able; yet in regard they were to March in order of Battel, the night came on before they could arrive at the Prince's Camp, and therefore they pitched about half a League short of the Enemies Quarter: Notwithstanding which, the *Inca Viracocha* dispatched other Messengers to them with Tenders of Peace and Pardon; but the *Chancas* still continued obstinate, not vouchsafing other Answer, than with great scorn and disdain; saying, That to morrow it should be determined who deserved the Title of King, and in whose power it was to offer Peace, and Conditions of Pardon.

This Answer being given, both Armies remained the whole night upon their Guard, with Centinels set on each side; and in the morning, by break of day, the Squadrons Arming themselves, with great Noise and Shouts, with sound of Trumpets, and Timbrels, and Cornets, they began the on-set. The *Inca Viracocha* marching in the head of his Army, was he that threw the first Dart at the Enemy, with which the Battel began. The *Chancas* in hopes of Victory, of which they seemed to be assured, fought with great resolution: And the *Incas*, who did not despair neither of success, adventured to rescue the Life of their Prince, and revenge the affront which the Rebels offered. The Fight continued untill Noon, being maintained with equal Courage on both sides; the slaughter was great, and not as yet determined to which party the Victory inclined: At length the 5000 *Indians* which lay in Ambush made their fall, and with extraordinary resolution and shouts attacking the right Wing of the Enemy, began to give a turn to Fortune; for being fresh, they so pressed the *Chancas*, that they were forced to give way, and retreat with great loss and slaughter: Howsoever, animating one the other, they engaged a second time, endeavouring to recover the Ground which they had lost, being enraged to meet that opposition which they never expected, and so much difficulty in attaining a Victory which they promised to themselves with so much ease and assurance.

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After this second onset they fought two hours longer, the advantage still continuing doubtful and uncertain: At length the *Chancas*, growing tired and weary, began to faint; and observing that fresh recruits continually re-inforced the Army of the *Incas*, the *Chancas* became discouraged, and desperate of Victory: For those people, who before were fled from the City with fear, and the Neighbouring Countries thereabouts, having received intelligence, that the Prince *Viracocha* was returned, and made head against the Enemy, in defence of the Temple of the Sun; they joined together into small Bodies of fifty, and a hundred in a Company; and in such Troops rushed into the Battel with more noise than numbers. The *Incas* observing these unexpected succours to come in, cried out, that the Sun and the God *Viracocha* had converted the Rocks and Stones of the Countrey into Men; and had raised them up to fight in defence of his own cause and people; the which report took the easier impression in the minds of that people, who being accustomed to the belief of superstitious Fables, were willing in this exigence to support their courage with the power of a Miracle. The *Chancas* also, who were a people of the like superstitious fancy, giving ready credence to this ymour, were strook and affrighted with a strange amazement; and this belief so far dilated and radicated it self afterwards in the minds of the simple people of the whole Kingdom, that it was accounted an Impiety, and a piece of Atheism and Prophaneness to distrust, or question, the truth of this report. Of which *Gervasio Roman* writing in his Treatise of the *West-Indies*, and in the 11th Chapter of his second Book, speaking particularly of this Battel, hath these very words.

"It is certain, according to the report of all the *Indians*, who discourse of that famous Battel, that the *Inca* remained Master of the Field, and won the day; and they farther believe, that by a miraculous power of the Sun, the Stones of the Field were Metamorphosed, or transformed into Men, and arose up in Battel against the Enemy; and that this was done in accomplishment of that promise which was given to the Valiant *Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui*; for so also they give this Title to the Prince *Viracocha*. These are the Words of that curious Author of the aforementioned Book, who in the said Chapter touches many points in brief, of which we have recited some, and shall farther have occasion to touch on others in the Sequel of this History of the Kings of Peru. In like manner *Acosta* mentions the Vision which appeared to *Viracocha*, though there be some difference in the proper Names belonging to the Kings of that Age. And indeed both he and other Writers mention this Battel, as other matters, with such brevity, that they seem almost to pass it by, as a matter inconsiderable: And indeed, for the most part, all the Relations which the *Spaniards* give of the *Indians* are very intricate and confused; the which we may lawfully attribute to the little knowledge they had of their Language, and the loss of those Knots, which were the Monuments and Characters of their History; howsoever, they deliver the substance of them without any regard either to time or order; but in what manner or method soever that they wrote, I am yet pleased to recite the passages which they deliver, that so by their Authority I may be acquitted of the Scandal of writing Fables; for if they prove such, they ought to be esteemed the Fictions of my Parents, and such as the *Spaniards* themselves have heard, and perhaps believed, though not with such Faith as I have done, who sucked in those Stories with my Milk, and received a deep impression of them in the time of my tender Infancy.

This *Acosta* farther proceeds in these words, which I have copied from the 21st Chapter of his sixth Book. "*Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui* reigned 70 Years, and made great Conquests; the principal cause and original of his success was occasioned by his Elder Brother, who taking upon him the Government by consent of his Father, was overthrown in a Battel by the *Chancas*, who are a Nation which inhabit in the Valley of *Andaguyas*, which is about thirty Leagues distant from *Cusco*, in the way to *Lima*: His Younger Brother *Yupanqui* taking advantage of this disgrace, feigned a report, that he being at a certain time pensive and melancholy in a solitary retirement, a strange Apparition under the Name of *Viracocha* presented it self before him, complaining, that he being the Universal Creator, and Lord of all things, who had made Heaven, and the Sun, the World, and Men, and placed them under his feet, and in subjection to him, had not received that due respect and obedience which was owing to him; but in lieu thereof, Mankind was become so blind as to divide their Service and Worship,

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"Worship, and to share a proportion of the veneration which was owing to him the only God, unto the Sun, to the Thunder, and other Creatures who had no other Being, Vertue and Beauty, but such as they received from him; and that therefore he was now come to make known to him, that his Habitation was in Heaven where he was Worshipped under the Title of *Viracocha Pachayachac*, which signifies the Universal Creatour of all things. And that they might be assured of the truth hereof, and that it was no Dream, or idle fancy, he promised to raise him People and Armies by his Omnipotent power; and that though the *Chancas* were numerous and victorious, yet he would send him invisible Troops, and such as should not be known from whence they came, should aid and succour him against his Enemies. With this assurance and belief he raised his Men, which flocked to him in those Numbers, that he obtained a Victory; and afterwards deposing both his Father, and his Elder Brother, he made himself Absolute and Sovereign Prince of the Empire. From the time of which Victory he Established a Law, that *Viracocha* should be Worshipped and Adored as the sole and Supreme Lord of the Universe; and that the Images of the Sun and Thunder should bow before his Idol, and doe him reverence; and from that time afterwards the Image of *Viracocha* was exalted above those of the Sun and the Thunder, and the other Minor *Guacas*, or Little Deities. And though this *Inca Tupanqui* did assign, and set out Lands and Flocks for the maintenance of the Sun and Thunder; yet he made no Establishment for the *Viracocha*, by reason that he being the Universal Lord, and Creatour of all, contained All-sufficiency within himself, having no need of supplies from the Creatures which his Power had made.

"After this Battel was ended with Signal Victory over the *Chancas*, he declared to his Souldiers, that it was not by their Force and Valour that their Enemies were subdued, but it was by the Aid and Assistance of Numbers of Men with great Beards, which the *Viracocha* had sent to fight for them, and that they were invisible to all, but to himself: And that now their Work being finished, they were returned again to their former invisible Beings, and Nature of Stones: Howsoever, it seemed neither decent, nor convenient to omit due acknowledgements, even to those insensible Beings, which none but he could know; and therefore going into the Mountains, he cast up heaps of Stones, which he culled and separated with his own hands from the rest, setting them up for *Guacas*, or Demi-gods, commanding Adoration and Sacrifices to be offered to them, calling them by the Name of *Pururancas*, the which they carried with them to the Wars with great devotion. And such credit did this Fable gain in their minds, that by force of this superstitious impression, this *Inca* obtained many great and signal Victories. Thus far are the Words of *Acofa*, which agree in the substance with what we have before related; but as to what he alleges concerning the Image of *Viracocha*, that it was exalted above the Idol of the Sun; it was a novelty, and new manner of Worship introduced by the *Indians*, in compliance with the *Spaniards*: For it is a mistake to conceive, that they apprehended any notion of the Name of God, with a peculiar respect of his Supreme and Omnipotent Essence, for they had no conceit of any but of two Deities, one was the invisible and unknown, which was the *Pachacamac*; the other was the Sun, which was clear and apparent to the sight of the Universe; but as to *Viracocha*, and other *Incas*, they esteemed them as Children, and Off-spring of the Sun.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Gratuities which the Prince Inca Viracocha bestowed on his Souldiers after the Victory.

THE *Incas* finding their Enemies to faint, and retreat, cried out the more violently, invoking the Name of *Sutio Inca Viracocha*, which was the Vision that appeared to the Prince, and therewith strenuously invaded the Enemy, subduing them with mere violence and dint of Sword; great numbers and heaps were slain, and thrown one on the other; the remainder turned their backs, and fled, not being able to make farther resistance. The Prince having pursued the Enemy a-while, caused a retreat to be sounded, and Command given to desist from farther slaughter, the Victory being already evident and complete; and then the Prince in Person ran through the Plain where the Battel was fought, giving order to bury the dead, and to take care that the wounded and disabled should be cured: To the Prisoners he freely gave liberty and licence to return into their own Countries, proclaiming Mercy and Pardon unto all. The Battel continued for the space of eight hours, being fought with such courage and resolution, that the Blood did not only dye the Fields, but the streams of it overflowed the Banks of a Brook which ran through the Plains; for which cause they gave the Name of *Tahuar Pampa* to that place, which signifies as much as the Field of Blood. In this Fight there were thirty thousand *Indians* slain, eight thousand of which were of the side of the *Incas*, the rest were such as took part with the Rebels, consisting of several Nations of *Chanca*, viz. *Hanchoballin*, *Uramarca*, *Vilca* and *Umsusilla*, with others.

Hanchoballin having received a slight wound, was carefully cured; and being taken Prisoner with two others of his chief Officers, were reserved for the greater glory and ostentation on the day of Triumph, which was afterwards with great Solemnity performed. But some few days after this Battel, an Uncle of the Prince with much gravity reproved the bold insolence of those Prisoners, for daring to raise themselves up against the Family of the Sun; who, that they might appear invincible, the very Stones and Trees, by virtue of the Sun were transformed into Men, as was apparent in the last Battel, and would again be made manifest so often, as Enemies and Rebels should dare to lift up their hands and armes against the Divine Race. Many other Stories and Fables he recounted in favour of the *Incas*; concluding as the sum of all, that they were obliged in duty to render a thousand thanks to the Sun for sending his Gracious Children into the World, commanding them to use compassion and mercy, and to receive the *Rebellious Indians* unto pardon; for which reason the Prince did not only confer upon them their Lives as a gift, but restore them also to their Estates and Dwellings, and their *Cuacas* to their Dominion and Government, though the crimes they had committed deserved no less than Death; conditionally, that for the future they behave themselves as good Subjects, lest by a second offence they provoke the Sun to avenge the first, and cause the Earth to open its bowels, and swallow them alive. After this Lecture the *Cuacas* with profound humility acknowledged the favour, promising all Loyalty, Duty and Obedience for the future.

After this Victory the *Inca Viracocha* immediately dispatched away three Expresses, One of them was sent to the Temple of the Sun, to inform him of the good news of this Victory, which by his aid and succour they had obtained; for though they esteemed the Sun for a God, yet in all respects they treated him as a Man, and as one who had need of intelligence and information of matters which succeeded; besides which, they formed other gross conceptions of him; as to drink to him; and that he might pledge them again on their Festival-days, they filled a Golden Cup with Liqueur, which they set in a part of the Temple, which was most open to the Sun-beams; and what was exhaled by that heat,

they judged to be drank up by the Sun; they also set meat for him to eat, and when any novelty occurred, they sent him the advices of it by Messengers, and when they were victorious, they returned him Thanks for their Successes. In pursuance of this ancient custome the Prince *Viracocha* sent advice to the Sun of this his Victory; and commanded the Priests, that having recalled those others, which for fear were fled away, they should join together in offering new Sacrifices, with Praises and Thanksgivings, to the Sun. Another Messenger he dispatched to the House of the Select Virgins, giving them to understand, that by means of their Prayers and Intercessions, the Sun had bestowed that Favour and Victory upon him. A third Messenger, whom they call *Chalqui*, he dispatched to his Father the *Inca*, giving him the particulars of all the late Successes, desiring him to continue in the same station where he was, until he should in person present himself before him.

CHAP. XX.

The Prince pursues his Conquest, returns to Cozco, sees his Father, and dispossesses him of his Empire.

HAVING made these dispatches, he selected six thousand Souldiers to accompany him in the pursuit of his Enemies; the rest of his Army he disbanded, giving them licence to return unto their own homes; the Body which he reserved was commanded, besides other inferior Officers, by two Major-Generals, who were his Uncles; and with this Force two days after the Battel, he marched in the pursuit of his Enemies, not with intention to treat them ill, but to cure them of their fears, assuring them of pardon for their late Offence; so that as many as they overtook, in case they were wounded, he ordered them to be cured; and such as were whole and found, he treated them with gentleness and kind usage; sending likewise Messengers to the respective Provinces and People, to assure them of the pardon and favour of the *Inca*, and that he was coming in person to give them farther testimonies thereof. Having by these pre-advices comforted and encouraged the people, he marched with great expedition, and being come to the Province of *Antabuylla*, which belongs to the *Chanca*, all the Women and Children assembled together, and came forth to meet him, and carrying green branches in their hands, went crying, *O thou undoubted Child of the Sun, who art the Lover and Favourer of the Poor, have compassion upon us, and pardon us.*

The Prince received these people with grace and favour, telling them, that it was not they, but their Fathers, and Husbands, who were guilty of the crime; and that even them also he had pardoned for their actual Rebellion; and to assure them hereof, and confirm them in this belief, he was come in person to pronounce their pardon with his own mouth. He ordered likewise that they should give them such provisions as their necessities required, treating them with all civility and affection imaginable, and that especial care should be taken of the Widows and Orphans of those who were slain in the Battel of *Tahuar Pampa*.

In this manner he over-ran all the revolted Provinces, constituting his Governors with sufficient Guards over them, and made such expedition, that in a months time (as the *Indians* report, who count their Months by their Moons,) he finished his march, and returned again to his City of *Cozco*. The *Indians*, as well those who were loyal, as those who had rebelled, were wonderfully surprized with this strange gentleness of the Prince, whose Humour and Disposition being fowre and severe, promised nothing but Revenge and Destruction to the last drop of his Enemies blood; but finding his Nature otherwise changed, they concluded that the command

command of the Sun had altered his Disposition, and reduced him to the natural temper of his Fore-fathers. But the truth is, that Ambition and thirst of Honour which makes great changes in the minds of Men, had so miraculously operated on his rough and hard temper, that his Nature seemed entirely to be altered, and to have put on that gentle and sweet humour, which was Royal and natural to his Family.

This being done, the *Inca Viracocha* made his entry into *Cozco* on foot, that he might appear more a Souldier than a King; he descended thither by the way of *Caramenta*, and in triumphant manner, being encompassed by his Souldiers, and on each hand supported by his two Uncles, that were Major-Generals, causing the prisoners to be conducted behind, with great joy and loud acclamations he was received into the City. The grave *Incas* aged, and stricken in years came forth to meet him, and with due reverence having saluted and adored him and acknowledged him for a true Child of the Sun, entered amongst the ranks of the Souldiery, to partake of the glory of this Triumph; adding farther this complement to their Courtship, That they wished themselves youthfull again for no other reason, than that they might be Souldiers, and serve in the Wars under his fortunate and auspicious Conduct. His Mother also *Coya Mama Chieya*, with her Women, and others nearly allied in Blood to the Prince, being attended also with a multitude of *Pallas*, or Ladies, went forth, with Songs and Dancings, to meet and receive him; some embraced him, others wiped off the sweat from his Brows, others swept the dust from his Feet, strewing the ways with Flowers, and odiferous Herbs, in which joyfull and solemn manner the Prince first visited the Temple of the Sun, in which making his entry on his bare Feet, according to their usual custome, he returned thanks for the Victory, which his Father the Sun had given him. Then he visited the Select Virgins, Wives of the Sun; and after these two Offices were performed, he departed from the City to see his Father, who all this while conserved himself within the Straits of *Myna*, and in the same place where he had formerly left him.

The *Inca Tahuar-Huacac* received the Prince his Sun with all the expressions of joy and contentment imaginable, congratulating his Success, and victorious Achievements, but yet his Countenance appeared so melancholy and reserved, that he seemed thereby to testify more of Emulation and Envy, than of real Satisfaction; for the shame and confusion he conceived in seeing his Son victorious seemed to upbraid his Cowardise; nor can it well be determined, whether the Envy of his Son's Honour, or the sense he had for basely forsaking the Temple of the Sun, or the fear of being deposed for his mean and pusillanimous Behaviour, was most prevalent in his confused mind. But certain it is, that at this publick interview few words passed between them; what afterwards happened in private is not certainly known, but it is believed by the *Indians*, that the whole Discourse was in reference to the Government, which of the two should reign, and which appeared by the sequel, it being resolved between them, that the Father having forsaken and abandoned the City, was no more worthy to return unto it. For Ambition, and desire of Government, is so prevalent in the minds of Princes, that they are willing to take any pretext to cover their aspiring thoughts; and indeed this imputation of Cowardise seemed the more plausible reason, in that it was seconded by the suffrages of the people, and the consent of the Court; to which the Father condescended, being constrained thereto by force, and by an abhorrence he naturally had to War, especially to Civil Diffentions. Upon which agreement the draught of a Palace was immediately designed, and intended to be built between the Straits of *Myna* and *Quespicancha*, where was an excellent Air, and pleasant Situation, and easily improveable by Gardens, and Orchards, being much advantaged therein by the benefit of the River *Tucay*, into which many Streams and Brooks fall, on the East-quarter of the House. The Foundation of this House being laid, (some ruins of which do to this day remain) the Prince returned to *Cozco*, where he changed his yellow for the crimson Wreath, and yet was contented that his Father should still conserve his Royalty in the colour of his Ribbon, on condition that he renounced the substantial parts of Government; for proud and ambitious Men can endure punctilio's, and immaterial circumstances

in others, whilst Power and Greatness is reserved for themselves. This Fabrick being completed, it was furnished with all things necessary, and such attendance allowed, as was agreeable to the State and Magnificence of a King, so that *Tahuar-huacac* found no difference in his living, unless it were in being freed and eased from the Burthen of Government. In this solitary manner this poor King passed the remainder of his unhappy days, deposed from his Kingdom, and confined to the Countrey, having exchanged his condition with his Son, who now lived and governed in the City, whilst the Father lived an Exile in the fields, having his Conversation with Beasts rather than Men.

This unhappy Fortune (as the *Indians* believe) was the effect of that direfull Omen of weeping blood; but yet in their political reflexions on some passages, they concluded, that in case the *Inca*, in the time of the obstinacy and perverseness of his Son, had, instead of a confinement to a Countrey Life, given him a small Dose of that Poison which was in practice amongst the Tyrants and Magicians of that Empire, he might easily have diverted that sad Fate, which his Tears of Blood portended. But others, better inclined to speak favourably of the Prince, for though they could not wholly acquit him of Crime towards his Father, yet they moderated it in some manner, by alledging, that his Father's Fate might have been worse, in case his Enemies had prevailed; for having forsaken the Protection of his City, and Empire, out of mere Cowardise, it was some Happiness to have his Defaults repaired by the Valour of his Son, under whom the Succession was secured, and his own Life spared and defended. Others, speaking of the general Praise of their Kings, said to this effect, That this unhappy *Inca* had no thought or imagination of Poison, for that all other his Predecessors having made it their business to prohibit the practice of it, and destroy the use of it in the World, he himself was ready to have checked any such motion within his own Mind, in case either his Thoughts, or persuasion of others had suggested such a remedy to him. Others herein applauded the Religion and Generosity of the *Incas*, who scorned to act that which their own Decrees had made unlawful; it being unseemly, and beneath the Dignity of the Sun's Race, to allow that in themselves, which they had made illegal in their Subjects.

Many such Discourses and Reflexions passed on this matter, according to every Man's particular fancy and opinion; with which we shall conclude our History of *Tahuar-huacac*, and not farther mention other particulars of his Life, leaving him at his Countrey retirement to die with obscurity.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the word Viracocha, and why they called the Spaniards by that Name.

BUT to return now to the Prince, to whom they gave the Name of *Viracocha*, by reason that the Vision which appeared to him in a Dream, so called himself. And in regard this Phantasm was described by the Prince to appear with a long Beard, and Garments trailing on the ground, which was a much different habit to the fashion of the *Indians*, who naturally have little Hair in their Faces, and by custome wear Coats not reaching farther than their knees; so soon as they had a sight of the first *Spaniards* that invaded *Peru*, and observed their long Beards and Garments which clothed all parts of their Bodies; and that their first Action was to take and kill *Atahualpa*, their Tyrant King, who not long before had murdered *Huasca*, the lawfull Heir and Successour, and destroyed all those of the Royal Blood, which might endanger his Title to the Government, without any regard to Age or Sex, with many other Cruelties, which we shall recount in their due place. When, I say, they observed that the *Spaniards* revenged the Blood of their *Incas*, and punished the enormous Crimes, they called to mind the Apparition of *Viracocha*, and comparing the punishment which he executed on the *Chancas* for their rebellion, with the Justice which the *Spaniards* performed on *Atahualpa* in revenge of the Murders he committed on the Royal Family, they presently concluded, that the God *Viracocha* was the Parent of the *Spaniards*, for which reason they received and welcomed them to their Countrey, and worshipped and adored them with the Name of *Viracocha*; and hence it was, that the Conquest of *Peru* became so easie, that six *Spaniards* onely, of whom *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro de Barco* were two, adventured to travell from *Casamarca* to *Cusco*, which is a Journey of two hundred and thirty Leagues, by which they made a discovery of the Riches of that City, and other places; and to shew their great kindness and civility they carried them over the Countreys in Chairs, or Sedans; giving them the Title of *Incas*, and Children of the Sun, in the same manner, as they did their own Kings. Now had the *Spaniards* taken the advantage of this credulity of the *Indians*, perswading them, that the true God had sent them, for their deliverance from the tyrannical Usurpations of the Devil, which enslaved them more than all the Cruelties of *Atahualpa*; and had preached the Holy Gospel with that sanctity and good example, which the innocence of that Doctrine requires, they had certainly made great Progresses in the advancement of Religion. But the *Spanish* Histories report things in a different way of proceedings, to which, for the truth thereof, I refer the Reader, lest being an *Indian* my self, I should seem partial in the relation: But this truth we may confidently aver, that though many were blameable, yet the greater number discharged the Office and Duty of good Christians; howsoever amongst a people so ignorant and simple, as these poor Gentiles, one ill man is able to doe more mischief, than the endeavours of a hundred good Men are able to repair.

The *Spanish* Historians farther say, that the *Indians* gave this Name to the *Spaniards*, because they came over the Sea, deriving *Viracocha* from the composition of two words, namely, *Vira*, which is vast, immense, and *Cocha*, which signifies the Sea or Ocean. But the *Spaniards* are much mistaken in this composition, for though *Cocha* is truly the Name for the Sea, yet *Vira* signifies falseness; and is no other than the proper Name which that Apparition gave to it self; the which I more confidently aver, because that Language being natural to me, and that which I sucked in and learned with my Mother's Milk, I may more reasonably be allowed to be a Judge of the true Idioms of that Tongue, rather than *Spaniards*, who are Strangers and Aliens to that Countrey. But besides what we have already mentioned, there may yet be another reason for it, which is, that the *Indians* gave them that Name

Name from the Cannon and Guns they used, which they taking to be Lightning and Thunder, believed them Gods, by whose hands they were used. *Blas Valera* interpreting this word, says, that it signifies a Deity, which comprehends the Will and Power of a God; not that the word doth properly signifie so much, but that it is a Name which the *Indians* found out to give to this Apparition; which they Worshipped in the second place to the Sun, and after that they Adored their Kings and *Incas*, as if they had been Gods.

It is disputable whether the *Inca Viracocha* was more admired for his Victory, or for his Dream; but certain it is, that he was so revered for both, that they esteemed him for a God, and adored him as one expressly sent from the Sun to save his Family, and the Divine Offspring from utter ruine; and because that by him the Imperial City, the Temple of the Sun, and the Convent of the Select Virgins were preserved; he was afterwards Worshipped with greater ostentation and honour, than any other of his Ancient Progenitors. And though this *Inca* endeavoured to persuade his Subjects to transfer the Honour which they gave to him, unto his Uncle, the Vision which appeared to him; yet so far was this devotion infixed in their minds; that they could not be diverted from performing Divine Honours towards him, untill at length they compounded for their superstition, and agreed to impart and divide their Worship equally between them; and whereas they had both the same Name, they should Adore them together under the same Title and Notion: And for this reason the *Inca Viracocha* (as we shall hereafter mention) erected a Temple in Honour and Memory of his Uncle *Viracocha*; in which also his own Fame was celebrated.

We may believe that the Devil, who is a cunning Sophister, did appear to the Prince either sleeping or waking in that Figure; though the *Indians* confidently report that the Prince was waking, and that this Apparition presented it self to him as he lay reposing himself under the shadow of a Rock: We may imagine also that this Enemy of Mankind played this trick to delude the World, and confirm the Authority of that Idolatrous superstition, which he had already planted in the minds of this people: the which seemed the most plausible way that he could proceed; for that in regard a foundation was already laid of the *Indian* Empire, and that by the Constitutions of it, the *Incas* were to be the Lawgivers, and the Oracles of their Religion; and that they were to be believed, and esteemed, and obeyed for Gods; whatsoever contributed to this end, and to augment the reputation and sanctity of the *Incas*, was a point gained towards the advancement of this Gentilism; of which, though there go many Stories, yet none is recounted by them with that admiration, as this Apparition of *Viracocha*, who coming with the popular character of an Allye to the Sun, and Brother to the *Incas*: And having the good fortune to have his Dream confirmed with the success of a Victory, carried so much force of belief with it, that on all occasions afterwards of their distress, they had recourse to his Temple, where the Oracle was consulted, and directions taken for the management of their affairs. This is that imaginary God *Viracocha*, of which some Writers report, that the *Indians* esteemed him for their principal God, to whom they were more devoted than to the Sun: But this is certainly a mistake, and served only for a piece of flattery to the *Spaniards*, that they might believe they gave them the same Title and Name, as they did to their chiefest God: but in reality they Adored no God with such devotion as they did the Sun, (unless it were the *Pachacamac*) which they called the unknown God: For as to the *Spaniards*, they gave them at first the Title of Children to the Sun, in such manner as they did to the Apparition *Viracocha*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

The Inca Viracocha gives Order for Building a Temple in Memory of his Uncle, who appeared to him in a Vision.

THE *Inca Viracocha*, that he might the better perpetuate the Memory of his Dream, and keep the Honour of it up in the esteem of the people, commanded that a Temple should be erected in Honour of his Uncle, who appeared to him, and placed in the Countrey called *Cacha*, which is about sixteen Leagues distant from the City to the Southward: He ordered, that the Fabrick and Model of it should, as near as could be possible, imitate, or resemble the place where the Vision presented it self; which was like the open Field, without covering; joining unto which there was to be a little Chapel with the roof of Stone, resembling the hollow of the Rock, under which he reposed himself: The whole Fabrick was made of Stone rarely polished, as are all the Buildings of the *Indians*; it had four Doors corresponding to the four Quarters of the Heavens; three of them were shut, being rather Portals, than Gates, serving for Ornament more than Use. The Gate which looked Eastward, was that alone by which they entered, and by which they went out, being placed exactly in the middle; and because the *Indians* were not arrived to such Excellency in Architecture, as to lay the weight of their Building on Arched Work; they supplied that defect by strong and deep foundations of Stone Walls, which were more lasting than Timber, and for ever durable. These Walls were laid three Foot in thickness, and seven Foot distant each from the other, making twelve several Rows, or Isles; the top was not covered with Boards, but paved Stone, for about ten Foot in length, and half a Yard in thickness: At the Entrance to this Temple, turning to the right hand, they walked to the end of the first Isle; thence turning to the left, they went forward to the end of this Walk, and then faced again to the right, and so winding about again through the several rows; they came at length to the end of the twelfth Isle, where was a Stair-case, by which they ascended to the top of the Temple. At the Front of every Isle, on each hand, there was a Window, like a Port-hole, to let in the light; and below every Window there was a Nich made in the Wall for a seat, where the Porter might sit, without incumbering, or stopping, the passage. The Stair-case had two passages, one to go up, and the other to come down; that to go up fronted a top with the High Altar: The Floor above was paved with a kind of black Marble, rarely polished, that it looked like Jett, brought from some Quarry, far distant. In place of the High Altar there was a Chapel of about twelve Foot square, covered with the same sort of black Stone, in-laid in divers Figures, in form of Mosaic Work, which was the most excellent piece of Art in the whole Fabrick: Within this Chapel was the Image of the Apparition placed within the hollow of the Wall, as in a Tabernacle, with which two other Tabernacles were made to correspond on each side for ornament and better uniformity. The Walls of this Temple, from the top to the bottom, were but three Yards in height, without any Window, the Cornish of which on all sides, both within and without, was made of polished Stone; and within the Tabernacle of the Chapel was placed a Pedestal, on which an Image of Stone was erected, representing the Image of the Apparition, in such shape and figure as the *Inca Viracocha* had directed. This Image represented the figure of a Man, with a Beard of about a span long, his Cloaths reaching to his feet, not very wide, but something scanty, like a Cassock: About his Neck a strange kind of creature was chained, with Claws like a Lion, the Image holding one of the links of the Chain in his hand; all which was framed and engraven out of Stone: And left the Workmen, who had never seen this Figure,

should mistake any thing of giving it the due form; it is reported, that the *Inca* himself did oftentimes sit, and shew himself to them in the same habit and figure, in which, he said, the Apparition presented it self: Nor would he permit, that the Image of the God *Viracocha* should be undervalued by any form, or other shape than that of a King, such esteem and superstition did they conceive of their Idol Gods.

This Statue did something resemble the Images we make of our Blessed Apostles, particularly that of St. *Bartholomew*, whom they paint with the Devil at his feet, as they did this Figure of *Viracocha*, with some unknown Beast couching beneath him. The *Spaniards* observing this Temple, and the form and fashion of this Statue, will have it, that the Apostle St. *Bartholomew* came as far as *Peru* to Preach the Gospel to these Gentiles, and that in Honour and Memory of him the *Indians* had erected this Temple and Image. And such as were Natives of *Cusco*, and of the Mongrel breed between *Spaniards* and *Indian* Blood, have for above thirty years past Associated themselves into a Fraternity, or Community, in to which they would not suffer any *Spaniard* to enter. These upon their Solemn days are at great Expences, taking St. *Bartholomew* for their Apostle, and in despite of all contradiction, they will have it, that he came and preached in *Peru*, and for that reason will own no other than him for their Patron; which seemeth a ridiculous fancy to some *Spaniards*, who laughing at the bravery and fine Vestments they produce on that day, tell them, that this Festival and Procession is not designed in Honour of the Apostle, but of the *Inca Viracocha*.

But why the *Inca Viracocha* should build this Temple in *Cacha*, rather than in *Chito*, where the Spirit appeared to him, or in *Tahuarpampa*, where the Victory was fought; the *Indians* cannot well assign any more probable and just reason for it, than the free will and pleasure of the *Inca*, unless it were some secret and hidden cause, not revealed or made known to any. This Temple being of such an odd and strange Model, as we have declared, was demolished by the *Spaniards*, as many other stately Fabricks in *Peru* have been destroyed by them; which in my opinion ought rather to have been conserved and kept in good repair, that Ages to come might see and know the Grandeur and Valour of their Ancestours, who were able by their good fortune and conduct to subdue a Nation which was capable to erect such Buildings and Monuments of their Art and Wisdom; but perhaps envy or scorn of that people might have moved the *Spaniards* to destroy their Works, not allowing them the Honour to be maintained in repair; and indeed the Dilapidation hath been so great, that scarce one Stone remains on another; the which destruction, Men of Curiosity, and Lovers of Antiquity, do much lament. But the reason which they give for it is, that they could not be persuaded, but that much Treasure lay buried under the Foundation of those Buildings, which could not be discovered, but by a total subversion of the Fabrick. The first thing demolished in this Temple was the Statue, they having an opinion, that much Gold was buried under the Pedestal on which it was erected: other parts of the Temple they digged up, sometimes in one place, and then in another, untill at length they defaced, or destroyed the whole Pile and Mass of Building: However, the Image of Stone is still in being unto this day, though much broken and battered by the Stones, which they threw at it.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of a famous Picture; and of the Reward which was given to those who assisted the Prince.

IN this our discourse concerning *Viracocha*, we must not omit to add how much joyed and pleased he was with the new Adoration and Worship which the *Indians* gave him; so that he did not think fit to terminate the Magnificence of his Royal Mind with the stately Structure of this Temple onely, but to extend his Acts and Monuments with greater glory to posterity; and to this purpose he caused an Emblem to be drawn, representing the low and mean spirit of his Father, and the generosity of his own mind, ordering it to be painted on one of those many Rocks, amongst which his Father absconded himself, when for fear of the *Chancas*, he abandoned and forsook his City. The Emblem was of two Birds, which the *Indians* call *Cuntur*, which are Fowl of such large-spreading Wings, that they measure five Yards from the end of one Pinion, to the tip of the other: they are Birds of prey, and so very fierce, that Nature denied them Talons to their feet, giving them onely Claws, like those of a Hen; but their Beak is so strong and sharp, that with one nip they are able to tear out the Skin of a Bullock; and two of them are sufficient to kill an Ox, as if they were Wolves. They are of a brownish colour, with white Spots, like Pyes. Two Birds of this sort he ordered to be painted, one of them with his Wings cloped together, his Head shrung in, and drooping, like an affrighted Hen, which hides it self, with its Beak turned towards *Collasuyu*, and its Tail towards *Cusco*: the other Bird was on the contrary painted in a Rampant manner, with its Wings extended, hovering on the Wing, and ready to stoop at its Prey. The *Indians* say, that the first of these represented the Father in his timorous and dejected condition; and the other was the Emblem of *Viracocha*, under the covering of whose Wings the City and Empire was secured and defended.

This Picture, in the Year 1580, was in being, and very perfect; and in the Year 1595, I asked a certain Priest, which was born there, and who came from *Peru* into *Spain*, if he had seen it, and in what condition it was? and he told me, that it was so defaced by Rain, and the weather, none taking care to preserve it, that it was scarce discernible what it was; the which was the fate and misfortune also of divers other Antiquities in that Country.

The *Inca Viracocha* having in this manner obtained a supreme and absolute Dominion over all his Subjects, being infinitely beloved, and revered, and adored by them as a God; his great Work at the beginning of his Reign, was to Establish his Dominions in perfect peace and tranquillity for the good and benefit of all his Subjects.

In order unto which, the first thing he did was to gratifie and reward all such with Favours and Honours who had served him in the late War, and taken Arms in his assistance against his Rebellious Subjects; and herein a more particular notice was taken of the *Quechucas*, who belonged to the Countries of *Cotapampa*, and *Cotacura*; for in regard that they had been very active in promoting the interest of the *Inca*, and unanimously arose in Arms for his Aid and Defence; he bestowed on them the privilege of wearing their Hair thorn, and their Heads bound with the Wreath, and of having their Ears boared after the manner of the *Incas*, though the holes of the Ears were not to be so wide as theirs, but proportioned to such a size as the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, had ordained.

To other Nations he bestowed Privileges of different Natures, as were most agreeable to their Country, and Conditions; and in fine, every one remaining entirely satisfied and contented, he visited his several Kingdoms, affording to his people the satisfaction of beholding his Person, which their Eyes so much longed to see; and of whom so many Wonders and Miracles were recounted,

that nothing could come more desirable, and nothing more welcome than his Preference. Having in this manner spent some Years, he returned to *Cuzco*, where by advice of his Council, he resolved to conquer those great Provinces, which are called, *Cavanea*, *Ullaca*, *Lliti* and *Chicha*; the Subjection of which was omitted by his Father, who was diverted from that design by the jealousy and fear he conceived of this his Son, as we have already mentioned; but now in order to this Expedition, the *Inca Viracocha* commanded that thirty thousand Soldiers should be raised in *Collasuyu*, and *Cuntisuyu*, and put in a readiness against the next Spring; one of his Brothers, called *Pabnac Mayta Inca*, he made his General, or Commander in Chief; the Signame of *Pabnac* (which signifies flying) was given him for his admirable swiftness, being nimble and active, beyond any Man in his time.

For the assistance of his Brother he ordained four *Incas* to be Counsellours, and Major-Generals; who departing from *Cuzco*, collected their numbers and increased their Army in the way, as they marched. At length they arrived at the aforesaid Provinces, two of which, called *Chica*, and *Ampara*, adored the lofty top of a snowy Mountain for their God; for they admiring the Beauty and Height thereof, from whence those Streams proceeded which refreshed their Lands, and made their grounds fruitful, they were easily persuaded in natural gratitude to own that for their Deity, from whence they received such benefit and blessing. In these proceedings they encountered some light Skirmishes with the Enemy, who rather designed to give a proof of their warlike Disposition, than fight in hopes of prevailing against the *Incas*, whose Reputation was exalted so high by the Valour and Achievements of *Viracocha*; that their power seemed invincible, and not to be subdued by humane force. For this reason, these great Provinces submitted to the Dominion of the *Incas* yielding with more readiness, and with less danger, and loss of blood than was expected from a people, esteemed numerous, and of a warlike Temper. Howsoever three years past in this expedition, before the Conquest was completed, and the Nations reduced to an absolute and entire submission.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the New Provinces, subdued by the Inca, and of the Chanels they made to water their Pastures.

THE *Inca Pabnac Mayta*, and his Uncle having concluded this War, and placed Governours and Officers to rule and instruct their new Subjects, they returned to *Cuzco*, where they received from the *Inca* a hearty welcome, being rewarded by him with such Honours and Favours, as their Services and Labours had deserved. And now it seemed as if the *Inca Viracocha* had extended his Territories to the utmost limits of the Universe, for to the Eastward they reached as far as the foot of the snowy Mountains; to the Westward they were bounded by the Sea; to the Southward they extended to the utmost parts of the Province of the *Chancas*, which are above two hundred Leagues distant from the City; so that on all these three Quarters there remained no farther Land to conquer; for on one side the Sea bounded their proceedings, and the Snows, and inaccessible places of the Mountains of *Amis* on the other; and to the Southward the Deserts and Sands between *Pern*, and the Kingdom of *Chili*, made the way impassable for the march of an Army. Howsoever the Desire of Rule, and the insatiable thirst of Dominion moved the mind of this *Inca* to bend his forces towards the Northern Countries, which are in the Division of *Chinchasuyu*; and having

having communicated his resolution to those of his Council, he appointed that an Army should be raised, intending himself in person to command it, with the assistance of six others, who were men of Valour and Experience. During the absence of *Viracocha* the City was governed by his Brother *Pabnac Mayta*, whom he left Deputy in his place; and all things being provided, and in a readiness, the Army marched towards the parts of *Chinchasuyu*, and came to the Province *Antabuylla*, which belongs to the *Chancas*, a people branded with the infamous Epithete of false, and treacherous, by reason of their Rebellion against the *Inca*, which imputation hath so closely cleaved to them even to this day, that scarce at any time are the *Chancas* mentioned without the addition of *Auca*, which is as much as false, or treacherous; this word also signifies a Tyrant, a breaker of his Faith, and every thing which denotes Falseness and Treachery: Moreover it may serve to express Contentions, and Battels, by which variety of significations, we may observe how copious and full this Language of *Pern* is, which comprehends such variety and diversity of senses in one word.

The poor *Chancas* conscious of their former crimes, feared greatly the approach of the *Inca Viracocha*, lest he should now revenge their offence upon them; but then finding, contrary to all expectation, nothing but Mercy and Gentleness in their Prince, they presently quitted their Fears, receiving him with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Festivity, that an afflicted people was capable to express. And to confirm them in this good humour, he not only treated them with gracious Words, but conferred on them Presents of Garments, and other curiosities. He also visited the several Provinces, taking care to provide what was wanting, and to amend that which was amiss; and then appointing a General rendezvous for the whole Army, he marched forwards to those Countries, which were not as yet reduced to Obedience. The first and nearest Province, rich and populous, was *Huaytara*, a people warlike and mutinous, such as had shewed themselves in the Head and Van of the Rebels. But how stout soever they had been, so soon as the *Inca Viracocha* had sent them a summons by his Ambassadors, they with readiness submitted and obeyed, coming forth with all humility to receive and acknowledge him for their Lord; for as yet the Battle of *Tahuar-pampa* was fresh in their memory, and the success thereof confirmed them in a belief, that the *Inca* was invincible: this humble Submission met a like Generosity in the *Inca*, who received them with a gracious acceptance agreeable to their Humility, only charging them to live quietly and in peace, as becoming most for the common good, and most acceptable to himself.

Thence he marched forwards to another Province called *Pura*, known sometimes by the name of *Huamanga*; thence he proceeded to *Alancaru*, *Parco*, *Pichy* and *Acos*, all which cheerfully submitted, esteeming it a great honour to remain under the Empire and Protection of the *Inca*, whose mighty Actions had acquired him Renown in all Quarters of that new World. And having thus gained this people to his power, he dispensed his Army away, lest they should be burthenome to the Country, and then employed his Thoughts and Endeavours for securing his Government, and performing those matters which might conduce to the common Good and Welfare of the people; particularly he opened and made a Chanel of water, of about twelve Foot in depth, running for about one hundred and twenty Leagues in length: the source or head of it arose from certain Springs on the top of a high Mountain, between *Parco* and *Pichy*, which was so plentiful, that at the very head of the Fountains they seemed to be Rivers. This Current of Water had its course through all the Country of the *Rucanas*, and served to water the Pasture of those uninhabited Lands, which are about eighteen Leagues in breadth, watering almost the whole Countrey of *Pern*.

There is another Aqueduct much like this, which traverses the whole Province of *Cuntisuyu*, running above one hundred and fifty Leagues from South to North; its Head or Original is from the top of high Mountains, the which Waters falling into the Plains of the *Quechuas*, greatly refresh their Pasture, when the heats of the Summer and Autumn have dried and burnt up the moisture of the Earth. There are many Streams of like nature, which run through divers parts of

of the Empire, which being conveyed by Aqueducts, at the charge and expence of the *Incas*, are works of Grandeur and Oftentation, and which recommend the Magnificence of the *Incas* to all posterity. For these Aqueducts may well be compared to the miraculous Fabricks which have been the works of mighty Princes, who have left their prodigious Monuments of Oftentation to be admired by future Ages; for indeed we ought to consider, that these Waters had their source and beginning from vast high Mountains, and were carried over craggy Rocks, and inaccessible passages; and to make these ways plain, they had no help of Instruments forged of Steel or Iron, such as Pick-axes, or Sledges, but served themselves only of one stone to break another; nor were they acquainted with the invention of Arches, to convey their Water on the level from one precipice to the other; but traced round the Mountain, untill they found ways and passages at the same height and level with the Head of the Springs. The Cisterns, or Conservatories, which they made for these Waters at the top of the Mountain, were about twelve Foot deep; the passage was broken through the Rocks, and Channels made of heven Stone of about two yards long, and about a yard high; all which were well cemented together, and rammed in with earth, so hard, that no Water could pass between to weaken or vent it self by the holes of the Channell.

This Current of Water, which passes through all the Division of *Cuntisuyu*, I have seen in the Province of *Quechua*, which is part of that Division, and considered it as an extraordinary Work, and indeed surpassing the Description and Report which hath been made of it: But the *Spaniards*, who were Aliens and Strangers, little regarded the convenience of these works, either to serve themselves of the use of them, or keep them in repair; nor yet to take so much notice of them, as to mention them in their Histories; but rather out of a scornfull and disdainful humour, have suffered them to run unto ruine, beyond all recovery.

The same fate hath befallen the Aqueducts, which the *Indians* made for watering their Corn-lands, of which two thirds at least are wholly destroyed, and none kept in repair, unless some few, which are so usefull, that without them they cannot sustain themselves with Bread, nor with the necessary provisions for Life. All which works are not so totally destroyed, but that there still remain some ruines and appearances of them.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXV.

The Inca visits the remote parts of his Empire, and Ambassadors come thither to him, offering the Subjection, and Vassalage of their People.

THE *Inca Viracocha* having provided all things towards the work of this great Aqueduct, which was necessary for watering the Herbage of those Countries, he passed from the Province of *Chinchafuyu*, to *Cuntisuyu*, with intention to visit all the parts of his Empire. The first Provinces which offered in this Journey, belonged to *Quechua*, two of which being of greater note, than others, were *Cotapampa*, and *Cotanera*; to which the *Inca* made extraordinary demonstrations of Honour, out of respect to the Service they had done him, in his late War against the *Chuncas*. Thence he travelled forwards through all the other Provinces of *Cuntisuyu*, as well the Mountainous Countries, as the Plains and Valleys, and Lands along the Seacoast, that so no place or Region might complain of dislavour, or want of the *Inca's* presence, which was the most welcome and desirable object to them in the whole Universe.

In all the places where he came, he made strict inquisition concerning the behaviour of his Officers and Ministers, and in what manner they discharged their Duty and Trust; such as were found guilty of any neglect, or injustice, he punished with the utmost rigour and severity, laying, that those who had made use of the Royal Authority to pillage or oppress his Subjects, were more criminal than those common Robbers, who in contempt of the Imperial Ordinances and Laws, and by force of their own private power, invaded the Rights and Properties of the People. From *Cuntisuyu* he entered into the Provinces of *Collasuyu*, passing from one unto the other, as they offered in his way, all which he comforted with the Rays of his Favours, which he imparted in their respective degrees, as well to the Commonalty, as to the *Curacas*; and on the Sea-coast he journeyed as far as to *Taracapa*.

During the stay which the *Inca* made in the Countrey of the *Chuncas*, Ambassadors came to him from the Kingdom of *Tucma*, which the *Spaniards* call *Tucuman*, being distant about two hundred Leagues Southwest from the *Chuncas*; addressing themselves unto him after this manner. "Most mighty Prince, *Capa Inca Viracocha*, The Report of your famous Deeds, the Equity and Justice of your Proceedings, the Excellency of your Laws, instituted for the sole Benefit and Welfare of your Subjects, the Purity of your Religion, Clemency and Mercy, and the wonderfull Miracles which your Father the Sun hath performed in your favour, and for your assistance, hath reached the utmost Confines of our Dominions, and is yet carried farther on the Wings of Fame; the which Report hath made such impression on the Hearts of all the *Curacas* of *Tucuman*, that they have sent us hither to implore the powerfull Protection of your sacred Empire, and that you would vouchsafe to own them for your people, and that as such you would appoint *Incas* of the Royal Blood to preside over them, who may not onely administer Justice to them, but likewise instruct them in those Laws, and Customs, and Religion, which they are to observe; in hopes and expectation of which, we do here in the name and behalf of all our Kingdom, prostrate our selves before you, as the undoubted Offspring and Issue of the Sun, acknowledging you for our King, and Lord, and in testimony thereof, we do here offer our Persons, with the Fruit of our Lands, as Li-very and Seisin, and in token and evidence that we surrender our Persons and Lands into your possession. Having said thus much, they laid open their Presents of Garments, made of Cotton, Pots of excellent Honey, as also Corn, and divers sorts of Pulse; but as to Gold, or Silver, they produced none, being not of

of the Growth of their Country; and which the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the search and pursuit which they made after it, have not discovered in those Quar-
ters.

The Ambassadors having made these Presents, they prostrated themselves with profound reverence before the *Inca*, who received them with a gracious acceptance, according to his accustomed goodness; and in farther token of his favour, he commanded the *Incas*, who were his Kindred, to drink with them, which was the greatest Honour he could confer. At this entertainment they were farther assured of the Good-will of the *Inca*, and how much he took this voluntary submission and resignation of themselves and Country in good part; in return whereunto, they assured them of all the kind treatment imaginable, and that the *Inca* distinguished between those, who out of good-will and affection, freely became his Subjects, and those who by force of Arms were compelled to Obedience. Then they gave them for Presents to their *Cuacas*, Vestments of such sort as were made for the *Inca*, woven by the hands of the Select Virgins, and which, for that reason, were accounted Divine and Sacred; and to the Ambassadors many other Presents were made of different qualities. Then the *Incas* of the Royal Blood were appointed, who were to instruct them in Religion, and preside over them as Governors; that leaving their bestial and brutish course of living, they might receive and observe the Laws and Ordinances of the *Incas*: And in company with these Ministers, several Artists and Workmen were sent, who were skillful in making Aqueducts, and cultivating the Lands, that so by good husbandry the Estate of the Sun, and of the King, might be improved and increased.

The Ambassadors having been thus entertained for some days at the Court of the *Inca*, where they observed the good Order, and Rule, and Excellent Laws of his Government: They confessed, that such Constitutions as those could have no other Original than from the Sun, or something Divine; and that their own Customs and Laws did partake of nothing but what was brutish, and without any Morality. And with this consideration being made zealous for the *Inca's* Service and Glory, they expressed themselves in this manner to the *Inca*: Sir, said they, we are greatly sensible that the World is made happy by your Laws and Government; of which that every part may partake some share and proportion, we are to make known unto you, that not far from our Country, to the South-West from us, there lies a Kingdom called Chili, which is very rich and populous; and though we our selves have had no Commerce, or correspondence therewith, by reason of those Snowy Mountains, and inaccessible Passages, which divide us from them; yet we have received by an undoubted Tradition from our Forefathers, that there is such a Nation worthy the Employment of your Arms, and of your Dominion: The which we the more willingly discover, that so they also with us may Adore your Father the Sun, and enjoy the same common Benefits and Laws which are made and designed to civilize and improve the Nature of Mankind. The *Inca* having taken notice of this advice, ordered the Ambassadors to be dispatched, that they might return again into their own Country.

Thence he proceeded forward on his progress through all the Provinces of *Colasayn*, dispersing his Favours and Rewards to the *Cuacas* and Captains, not neglecting the Commonalty, and people of low degree and condition; so that all sorts, from the highest to the lowest, received particular satisfaction and contentment from the presence of the *Inca*: For so much had the Fame of his Divine Dream, and his Victory at *Tahuarpampa*, raised his Esteem in the minds of the people, that they not only received him with Joy and Acclamations, but paid him Divine Honours and Veneration, as if he had been some New God; though now by the Mercies of the true God they have quitted that Idolatry, and being disabused, and rightly informed in Religion, they only conserve a grateful Memory of that King, who was so fortunate and propitious to them both in War and Peace.

From *Collasayn* he passed into *Anisayn*, where the people being poor and mean, were not able to demonstrate such Ostentation and Magnificence as others had done; howsoever, according to their degree and quality, they shewed as joyfull hearts, as their simplicity was capable to express: In evidence of which, they erected Triumphal Arches in the way by which he was to pass; the which being formed of Timber, they covered with Rushes, and crowned with Garlands, strow-

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ing all the ways with Flowers, expressing the joyfulness of their hearts, after the custom of their Country, and as was usual at their greatest Festivals. In these visits the *Inca* spent three years, not omitting at the due seasons to celebrate the Feasts of the Sun, which they called *Raymi*, and *Citta*: And though they could not be performed with such Solemnity as at *Cusco*, yet in compliance with their Religion, they expressed their Devotion with such Rites and Ceremonies, as the circumstances of time and place would admit.

And now having accomplished his Progress, he returned to the City, where his Presence was greatly desired, as the Protector and Defender of it, or rather as he who had laid a new foundation of an abandoned and ruined place: And therefore the Court and City associated together with new Sonnets and Panegyrics, composed in his praise, to meet and conduct their Adored King to his place of Residence.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Valiant Hanco-huallu flies out of the Empire of the Incas.

THUS, in the manner which we have declared, this *Inca* travelled twice through all Quarters of his Dominions; and when that in his second Progress he passed through the Province of the *Chichas*, which is the most remote part of Peru to the Southward, News was brought him of the flight of the brave *Hanco-huallu*; at which he was greatly concerned, wondering at the reason, or cause, for such a resolution.

This Man, it seems, was King of the *Chancas*; and though for nine or ten Years he had proved the gentle Government of the *Incas*, who in revenge, or punishment, of his late offence, had not diminished the least point of his Power or Jurisdiction; but rather, on the contrary, treated him with due honour and respect; yet in regard that he and his Forefathers had reigned as absolute Lords and Princes over many Nations, whom they had subdued by their Arms and Power; his generous spirit could not yield to any Subordination, or hold his Country in feud to a Superiour: He also envied the *Quechuas* for the Esteem they had gained in the favour of the *Inca*, by the Services, which in the late War they had performed; and by whose means and assistance the Victory was wrested from himself: Nor could he endure to behold that people which was inferiour, and once truckled to him, to stand now in equality, and in competition with him for Honour and Power: the which unpleasant imaginations so possessed his disquiet mind, that contrary to the sense and opinion of the Lords and Nobles of his Country, he resolved to purchase his own Liberty, and absolute Power, though with the loss and resignation of the Estate he possessed in his own Dominions. In order hereunto he imparted his Resolutions to certain *Indians*, who were his Friends, and faithful to his Interest; giving them to understand, that he could not support a Subjection to the Will and Dominion of another; and therefore was resolved to Abandon his Native Patrimony and Inheritance, to recover an Absolute Sovereignty in remote parts, or dye in prosecution of it. This design of *Hanco-huallu* being rumoured abroad amongst his people, it was agreed, that such Men as inclined to his party, should, with their Wives and Children, depart privately in small Companies, lest Numbers of People and Troops should make a noise, and give jealousy to the *Inca*; and that at length they should assemble and meet at a general Rendezvous in some place beyond the Dominions of the *Inca*, where he himself would follow after them, and appear in the Head of them as

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their King and Leader. This seemed to be the most agreeable counsel, and best expedient to recover their Liberty; for that it were a folly, and rashness, to endeavour it by force, or to set up their Power against the Puissance of the *Inca*: Nay, though such a design should seem feasible, and practicable, yet considering the gentleness of the *Inca*, and with what kindness and humanity he had returned the Acts of Hostilities which they had offered him, it would seem a part of ingratitude and perfidiousness, which could not enter into the Breast of a Generous Prince to rise again in Arms against him: But then to recover their Liberty by a peaceable surrender of their Estates and Power, was not onely innocent and inoffensive, but allowable, also under the strictest circumstances and obligations by which they were bound to the *Inca*, than whom there could not be a more benign, and more indulgent King in the whole Universe.

With these Arguments and Reasons the brave *Hanco-huallu* prevailed on the minds of those to whom he first communicated his design; and they whispering it one to the other, it became the common discourse; and found such a general approbation and concurrence, that the *Chancas*, who naturally loved their Lord and Sovereign, were easily persuaded to run the fortune of their Prince; so that in a short time they numbered 8000 fighting Men, which in a Body marched out of their Country, besides Women and Children, under the Command and Conduct of the Valiant *Hanco-huallu*; the fame of whose Courage, and the fierceness of the *Chancas*, who were always reputed for a fighting and warlike Nation, struck such terror in all places and regions through which they marched, that none durst oppose, or interrupt them in their passage: The fear likewise of them caused the Inhabitants to furnish them with Provisions untill they came to the Provinces of *Parma* and *Pumpu*, which are about 70 Leagues distant from their own Country. And though in this March they encountered certain inconsiderable Skirmishes, and could easily have overcome the Natives, and planted themselves in their possessions; yet they seemed as yet to have too near a Neighbourhood with the Empire of the *Inca*, whose ambition might soon arrive them, and bring them under the same subjection from which they fled, and endeavoured to avoid: For which reason they marched forward, removing themselves as far as it was possible from the reach of the *Inca*, at least to such a distance, as during his life, it was not probable that his Arms could extend. With this intention they travelled, bending on the right hand towards the great Mountains of *Antir*, with design to inhabit there, and people those places which were most commodious for Humane life. Those of this Nation of the *Chancas* report, that they removed 200 Leagues from their own Land, but at what place they entred, or what parts they peopled, it is not certain; onely that they entred by a great River, and planted their Colonies by the banks of a great Lake, where it is said, they encreased in such Riches, and performed such mighty Acts, that they seem rather Romances, than Reports fit for a true History. And though we may believe, or fantasie nothing too great for the Courage and Wisdom of *Hanco-huallu*; yet his Actions not falling within the subject of our History, we shall put a period to a Relation of them in this place, as impertinent and foreign to our present discourse.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Colonies sent to inhabit the Lands of Hanco-huallu; and the Description of the Valley of Yucay.

THE *Inca Viracocha* was much surpris'd with the News, that *Hanco-huallu* was fled; and had abandoned his Country; which he would have prevented had he been pre-advised of his Intention; but since now there was no remedy, and that no cause was given to move or force his departure, the *Inca* was the less concerned, though the people were generally rejoiced at his Flight, to whom the Humour and haughty Disposition of a Prince, like him, was never pleasant. The News of the flight of *Hanco-huallu*, with all the particulars of it, being made known and confirmed; the *Inca* commanded his Brother *Pachac Mayta*, whom he had left Governour at *Cusco*, with two others of his Council, to pass with a considerable number of Souldiers, into the Country of the *Chancas*, there to see and inform themselves of the true state of that remaining people, whom they were to treat and care with all gentleness, giving them comfort and assurance of Protection; for that though their Prince was fled, yet they should not want the care of the *Inca*, who was both more able to defend them, as also more mild and loving than their fierce *Hanco-huallu*.

These *Incas* having visited all the Provinces belonging to the *Chancas*, and disposed them to a quiet and satisfied condition, they went to the two famous Fortresses of *Hanco-huallu*, built by his Ancestours called *Challcu marca*, and *Sura marca*; *Marca* in that Language signifying a Castle or Fortres. In these places *Hanco-huallu* passed some days before his departure, which (as the *Indians* report) he was more troubled to leave, than all the other possessions he enjoyed in his Dominions. The disturbance which the flight of *Hanco-huallu* had caused, and the consternation in the minds of the People, being in some manner quieted and appeased; and all other matters of the Empire being well ordered and established, the *Inca* returned again to *Cusco* to enjoy the fruits of Peace, and employ his time in the administration of Justice, and performance of matters beneficial to the welfare of his Subjects; hoping that with time the fears and jealousies which *Hanco-huallu* had raised, would blow over, and vanish. The first thing therefore that he did was to publish certain Laws, which in that conjuncture of Affairs were seasonable and convenient, and which served to prevent insurrections of the like nature for the future. Next he sent a Colony of about ten thousand Persons, under the Command of *Incas*, into the Country of the *Chancas*, to supply the places of those who were slain in the Battel of *Tahuar-pampu*, and of those who had deserted their Country in company with *Hanco-huallu*. Then he appointed several sumptuous Houses to be built in all places of his Empire, particularly in the valley of *Yucay*, which is lower than *Pampu*. For this Valley is the most pleasant and delightful place in all *Peru*; having for that reason been chosen by all the Kings, since the time of *Manco Capac*, for their Garden, and place of Recreation; to which they often retired, to refresh and divertise themselves after the toils and labours which are incident to Government. The situation of it is about four Leagues distant North-east from the City, in a most sweet and healthfull Air, where the Climate is so temperate, that neither cold or heat are in excess; the Waters are excellent and cool, nor are the Flies or Gnats troublesome, or any other insect there poisonous or vexatious. It is placed between two Mountains, that to the East is the snowy Mountain, an arme of which extends to the plain, and supplies it with continued streams, from which they draw several Branches, and convey it by Channels to water their Grounds. Though the middle of this Mountain be lofty, rugged and asperous; yet at the foot and skirts of it are verdant Pastures, and Lands abounding with Fruits: where also are all sorts of Game, such as Stags, and Fallow-Deer,

the *Huanacu* and *Vicuña*, (which is a Mountain Goat, from whence they have the Bezar-stone,) as also Partridges, and all sorts of other Fowl; and though the havoc which the *Spaniards* have made hath destroyed all the Game in those parts, yet in the place thereof they have planted Vines, and Fruit-trees, and Sugar-canes, which is the improvement they have made in that quarter. The other Mountain to the West is not so high, or lofty, being not above a League in the ascent. At the foot thereof runs the plentiful River of *Tucay*, deep, and not rapid, but passing with a smooth and gentle Current, and therefore abounds with great quantities of excellent fish, and is frequented with Hearn, Wild-Ducks, and all sorts of Water-fowl. Those that were sick at *Cusco*, which is a cold and sharp Air, and therefore not so proper for infirm Bodies usually resorted thither to recover their healths; so that there is now no *Spaniard* who lives at *Cusco*, and esteemed a Man of an Estate, but who hath a Country-house, or some possession in that Valley. This *Inca Viracocha* had a particular delight and affection for that place; and therefore built several Houses there, both for ostentation, and for pleasure.

He enlarged the Temple of the Sun, both in the Building, and also in the number of Servants and Officers, endowing it with a Revenue agreeable to the Enlargement. And as all the *Incas* conceived a particular Veneration, and Devotion for that Temple, so *Viracocha* seemed more sensibly affected from his religious fervour to that Spirit which appeared to him.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Name which Viracocha gave to his Eldest Son; and his Prophecy concerning the Invasion of the Spaniards.

WE have seen already by what hath preceded, in what manner *Viracocha* passed some years, and in what tranquillity and prosperity he governed his Empire. We are now to speak of his Children and Family; his Eldest Son was born of *Coya Mama Runtu*, who was his Sister, and true and lawful Wife; he was at first called *Titu Atanco Capac*, though afterwards by the last Will and Appointment of his Father, his Name was changed to *Pachacutec*, which signifies as much as one who subverts the World, or turns it upside down; and though it was commonly taken in the worst sense, for some alteration from bad to worse, yet it is said he was so affected with this Word, that he was desirous to have called himself by that Name; but in regard that the Name of *Viracocha* was so dilated over all Countries, and the Voices of the people so accustomed to it; that he could not assume that Appellation to himself, yet he was desirous to communicate it to his Son, being, as he believed, a means to keep alive the memory of the Apparition, and the renowned Actions of his Father. *Acosta* in the 20th Chap. of his 6th Book saith, "That the people were so much scandalized at the Name of *Viracocha*, which this *Inca* took to himself, because it was the proper name of God, that he was forced to clear himself of this prophanation, by saying that the Spirit which appeared to him in his Dream, had commanded him to take that Name and Title upon himself: And that the *Inca Pachacuti*, who succeeded him, was a great Souldier and Politician, having invented many superstitious rites, which he introduced into the Worship of their Religion; which are the words with which *Acosta* concludes that Chapter: All which is in confirmation of what I have said, namely, that a Vision appeared to him in his Dream; that he took the Name of that Apparition, and that afterwards he gave the Name of *Pachacutec* to the Son who succeeded him.

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The Name of the Queen was *Mama Runtu*, which Word *Runtu* signifies an Egg, so called, because of the whiteness of her Face being perhaps fairer than the Women commonly are of that Country.

The *Indians* report, that this *Viracocha* was the Author of the Prophecy which foretold the Invasion of the *Spaniards*, and was conserved amongst the Archives of the Kings of *Peru*: which was, "That at a certain period of Years after the succession of such a number of Kings, there should come a sort of people from a far remote Country, never seen, or known before in those Regions, who should take away their Religion, and subvert their Empire. The substance of which Prophecy was contained in two such obscure Sentences, as were difficult to be explained or interpreted. The *Indians* say, that this *Inca*, after the success and verification of his Dream, became the Oracle of Mankind; for that the *Amantas*, who were the Philosophers of those times, as also the High Priest, and the most Ancient Elders of the Temple of the Sun, who were the Magicians, that presaged of things to come, did often interrogate him concerning his Dream, and of Comets seen in the Heavens, as also of Divinations by the flying and singing of Birds, and of several other superstitious Prognostications which they made from their Sacrifices, and Entrails of Beasts; and to all the Responses which *Viracocha* made to their Enquiries, they yielded entire Faith and Credence, esteeming him the Oracle, and chief in Divination: What he delivered in this manner, was judged worthy to be conserved by Tradition in the memory of their Kings onely; and that the knowledge of such divine Revelations was not to be made common, or prophaned by the Discourse of the People; for that it was not fit for them to be pre-acquainted with the times and seasons, when their Idolatrous Worship should have an end, and the Empire be overthrown, and the Divinity of the *Incas* questioned, and changed into the state and common condition of humane kind. For which reason there was no farther mention made of this Prophecy, until the time of *Huagya Capac*, who revealed it openly a little before his Death, as we shall hereafter declare more at large; though some Historians make but a short tale of it, and say, that a God which the *Indians* worshipped, called *Ticci Viracocha*, delivered this Prophecy. But for what I have delivered herein, I have the authority of an old *Inca*, whom I have often heard recount the Fables and Antiquities of their Kings in presence of my Mother.

And in regard the coming of the *Spaniards* into *Peru*, and the Conquest of it by them; the destruction of their Idolatry, and the preaching of the Gospel of Christ in those parts, did correspond with the Prophecy of *Viracocha*; the *Indians* did therefore give the Name of *Viracocha* to the *Spaniards*, fancies them to be Sons of that imaginary God, whom he had purposely sent (as we have already said) to relieve the *Incas* from the Oppression and Violence of the cruel Tyrant. Thus we have cursorily touched on this wonderfull Prophecy, which for many years had been revealed to the *Inca*-Kings; and which was afterwards accomplished in the Reigns of *Huascar*, and *Atahualpa*, which were great Grandchildren to the third Generation to this *Inca Viracocha*.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of the Death of Viracocha; and how the Authour saw his Body.

AT length the *Inca Viracocha*, in the Height of Majesty, and Zenith of his Prosperity, submitted to the common fate of Mankind; he was generally lamented, and bewailed by all the Empire, and adored afterwards as a Child of the Sun, to whom they offered Prayers and Sacrifices. He left to *Pachacutec*, his Eldest Son, the Inheritance, besides whom he had many legitimate Sons and Daughters of the Royal Bloud, with others born to him by his Concubines: he conquered and reduced Eleven Provinces, four of which were to the South of *Cusco*, and seven towards the North. It is not certainly known to what age he lived, nor how long he reigned, though according to common report, he governed above fifty Years; and so he seemed to me to have been an ancient Man, when I saw his Body at *Cusco*, about the beginning of the Year 1570. which was the time when I was upon my departure for *Spain*; and then I remember, that going to take my leave of the Governour, or Chief Justice of the City, called *Panl Ondegardo*, a Native of *Salamanca*; amongst other Favours which he did me, he was pleased to lead me into an inward room, and there tell me, that before I departed it would be convenient for me to have a sight of some of my Relations, that so I might have another Story to tell of them in *Spain*; with that he shewed me five Bodies of *Incas*; three of Men, and two of Women; one of which the *Indians* report to have been the Body of *Viracocha*, which seemed to be very aged, the Hairs of the Head being as white as Snow: The second they say was the Great *Tupac Tupanqui*, who was great Grandson to *Viracocha*: The third was *Huayna Capac*, the Son of *Tupac Tupanqui*; and Grandson of the Fourth Generation to *Viracocha*; the two last were Men with gray Hairs, yet did not seem to aged as *Viracocha*. One of the Women was said to be the Body of the Queen *Mama Runin*, Wife of *Viracocha*; the other of *Coya Mama Ocelo*, Mother of *Huayna Capac*; and it is probable that they might be Husband and Wife, considering that the Bodies were laid and found so close together; and what is more strange, these Bodies were more entire than the Mummies, wanting neither Hair on the Head, nor Eye-brows, and even the very Eye-lashes were visible. They were clothed with the same sort of Garments which they wore in their Life-time; the Lift or Wreath appeared about their Heads, which was all the Badge or Ornament they shewed of their Royal Dignity. The posture they were in was sitting, after the manner of the *Indians*, their Hands crossed on their Breasts, with the right hand upon the left, their Eyes cast downwards looking towards the Earth. *Acosta* it seems had seen one of these Bodies, of which discoursing in the 21st Chap. of his 6th Book, saith, "That it was so well conformed by a certain sort of bituminous matter, with which they embalmed it, that it seemed to be alive; the Eyes were so well counterfeited by a mixture of Gold, that they seemed lively and natural. I must confess, that my want of Curiosity did not move me to make so narrow a scrutiny into this matter, as I should have done, had I believed that I should have had occasion to write of them; for then I should not onely have viewed and considered the Bodies themselves more exactly, but also have made enquiry of the Natives concerning the manner and receipt of this way of embalming; which perhaps they might rather have imparted to me, who am a Native, and one of their Relations, than to the *Spaniards*, who are Strangers and Aliens to them, unless perhaps the Art and Secret is lost amongst them, as many other things are, of the like nature. For my part, I could not discover any thing of this bituminous matter, of which *Acosta* speaks, though certainly there must have been some excellent Secret, without which it was impossible to have conserved Bodies, with their Flesh so plump and full

as these were. This *Acosta* treating farther of these Bodies, in the 6th Chapter of his 5th Book, hath these Words which follow. "In the first place, saith he, they had an Art to conserve the Bodies of their Kings, and Great Men, without stinking or corruption, for the space of above two hundred Years; in which manner the Bodies of the *Inca-Kings* were found at *Cusco*, erected in their Chapels and Oratories, where they were adored; which the Marquess of *Cannete*, when he was Vice-roy of the *Indies*, caused to be removed from thence, that he might abolish the Idolatrous Worship, which they performed towards them; and transported three or four of them to a place called the King's Town; which appeared very strange and stupendous to the *Spaniards*, to see Bodies after so many years so firm and sound as they were. These are the Words of *Acosta*, from whence I observe, that these Bodies had been removed to the King's Town almost twenty years before he had a sight of them; which being a hot and moist Air, was more apt to taint and corrupt Flesh, than the cold and dry Air of *Cusco*; and yet notwithstanding he saith, That twenty Years after their removal they were still firm and uncorrupt, as formerly, and appeared with such Life, that they wanted onely Speech to make them seem to be living. I am of opinion, that the way to conserve Bodies, is after they are dead to carry them to the Mountains of Snow, where being well dried, and congealed by the cold, and all humours consumed and digested; then afterwards to apply that bituminous matter, which may plump up the Flesh; and render it full and solid as the Living. But I onely adventure on this conjecture, from what I have seen the *Indians* doe, when they have carried a piece of raw Flesh into the cold Mountains, where after it hath been well dried by the Frost, they have kept it as long as they pleased without salt, or any other preservative; and this was the manner which the *Incas* used, for drying and keeping all the flesh Provisions which they carried for Food to maintain their Army. I remember that I once touched a finger of *Huayna Capac*, which seemed to me like a stick of wood; and so light were these Bodies, that an *Indian* could easily carry one of them in his Armes, or on his Shoulders, to the Houses of *Spanish* Gentlemen, who desired to see them. When they carried them through the Streets, they covered them with white Linen; and the *Indians* falling down on their knees before them, sighed, and wept, shewing them all the reverence imaginable; and some of the *Spaniards* also would take off their Caps, and uncover their Heads to them, as they passed, in testimony of the respect they bore to the Bodies of Kings; with which the *Indians* were so pleased, and overjoyed, that they knew not in what manner to express their thankfulness to them.

This is all that we have been able to deliver concerning the Actions of *Viracocha* in particular; the other Monuments and Sayings of this famous King are lost, for want of Letters and Learning to record them to posterity, and have incurred buried in the Graves with them.

Onely *Blas Valera* reports one memorable Saying of this *Viracocha*, which being often repeated by him, was observed by three *Incas*, who kept it in remembrance; as also the Sayings of some other Kings, which we shall hereafter specify. That which this *Inca* delivered, had reference to the education of Children, of which he was made the more sensible, by that Severity and Disfavour with which he was treated by his Father in the time of his Minority; his Saying was this, That Parents are oftentimes the cause of ruine to their Children, when either they educate them with such fondness, that they never cross them in their Wills, or desires, but suffer them to do what they please, whereby they become so corrupt in the manners of their infancy, that Vice grows ripe with them at the Tears of Manhood. Others, on the contrary, are so severe and cruel to their Children, that they break the tenderness of their Spirits, and affright them from learning, discouraging them in that manner by menaces and lectures of a supercilious Pedant, that their Wits are abated, and despair of attaining to knowledge and virtue. The way is to keep an indifferent mean between both, by which *Tomb* becomes valiant and hardy in War, and wise and political in the time of Peace. With which *Blas Valera* concludes the Reign of this *Inca Viracocha*.

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K VI.

C H A P. I.

Of the Buildings, Ornament and Furniture of the Royal Palaces.

THE Services and Ornaments of the Royal Palaces belonging to the Kings of *Peru*, were agreeable to the Greatness, Riches and Majesty of their Empire, with which also corresponded the Magnificence of their Court and Attendance; which, if well considered, might equal, if not exceed the State and Grandeur of all the Kings and Emperours of the Universe. As to their Houses and Temples, Gardens and Baths, they were all built of Free Stone, rarely well polished, and so well joined together, and so close laid, that they admitted no kind of Cement; the truth is, if any were used, it was of that sort of coloured Mortar which in their Language they call *Llanca Alpa*, which is a sort of stony Cement, made up like a Cream, which so united and closed the Stones together, that no seam or crevice appeared between them; for which reason the *Spaniards* were of opinion, that they worked without Mortar; others said, that they used Lime, but both are mistakes; for the *Indians of Peru* neither knew the manner or use of Lime, Mortar, Tile or Brick.

In many of the Royal Palaces, and Temples of the Sun, they closed up the Seams of their Building with melted Gold, or Silver, or Lead. *Pedro de Cieza*, a *Spanish* Historian, saith, That for greater Magnificence they filled the joints between the Stones with Gold or Silver, which was afterwards the cause of the total destruction of those Buildings; for the *Spaniards* having found these exterior appearances of Gold, and some other heaps of Metall within, have for farther Discovery subverted the very Foundations of those Edifices, in hopes of finding greater Treasure, which otherwise were so firmly built, as might have continued for many Ages. *Pedro de Cieza* confirms the same at large, and saith farther, That the Temples of the Sun were plated with Gold, as also all the Royal Apartments. They also framed many Figures of Men and Women, of Birds of the Air, and Fishes of the Sea; likewise of fierce Animals, such as Tygers, and Lions, and Bears, Foxes, Dogs and Cats, in short, all Creatures whatsoever known amongst them, they cast and moulded into true and natural Figures, of the same shape and form of those Creatures which they represented, placing them in corners or cones of the Walls, purposely made and fitted for them.

They counterfeited the Plants and Wall-flowers so well, that being on the Walls, they seemed to be Natural: The Creatures which were shaped on the Walls, such as Lizards, Butter-flies, Snakes and Serpents, some crawling up, and some down, were so artificially done, that they seemed Natural, and wanted nothing but Motion. The *Inca* commonly sat on a Stool of Massie Gold, which they called *Thana*, being about three quarters of an yard high, without Arms or Back, and the seat something hollow in the middle; this was set on a large square Plate of Gold, which served for a Pedestal to raise it. All the Vessels which were for the service of the *Inca*, both of the Kitchen, and of the Buttery, were all made of Gold or Silver; and these were in such quantities, that every House, or Palace, belonging to the *Inca*, was furnished in that manner with them, that there was no occasion, when he Travelled, to remove them from one place to the other. In these Palaces also there were Magazines, or Granaries, made of Gold and Silver, which were fit to receive Corn, or Grane, but they were rather places of State and Magnificence, than of use.

The *Inca* had his Palace well furnished with Bedding, and so many changes of Apparel, that having worn a Suit twice, he gave it to his Kindred, or his Servants. Their Bed-cloaths were Blankets, like our Freezes made of Goats Wool, and so soft and fine, that amongst other curiosities of that Countrey, they carried over some of the Blankets for the Beds of *Philip* the Second King of Spain: these Blankets served them for Beds to lye on, as well as Coverings: But they would by no means be reconciled to Quilts, or be persuaded to sleep upon them; perhaps because, that having seen them in the Chambers of the *Spaniards*, they seemed too effeminate and soft for Men, who made profession of a more hardy life; and who had not created to themselves so many superfluous necessities as Men, who ranged both Sea and Land for Riches and Treasure. They had no occasion of Hangings for their Walls, which (as we have said) they Adorned with Plates of Gold or Silver: The Dishes of Meat provided for the *Inca's* Table, were many, because many *Incas* of his Kindred were his frequent Guests, and his Servants were very numerous, being all to be fed at the charge and care of the *Inca*. The usual hour of Eating, for all sorts of people, was from eight, to nine in the Morning; in the Evening they supped by Day-light, making no more than these two Meals. In Drinking they were more intemperate; for though they did not Drink during the time of their Meal, yet afterwards, when they sat to it, they drank commonly till Night. But this was a custome amongst the Rich, and Men of Estates, and not amongst the Poor, whose poverty obliged them to a necessity of being abstemious: And the common custome and practice amongst all in general, was to retire betimes to their repose, and to rise early in the Morning to follow their Employments.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

How all the Ornaments and Curiosities, which Beautified the Royal Palaces, were made of Gold and Silver.

ALL the Royal Palaces had their Gardens, and Orchards, and places of Pleasure, wherein the *Inca* might delight, and divertise himself; and these Gardens were planted with Fruit-trees of the greatest beauty, with Flowers, and Odoriferous Herbs, of all sorts and kinds which that Climate did produce. In resemblance of these they made Trees, and Flowers of Gold and Silver, and so imitated them to the life, that they seemed to be natural: some Trees appeared with their Fruit in the blossom, others full grown, others ripe according to the several seasons of the year; they counterfeited also the Mayz, or Stalk, of the *Indian* Wheat, with all its Grane and Spikes: Also the Flax with its Leaves and Roots as it grows in the Fields; and every Herb and Flower was a Copy to them, to frame the like in Gold and Silver.

They fashioned likewise all sorts of Beasts and Birds in Gold and Silver; namely, Conies, Rats, Lizards, Serpents, Butterflies, Foxes, Mountain Cats, for they had no tame Cats in their Houses; and then they made Sparrows, and all sorts of lesser Birds, some flying, others perching on the Trees; in short, no Creature, that was either Wild, or Domestick, but was made and represented by them according to its exact and natural shape.

In many Houses they had great Cisterns of Gold in which they bathed themselves, with Cocks and Pipes of the same Metal for conveyance of the Water. And amongst many other pieces of State and Magnificence, they had heaps, or stacks, of Faggots and Billets made of Gold and Silver, piled up in their Store-houses, as if they had been there laid for service of the *Inca*.

The greatest part of these Riches, when the *Spaniards* came in, were thrown into Wells, and deep waters, by the *Indians*, who observing their Enemies to be covetous, and thirsty of Gold, out of Malice to them, concealed, or destroyed them in such unrecoverable places, where they could never be again retrieved, that so the Memory and Tradition of the hidden treasures might be designedly lost to their posterity, because they thought it a Prophanation to have that Wealth and Substances which was Dedicated to their Kings, to be converted to the common benefit and use of Strangers. Whatsoever we have related concerning the Riches of the *Incas*, is confirmed by all the Historians who write of *Peru*, with a more enlarged report of the prodigious Treasures. Those Writers who treat of these matters most fully, are *Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, and *Augustin de Carate*, who was Accountant-General in those parts; which latter, in the 14th Chapter of his first Book, hath these words: "Gold was a Metal of great esteem amongst them, because the principal Vessels for service of their Kings were made thereof, and the Jewels of his Dignity and State were set in it: Likewise they made Offerings of it in their Temples: And the King *Tigaya* made a Chair of Gold, in which he sat weighing twenty five Quilats, and which was worth twenty five thousand Ducats, and was the same which *Don Francisco de Picarro* challenged for his own prize; because it was agreed, at the time of the Conquest, that besides his own share and proportion with the rest, he might claim that Jewel which he should chuse and esteem of the greatest value." *Guaynacaza*, at the Birth of his Eldest Son, made a Chain of Gold so big and weighty, that 200 *Indians* having seized the Links of it to the Rings in their Ears, were scarce able to raise it from the ground: And in memory of this joy at his Birth, and of this great Chain, they gave him the Name of *Guasca*, which is as much as Chain, or Cable, with the Addition of *Inca*, which was the Title of all belonging to the Royal Family. The which particular I purpose

posely alledge in this place to confute the opinion of those who living in *Spain*, and being ignorant of the affairs of the *Indies*, believed that the *Indians* had no esteem of Gold, nor knew the value or price of it : Besides which, they had Vessels made of Gold wherein to lodge their Corn, also the Figures of Men, of Trees, and Plants, and Herbs made in Gold, as all Animals of what sort soever : which are the Words of that famous Authour in his History of *Peru*.

That rich Prize which fell to the lot of *D. Francisco Pizarro*, was part of that which *Atahualpa* gave for his Ransome, and which *Pizarro* justly claimed as his due by Military Right, being General of the Army : He might moreover challenge, by agreement, the best Jewel from the great heaps of Riches : And though there were others perhaps more valuable, such as Jars, and Vessels of Gold ; yet in regard that this had been the Seat of a King, and the seizure of it prelaged the Dominion of the *Spanish* Monarchy, it seemed a prize more singular, and worthy the choice of *Pizarro* before any other of greater estimation. In the Life of *Huayna Capac*, who was the last of all the *Incas*, we shall speak more at large of this Gold Chain, which was a thing incredible.

What *Pedro de Ciega* writes of the Riches of *Peru*, and how the *Indians* made them away, and concealed them, is that which he specifies in the 21st Chapter of his Book, as follows : " If, says he, all that which was buried in *Peru*; and in these Countries, were discovered, and brought to use and light, the value of it would be inestimable, and all the possessions of the *Spaniards* inconsiderable in comparison of the hidden treasures : For, says he, I being at *Cusco*, in presence of many Persons of Quality, heard *Paulo* the *Inca* discoursing of this matter, and saying, That if all the Treasures which belonged to the Provinces and Temples, which are now lost, should be again recovered and amassed together, they would be so immense and great, that all the Riches which the *Spaniards* possess, would be no more in comparison of them, than a drop of water is to a whole Bucket : And to make the similitude more clear ; the *Indians* taking a handfull of Grane from a whole measure, said, Thus much the *Christians* have gained ; and the remainder is lodged there, where neither we, nor any else is able to assign : Whatsoever this Treasure may have been, though the *Spaniards* had not been Masters of it, would certainly have been offered to their Devils, and Temples, and Sepulchres of their Dead ; for the *Indians*, who neither purchase Lands, nor Houses, nor Cities with it, nor esteem it the sinews and nerves of War, do onely Adorn themselves with it, being alive, and bury it with them in their Graves, being dead : Howsoever, in my opinion, it was our duty to have advised the *Indians* of these Errours, and to have made it our business to instruct them in the knowledge of the Gospel, and our Holy Faith, rather than our profession and whole concernment, to fill our Pursets, and enrich our Coffers : These are the Words of *Pedro de Ciega*, in the 21st Chapter of his Book, which I have copied *Verbatim* from thence. This *Inca*, which was called *Paulo*, or by them *Paulhu*, of whom all the *Spanish* Historians make mention, was one of the many Sons of *Huayna Capac*, being a Man of Courage, who took the King of *Spain's* side in his Wars against the *Spaniards* ; at his Baptism he took the Name of *Christopher Paulhu*, to whom my Master *Garcilasso de la Vega* was Godfather, as also to his Brother *Titu Agu*, who afterwards was Baptized by the Name of *Philip*, in respect to *Philip* the Second, then Prince of *Spain* ; I was well acquainted with them both, as also with their Mother called *Amas*, though the two Sons died soon afterwards.

Lopez de Gomara writing of the Riches of the Kings of *Peru*, in the 122d Chapter of his Book, hath these very words : " All the Utensils of *Inca's* Houles, Table and Kitchen, were all of Gold and Silver, at least of Silver and Copper. " In the with-drawing Rooms and Antichambers, were Statues of Gold cast in the form of Giants, and the Figures of all kinds of Animals in a like large proportion, as also Trees and Herbs, Fishes of the Sea, and fresh Waters of all sorts, which their Kingdom produced : they had also Ropes and Chains, Baskets and Hampers of Gold and Silver, and Faggots of Gold, piled up in Stacks, as if they were intended for fuel : In short, there was no Figure of any Creature in the whole Kingdom, which they did not imitate, and represent in Gold : They report also that the *Inca* had a Garden situated in an Island near to *Puna*, where being desirous to enjoy the Air of the Sea, they passed over to diversify, and recreate themselves ; and therein were Trees, and Plants, and Flowers made " all

" all of Gold and Silver, with rare Art and Invention : On the other side of this Island were vast heaps of Gold and Silver laid up, with intention to carry it to *Cusco*, that it might be worked there ; all which was lost by the Death of *Guscar* : For the *Indians* observing that the *Spaniards* thirsted after Gold, and transported all into *Spain*, that they could seize, and lay their hands upon ; they made it away, and concealed as much of it as they were able. Thus far are the Words of *Lopez de Gomara*. As to the Garden, which he says, the Kings of *Peru* had near *Puna*, in which all Creatures were represented in Gold and Silver ; he particularly specifies that place, because that when the *Spaniards* came in, it was the onely Garden which continued in its Beauty and Ornaments ; for the *Indians*, in despite of their Enemies, destroyed all the rest, and confounded the Riches of them in such manner, as are never to be recovered ; in which Relation this Authour, and all other *Spanish* Historians, do agree. That infinite treasure of Gold and Silver, which he says, was heaped up with intention to be carried to *Cusco*, and there worked, was the surplussage of what remained, after all the Royal Palaces were furnished, and adorned in the manner we have before related. This may not seem incredible to those who have accounted and observed those vast and immense quantities of Gold and Silver, which have been transported from our Country into *Spain*, there having passed over the Bar of *St. Lucar*, in the Year 1595, in the space of eight Months, onely five and thirty Millions in Gold and Silver.

CHAP. III.

Of the Servants of the Court, and those who carried the King's Chair, or Sedan.

THE Servants destined for the Services of the Court were many in number, such as Sweepers, Carriers of Water, and Cleavers of Wood, Cooks, Butlers, Porters, Keepers of the Ward-rope, and of the Jewels, Gardiners and Stewards of the Household ; in short, there were as many Officers and Servants retained in this Court, as in the most magnificent and splendid Palaces of our Kings, or Emperours : But herein there was something different from our Courts ; for here particular Men had not the charge of an Office committed to them ; but it was the care, or incumbence of two or three Provinces to provide sufficient Men for every Office, such as were faithful, diligent and dexterous for the place ; and such a number of them, as that they might take their turns by Days, or Weeks, or Months, as often as they should think fit to exchange them. This being part of the Tribute which was exacted from every Province, great care was taken in the choice of able Men ; for that the default, or crime, of every particular person, reflected on the whole Province, who made themselves answerable for his good behaviour, and were accordingly punished with such severity, as all offences against the Royal Majesty did require. And since we have spoken of Hevers of Wood, we must not understand, as if these were sent into the Mountains to cut and fell Trees ; but such Timber or Wood as was brought by the Vassals in payment of their Tribute, was received by these Officers, and by them and their Assistants laid up, and stowed in the Houles for that purpose : The like may we understand of all other Offices, wherein there was no servile labour appointed ; his Royal Person, which was the greatest honour and happiness that any one could aspire unto.

Those who were qualified to be Servants and Officers in the Court, were people of the Neighbourhood, and parts adjacent, within five or six Leagues of the City

City of *Cusco*, and were the Generation or Children of those Fathers whom the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, sent abroad to instruct and reduce the wild Salvages of those times to a Humane manner of living; and to whom, as a particular note and favour of distinction from the more rude and uncivilized Nations, he bestowed the Honour and Title of *Incas*, with privilege to wear the Habit and Wreath belonging to the Royal Person. As we have declared at the beginning of this History.

The Sedan-men that were appointed to carry the *Inca* in his Chair of Gold upon their Shoulders, were always chosen out of two Provinces, which have the same Name, and border one upon the other, being both called *Rucana*; but for distinction sake, one was called *Huain Rucana*, or *Rucana Major*: the Inhabitants thereof are a strong, nervous people, healthy and well-complexioned, and about fifteen thousand Inhabitants in number. These people had a custome to train up the Young Men at about twenty years of Age to carry Chairs steady, and without tottering or stumbling; for in case any Man should be so unfortunate as to fall, or stumble, in carrying the *Inca*, the Chief or Cape of these Sedan-men was obliged to punish him with some notorious disgrace, and cashier him from farther service of the *Incas*; as is practised also in *Spain*; and as a certain Historian reports, the misfortune of such a failure was punished with Death. This Service was the Tribute which this people paid the *Incas*, who being many in number, took their turns, so that the attendance was the less grievous; and in regard it was a singular honour to carry the *Inca's* Person, his weight seemed no burthen; of which so much care was taken, that left by mischance any of the Chair-men should stumble, or fall, there were twenty four or twenty five Men attending on each side ready to catch the seat, and prevent the fall.

The Provision of Victuals for the Court, especially of Flesh, was very great, because that all those of the Royal Family residing in the City, were supplied out of the King's Kitchen: Howsoever, there was no great consumption of Bread made of *Mayz*, because no other provision was made thereof, than what was sufficient for the immediate Attendants in the Family; for all Houses and Families had their separate Allowances of Bread laid up in their Store-houses, as we have before mentioned. All sorts of Game, such as Deer, Stags, Wild Goats, and the like, were not ordinarily killed for common provision of the Court, or the Tables of the *Curacas*, or Lords; but were reserved for Sports and Hunting, which they called *Chaca*; and the Flesh, and Wool, and Skins of such Game as was taken, was afterwards distributed amongst the Poor and Rich: of which we shall treat in a particular Chapter.

The Drink spent in the Court of the *Inca* was great; for in regard that their courtship was such, as to make every one drink that came thither; whether they were *Curacas*, or Commoners, or came upon business, or on visits, or complements; there was no set or established Allowance for it, but the entertainment was free without measure or account, and the quantity consumed was almost incredible.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

Of the great Halls, and Rooms of State, and other things belonging to the Court.

IN many of the King's Palaces were long and spacious Galleries, of about two hundred paces in length, and about fifty or sixty in breadth, wherein they often danced and celebrated their Feasts at those seasons of the year, when the Rains and bad weather incommoded them in the open Air. I remember that in *Cusco* I saw four of these Galleries, which when I was a Child, were still in being, and not ruined: One of them was in *Amaruancha* Street, where *Hernando Pizarro* then lived, and is now the Jesuits College: The other was in *Cassana* Street, but now built and converted into Shops, the Rent of which belonged to my School-fellow *John de Cillorico*: Another was in *Colcampata* Alley, where the *Inca Paulus*, and his Son *Don Carlos*, who also was my School-fellow, had a Rent in Houses: This Gallery was the least of all the four, and the biggest was that of *Cassana*, being capable to receive three thousand persons. It is wonderful to consider, where it was possible for them to find Timbers so long and square, as were fit for the Roofs of such Edifices. The fourth Gallery is now turned into the Cathedral Church. One thing is remarkable, that the *Indians of Peru* in building their Houses, did never raise one Story above another, nor did they join one Room to another, but always left some space or distance of one Chamber from the other, and perhaps a whole Court-Yard, or Quadrangle, between, unless sometimes to their large Halls they built at the corners some Closets, or withdrawing Rooms, for better convenience; and in the Divisions they made of their several Offices, they raised Walls of Apartment to keep them private one from the other. It is farther also observable, that when they had built the four Walls of Stone or Brick for a House or Chamber, they erected Pillars, or Posts, in the middle of it, for support of the Roof; for they knew not how to cross their Beams, or Rafters, or how to fasten them with Nails, or Wooden Pins, but laid their Timbers loose upon the Walls, fastning them onely to each other with Sparr, or Cords made of Straw, or Rushes, as strong as their Hempen Ropes. These main Beams they crossed with Rafters, fastning them one to the other; on which they laid a covering of Straw so thick, that the Thatch was a Yard deep, extending its Eaves above a Yard over the Walls, so as to be a Pend-house to them to preserve them from the Rain. I remember that in the Vally of *Tucay* I once saw one of these large Rooms, which was about seventy Foot square, covered in form of a Pyramid; the Spire of which was twelve Rod high, though the Walls were not above three, having two little Chambers on each side. This Building was not burnt by the *Indians*, when they made their general Insurrection against the *Spaniards*; for though they destroyed many other Houses of pleasure in that Vally, the Ruines of which I have seen; yet they spared this Structure out of respect to their *Incas*, who had frequented this place, being a large and open Square, or Quadrangle, which served for a wide and spacious Theatre whereon to represent their shows and sports at the times of their principal Festivals.

Besides the Walls of Stone, they made also Walls of Clay, which they formed in Caves or Moulds, for that purpose, mixing the Clay with Straw for better binding. The Moulds they made as little, or as large as they pleased in measure, or proportion to the Wall; the shortest were about a Yard long, and about the sixth part of a Yard broad, and of a like thickness; which, after they had well dried in the Sun, they laid them one upon another in order; and after that they had lain two or three Years under covering from the Sun, and the Water, so that they were fully dried; they then used them in their Buildings, as we do our Bricks, cementing them with the same Clay, well tempered, and mixed with Straw.

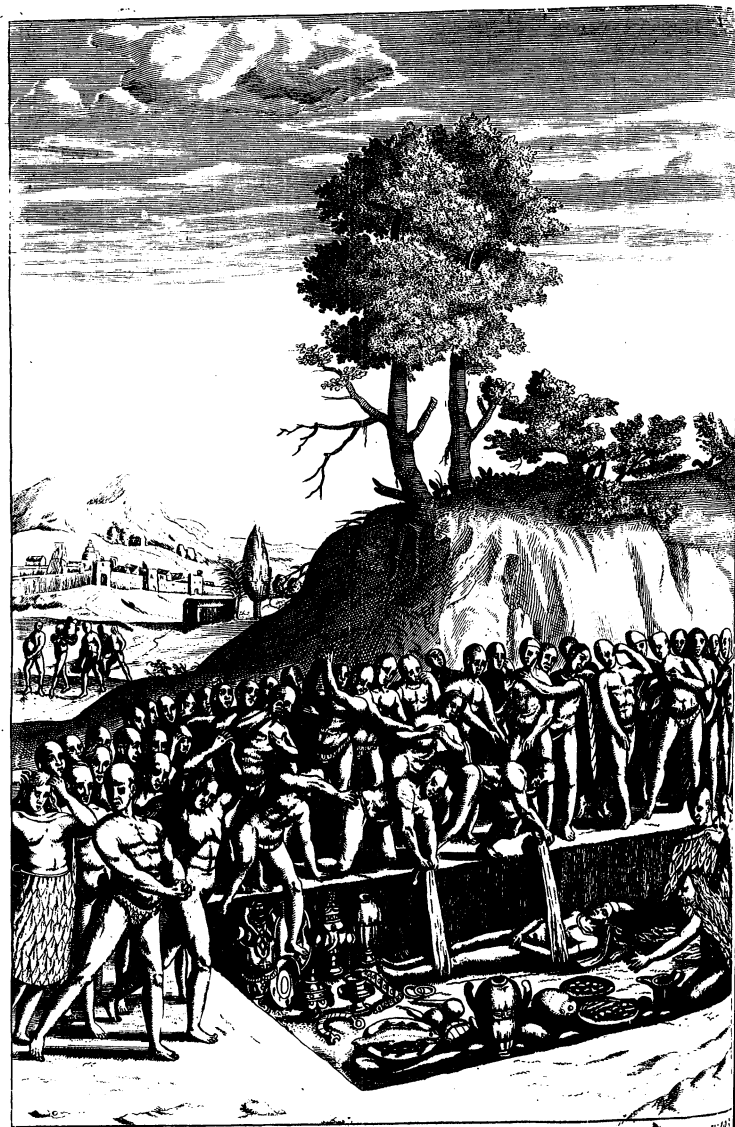
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They knew not how to make Mud-Walls, nor did the *Spaniards* use other than Clay, in making their Sun-burnt Bricks. In case any of these great Houses which we have mentioned should by any accident have been burnt, they did not build again upon the same Walls; because, as they said, the Straw which strengthened and bound the Clay, and made it firm, and solid, being consumed by the fire, the Wall must necessarily be weakened, and the Clay become loose, and unable to bear the weight of the roof and covering which was laid upon it; but this was but an erroneous conceit of theirs, for I have seen and observed several of the Walls of those Houses, which have been burnt, that have remained firm and solid as before.

So soon as the King happened to dye, they presently locked the door of the Chamber where he did usually sleep, with all the Ornaments and Riches of Gold and Silver, which furnished it, or were found therein at the time of his death; and this Chamber was in this manner kept always locked, that none should enter; for that place being ever afterwards esteemed sacred, was not to be profaned by the Feet of any; onely the room was without-fide kept and maintained in good repair. The like Ceremony was observed in the Chambers of all the other Royal Palaces, where the *Inca* had reposed and slept, though it had been but the space of one night, as he travelled, or in a journey where he passed: And then immediately they fell to building other Chambers for the living Successour, in place of those which had been shut up at the death of the late King.

All the Vessels and Services of Gold and Silver, which belonged to the former *Inca*, such as Cups, Jarres, or Goblets of Gold, in which he drank, as also all the Dishes and Plates of his Kitchen, with Cloths, and Jewels, appertaining to his Person, were all buried and interred in the same Grave with him; which absurdity proceeded from an opinion they had, that the *Inca* would have occasion of such Utensils and Services in the next World. All the other Ornaments of Majesty and State which belonged to the Chambers, Gardens, Baths, and the like, were the Inheritance of the Successour, and converted to his use and Service.

All the Wood and Water which was consumed in the *Inca's* Court at *Cusco*, was brought thither by the People of the four Divisions, (called *Tawantinsuyu*) being the Inhabitants nearest adjacent to the City, that is within fifteen or twenty Leagues about. The Water which they used for their beverage, (which in their Language they call *Aca*) was a sort of heavy water, and something brackish; and indeed they did not much desire a sweet and light Water, for they were of opinion it made them lean, and would not stick by the ribs, but easily corrupted in the Stomach; for this reason the *Indians* not being curious in their Waters, did not delight in fountains, or clear Springs; nor indeed was there any good Water near the City of *Cusco*. When my Father, after the War of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, in the Year 1555. and ---56. was Governour of the City, they then brought their Water from *Ticatica*, which water was excellent good, arising about a quarter of a League from the Town, to the chief Market-place; from whence, as I hear, they have now turned it by a Conduit pipe, to the Square of *St. Francisco*; and instead thereof they have brought another Fountain to that place, of exquisite Water, running with a plentiful stream.



CHAP. V.

Of the manner how they Interred their Kings; and that the Obsequies and Rites of Burial continued for the space of a whole Year.

THE Rites of Burial which they performed for their Kings were solemn, and of long continuance. In the first place they embalmed their Bodies with such rare Art, that (as we have said before) in the year 1559. they were so firm and plump, that they seemed to be living Flesh. Their Bowels were interred in a Temple, which was situated in the Countrey, called *Tampu*, upon the Banks of a River, below *Tucay*, about five Leagues distant from the City of *Cusco*, where were many stately Edifices of Stone. Of which *Pedro de Cieza* speaking in the 94th Chapter of his Book, saith that it was reported for certain, how that in some places of the Palace, or Temple of the Sun, the Stones were joined or cramped with melted Gold, which with the cement they used, were well fixed and consolidated together.

When the *Inca*, or some principal *Curaca* dyed, the Servants, who were his greatest Favourites, and the Wives, that were the most beloved by him, did either kill themselves, or offer themselves to be buried alive in the Tomb of their Masters, that so they might accompany them into the other World, and renew their immortal Services in the other Life, which, as their Religion taught them, was a corporeal, and not a spiritual Being; whereby it may appear, that what some Historians write relating to this matter, namely, that they killed the Servants after the death of their Masters, is a mistake; for that would have been a piece of Tyranny, and Inhumanity, above the capacity of humane Nature; for under this pretence one Man might lawfully kill another, and remove him out of the way who was hateful to him, or stood in opposition to his Designs or Interests. The truth is, they needed no Law or compulsion to enforce them to follow the Fate of their Master; for when he was dead, his Servants crowded so fast after him, desiring death, that the Magistrates were forced sometimes to interpose with their Authority, and persuade them, that for the present their Master had no need of more attendance, but that in due time, when they naturally yielded to their own Mortality, it might then be seasonable enough for them to repair to their Services and Offices in the other World.

The Bodies of their Kings, after they were embalmed, were seated before the Image of the Sun, in the Temple at *Cusco*, to whom they offered Sacrifices, as to Demons, or Men of Divine Race. For the first month after the death of the *Inca*, the whole City bewailed their loss with loud cries and lamentations, and every Parish, or quarter of the Town, went out in their several Divisions into the fields, carrying the Trophies of the *Inca*, his Banners, and Arms, and Garments, and whatsoever was to be buried in the grave with his Bowels; with their sighs and lamentations they mentioned and repeated the mighty Acts that he had done in the Wars, and the good Acts of Charity and Beneficence that he had shewed to them and their Neighbourhood. After the end of the first month, they then commemorated the Death of their *Inca*, at the Full and New of the Moon, and so continued till the end of the first Year, when they concluded the solemnity with full pomp and state, appointing Men and Women practised in the Art of Cries and Lamentations, who, like excellent Tragedians, acted their parts of sorrow in the most formal and passionate manner imaginable, singing the Acts of the dead King in sorrowfull Tones and Accents. What we have said hitherto, was the part onely of the Commonalty, besides which the Court and Nobility performed the Obsequies with as much difference to those of the people, as there

was of Eminence in their condition, and of Wealth and Politeness in the manner of their living.

What was practised in the City of this kind was also imitated in the Countries, the respective *Curacas* stirring up the people to demonstrate by their outward gestures and actions, their inward sorrow and passion for the death of their *Inca*. With these Cries and Lamentations they went to visit all the places within their Province, where at any time their *Inca* had pitched his Camp, or made his abode or residence, though but for a night; and there they all with loud Lamentations repeated the Favours, and Honours, and Benefits that he had performed for them in that place. And thus much shall serve to have said touching the Funeral of the *Incas*, in imitation of which, something of this nature was performed in honour of their *Caciques*, of which I remember to have seen some passages in the time of my infant Years; for in the Province of the *Quechuas*, I once saw a multitude of people gathered in a field, to lament the Death of a *Cacique*, carrying his Garments upon Poles, in fashion of Banners, or Ensignes; my curiosity prompted me to ask them what all that noise and tumult meant; to which they answered me, that it was the Funeral Lamentation of *Huamam-pallpa*, for so they called the deceased *Cacique*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the General and Solemn Huntings which the Kings made in all parts of their Kingdom.

THE Kings of Peru enjoyed, with their other parts of Greatness and State, certain days appointed for Solemn and General Huntings, called in their Tongue *Chacu*. And herein it is to be observed, that all sorts of Game were forbidden to be killed, unless Partridges, Pigeons, Doves, or lesser Birds, for the Service and Table only of the *Incas*, who were Governours, or of the *Curacas*; nor was thus much permitted neither, but under a limited quantity, and by command and order also of the Justice.

This prohibition was observed under the same penalties that all other observances of their Law were enjoined, and herein they were rigorous, and severe, lest Men betaking themselves to the pleasure of the Field, should delight in a continued course of sports, and so neglect the necessary provisions and maintenance of their Families.

By which strict restraint the Game both of Birds and Beasts was so common, and in abundance, and tame, that they entered even into their Houses; where though they could not kill them, yet howsoever they might affright and drive them out of their Fields and Pastures; for that though the *Inca* was Master of the Game, yet he loved his Subjects better than to have them prejudiced by Laws which were made for the good, and not for the detriment of his People.

At a certain season of the Year, after breeding-time was over, the *Inca* appointed a place for Hunting, where either his own pleasure directed, or where was most convenient for his Affairs, either of War or Peace; and there he appointed 20 or 30000 *Indians* to encompass all that space of Land, which was designed for the Hunt; half of whom taking to the Right-hand, and the other half to the Left, were to beat twenty or thirty Leagues round, by the sides of Rivers, and Brooks, and through woody and mountainous places; wheresoever the limits and bounds of the chase did extend, but by no means were they to touch or encroach on other Lands, which were laid out for the Hunt of the following year. Thus they went beating and peeping into every bush, and when they

they saw or met any game, they hooped and hollowed to give notice thereof to their Companions, and so marched along till they came so to straiten the beasts on all sides with a narrow compass; that they could come and take them up with their very hands.

What fierce Beasts they encountered, as they beat the Woods and Mountains, such as Lions, Bears, Foxes, Mountain-Cats, which they call *Orcollo*, as also Serpents and venomous Creatures they killed before they came within the Field, or Circle of their Hunting. We make no mention here of Tygers, because there were none in those Countries, but only in the vast and horrid Mountains of *Andes*. What number of Game they might kill at such a Hunting, is uncertain, that happening according to the Country, and their fortune; for sometimes they killed twenty, thirty or forty thousand head of Beasts, such as Stags, Fallow Deer, the *Huanacu* which yields a sort of coarse Wool, and the *vicuna*, which is a Goat with very fine Wool; with many other Creatures, which afforded not only profit, but sport and pastime in the taking of them. Such in those times was the abundance of their Game; but now it is said, that such havock hath been made by the Guns which the *Spaniards* use, that there is scarce a *Huanacu*, or *vicuna* to be found; but what are affrighted into the Mountains, and inaccessible places, where no path or way can be made.

All the Game being thus surrounded and encompassed, they took up with their hands. The Female Deer, whether red or fallow, they suffered to escape, because they had no Wool, but old and barren Does they killed: they let go also as many Males as were thought necessary to serve the Females, and all the rest they killed, and divided their Flesh amongst the Commonalty, likewise having from the *Huanacu* and the *vicuna*, they let them escape, keeping an exact account of all these wild Cattel, as if they had been tame Flocks, noting them in their *Quipu*, which is their Book of Register, distinguishing the Males from their Females in exact and orderly manner. They likewise noted the Number of the Beasts they killed, as well such as were fierce and hurtful, as those that were tame and usefull, that so knowing the direct Numbers that remained, they might the better see at their next Hunting season, how their stock was multiplied and increased.

The coarse Wool of the *Huanacu* was distributed amongst the common people; and that of the *vicuna*, because it was very fine, was reserved for the *Inca*, who divided it also amongst the *Incas* of his Kindred: For besides them, no other upon pain of Death might presume to wear it, unless in favour; some part thereof was given to a particular *Curaca*, who upon no other terms could pretend to that honour and privilege. The Flesh of the *Huanacu* and *vicuna* was distributed amongst the common people, with whom the *Curacas* would vouchsafe to take some part, as also of the Venison; not that they wanted it, but to shew their complaisance and familiarity with the people; and that they who laboured in the Hunting, did not scorn to receive their share of the prey.

These general and solemn Huntings were appointed every fourth Year in the respective Divisions; for the *Indians* were of opinion, that in such time the Wool of the *vicuna* would be at its full growth, and that the wild Cattel would have time to increase; and would be less affrighted at the approach of Men, than if they were every year reared and hunted: Howsoever, they hunted in one place or other every year; but with such method and order, that the Provinces being divided into four parts, each division took its turn but once in four years.

In this orderly manner and method the *Incas* appointed the times of Hunting, as well for the pleasure and delight, as for the profit of his people; it being an opinion amongst them, that the *Pachacamac*, or the God and Creatour of all things, had commanded that the same care should be taken of the wild, as of the tame Flocks; and that they were to destroy the hurtful and devouring Beasts, as they were to cut and root out noxious Weeds or Herbs out of their Corn, and Fields that were sown. And since we observe the order which these *Incas* directed in their very Huntings, which they called *Chacu*; how can we doubt, but that these people maintained the like in matters of Government, and things of greater importance, and were not so brutish and salvage as the World hath figured them. It is farther to be noted, that the Beza-stone brought from that Country, (in the goodness whereof there is great difference) was taken from some of those wild cattel, which we have before mentioned.

According to the same form and method the *Incas*, who were Vice-Kings, praised and regulated their Huntings in their respective Provinces, at which they were for the most part personally present; not onely for pleasure and recreation, but to inspect and oversee the just and due distribution of the Venison taken in Hunting amongst the common people; and see that those also who were old, or sick, or infirm, should have their share and just proportion.

Unless it were the *Collas*, the Commonalty in general were so poor in Cattel, that they seldom or never eat Flesh, but what was dispensed to them by the Charity and Beneficence of their *Curacas*; unless sometimes they killed a few tame Conies which they kept and fed in their Houses, called by them *Coy*: So that the *Inca*, and the *Curacas*, took great care, that an equal division should be made amongst the Commonalty of all the Venison which was taken in Hunting: the which Flesh they cut out into large slices, (called *Charqui*) and then dried them in such manner, that they were not subject to corrupt; and being abstemious and frugal in their diet, their provision served them for the whole year round, untill the next season of Hunting returned again.

In dressing their Meat, they used all sorts of Herbs, whether sweet, or bitter, or fower, or of any quality, but such as were poisonous or hurtfull: The bitter Herbs they did usually boil in two or three several Waters, and then dried them in the Sun, and used them at those seasons when green were not to be procured. And so fond they were of green Herbs, that they would eat the Duck-weed which grows in Ponds; which after they had well washed and dried, they would eat in the season; as also Herbs raw or crude, such as Lettuce and Radishes, which were esteemed substantial Dishes, rather than Salads, or Sauces to provoke an appetite.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Posts, and the Dispatches which they carried.

THE Posts, or Carriers, who were intrusted with the charge of carrying the King's Orders and Commands were called *Chasqui*; and these also brought the News and Advices to the Court from the most remote Provinces: In settlement of which Posts, they ordained and appointed four or six nimble *Indian* Boys to be laid at the end of every quarter of a League, and lodged under a Stall like that of our Centinels, to defend them from the Sun and Rain. These had the charge of carrying the Message from one Post to another, and to take their turns in running; and also of falling out to see or discover at a distance the coming of a Post, that so they might be ready to take his message without loss of time. And these Stalls, or Lodges, were raised something high, and placed with that advantage, that they might be seen at a distance, and not farther than a quarter of a League one from the other; being so much as they said, a Man may be able to run in full breath and strength.

The word *Chasqui* signifies changing, or giving, or taking, for they gave and received their Messages interchangeably one from the other. They were not called *Cacha*, for that signifies a Messenger, and, as they used it, an Ambassadour, whom they sent to Sovereign Lords and Princes. The Advices which the *Chasqui* carried were by word of mouth, for the *Indians* did not understand Letters: Wherefore the Messages were ordered, and disposed in such short and concise words, as were easily apprehended and remembered. He that brought the Message, before he came to the Lodge, cried loud, and called out as he ran to give warning of his coming, as our Posts wind their Horn to give notice at the Stage of their near approach; and when he was come, he then delivered his Message to the other Post-boy, repeating the words two or three times, untill he had rightly

rightly understood them, and taken the words so perfectly, as to be guilty of no mistake.

If there were any other Messages, they were committed to writing, and not to word of mouth: Writing, I mean, not such as we deliver and exprets in Letters, but in Knots made up in different threads of various colours, which served for cyphers, which were well understood by the *Inca* and his Governours: For by these Knots and Colours of thread, they specified what number of Souldiers, what Garments, what Provisions, and what other necessaries were to be furnished, and put into a readines for the service of the Army. These knotted threads, which the *Indians* called *Quipa*, were the Cyphers which they used in all their Ad- vices, and the Figures in their Accounts: of which we shall treat more at large in the following Chapter. But as to these *Chasqui*, or Post-boys, when at any time any extraordinary business was in action, they increased them often to ten or twelve in number at every Stage. And to make these Posts the more ready and quick; if at any time an extraordinary occasion happened, they gave their Signal in the day-time to them by making a smoke, and in the night-time by the flame of a Beacon; which being discovered at a distance, it served as a warning to every Stage to have their Posts in a readines, and to watch night and day for the coming of this Message. But these Beacons were never fired but on some great occasion of Rebellion, or Insurrection of a Province, that so the news of it might speedily arrive at Court in the space of two or three hours, though it hap- pen five or six hundred Leagues from thence; the which served to give an Alla- rum untill such time as the particulars of the News arrived with greater certainty. And this was the Office and Use of the *Chasqui*.

CHAP. VIII.

That they made their Reckonings and Accounts by Threads and Knots; and that the Accountants were Men of great faith and integrity.

Quipa signifies as much as Knots, and sometimes Accounts; in ordering of which, the *Indians* dyed their Threads with divers colours; some were of one colour onely, some of two, others of three, or more; which, with the mixed co- lours, were of divers and various significations. These strings were twisted of three or four Threads, and about three quarters of a Yard in length; all which they filed on another string in fashion of a Fringe. And by these colours they understood the number and meaning of every particular: By the yellow they sig- nified Gold, by the white Silver, by the red Souldiers and Armies, and so of other things distinguished by their colours.

But as for other things which could not be so distinguished by Colours, they de- scribed them by their order and degrees of quality and goodness: For as we in *Spain* take every thing in their degrees of comparison, so they having occasion to men- tion Corn, do first nominate Wheat, then Barly, then Pease and Pulse, &c. So when they gave an account of Arms; the first mentioned were the most Noble, such as Lances, next Darts, then Bows and Arrows, Pole-axes and Hatchets, and so forward. So when they had occasion to number the people and several Fami- lies: The first were Aged Men of seventy years and upwards, then Men of fifty, and so to seventy, then of forty; and so from ten to ten, untill they came to sucking Children: The which Order also was kept in numbring their Women. Then amongst these grosser strings, there were others which were more short, and slender adjoining to them; and these were Exceptions to the other more ge- neral

neral Rules; for in the account made of Men and Women married, there was another string annexed to it, which signified Widows, and Widowers of such an age; all which accounts served only for one Year.

These Knots expressed numbers in their several orders, as by units, tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, but seldom went so far as to hundreds of thousands; but in case they should have had occasion to have arisen to so great a number, no doubt but their Language, which is full and copious, would have found words sufficient to express that sum; and the greatest number to which Arithmetick could arrive. All which Accounts were made by Knots on strings, one underneath the other, and knit on a cord, as the knots are on the Girdle of St. Francis.

At the top of the cord the greatest number was placed, as the tens of thousands, under that stood the thousands, and last of all was the place of the units; all which were placed directly with exactness one under the other, as our good Accountants, well skilled in the Art of Cyphering, are used to set and place their figures. The *Indians* who kept the *Quipus*, or to whose charge the keeping of Accounts was committed, were called *Quipucamayus*, and were esteemed Men of good reputation, and chosen for that Service, on good assurance and proof of their fidelity and honesty; and though the simplicity of those people in that Age was without any mixture of malice, and that the strictness of the government admitted no cheats, or frauds on any score whatsoever; yet notwithstanding great care was taken to chuse Men for this work of approved Ability, and of a tried and experienced Faithfulness and Probity. For indeed Offices were never amongst them chosen for favour, nor bought, or sold, because that Money was not current amongst them; but it was Virtue and Merit only which purchased a Trust and Office: And though buying and selling was not known to them, yet it was ordinary for them to truck or barter their provisions of Food one for the other; but nothing else either of Garments, Houses, or Inheritance.

The *Quipucamayus*, or Accountants, being honest and faithful, (as we have said) served in the nature of Registers, of which there were four at least appointed for every Lineage, or People, how little soever it were; and in case the Country was great, they entertained twenty or thirty; for though one Accountant might have served the turn, yet to avoid all mistakes and frauds, they judged it requisite to constitute many in an Office of such importance.

CHAP. IX.

*What it was that they set down and placed in their Accounts;
and how they understood them.*

ALL the Tribute that was yearly payable to the *Inca*, was passed to account, as also what every Family, according to their degrees, and qualities, were to pay. The people likewise which went to the War were numbered; and Bills of Mortality were kept of as many as dyed, and were born, or miscarried by any accident; which were all noted in the months wherein they happened. In short, they noted every thing that could fall under Numeration, as how many Battels or Skirmishes were fought, how many Ambassadors had been sent to the *Inca*, and how many Answers the King had been pleased to return thereunto. But what the substance of those Embassies was, or what were the particulars of the King's Discourse, or what occurrences passed in way of History, were too various to be expressed by the barrenness of their Knots, which served only for numbers, but not for words; wherefore to supply this defect they framed certain historical Hieroglyphicks, which served for Monuments, in an obscure manner, of what

had occurred in War and Peace; as also of Embassies from foreign Princes, and the several Negotiations with them; which Work was the Office of the *Quipucamayus*, who made some short and concise Memoir, leaving the rest to the remembrance of the Age, who by tradition conferred the same to succeeding Generations: And herein every Province was particularly attent, and careful to conserve the History of its own Country; for on that, and on the Actions of their Ancestours, they much esteemed and valued themselves. The *Amautas*, or Philosophers, for a farther help to History, did compose certain Novels, or Fables, mixed with true passages, which they made so familiar, and easy to the capacity of Children, and common People, that they attentively hearkened to them, and were so pleased with them, that recounting them one to the other in common Discourse, and way of Conversation, they so inculcated them into the minds of the hearers, that the Tale becoming common, was transferred from one Generation to another. The Poets likewise, whom they call *Haravicus*, were great Conservators of History; for they in verse, and in short and compendious Sentences couched the Actions of their King, such as the Embassies he received, the Answers he gave, the Battels he won, and the Triumphs he celebrated; and that wherein the *Quipus*, and the *Amautas* came short, was all supplied by the fancy of Poets, whose Verses served for Sonnets, and Ballads, which they sang at their Festivals, and on the days of Triumph. All which notwithstanding were faint Representations and imperfect Conservatories of true History, in comparison of the Reports we deliver to faithful Writings and Letters, which perpetuate the memory of Actions to all Ages. Howsoever we may here observe the ingenuity of that people, who assayed and offered at something like our Letters, though it were by Knots, and Novels, and Hieroglyphicks, and Verses; such is the desire of Mankind to perpetuate their Beings in the memory and minds of all Ages.

When any *Curaca*, or Noble Person, desired to know, and be informed of things passed, and matters occurring in their Provinces, they presently sent to the *Quipucamayus* to be satisfied in their demands; and they, or their Under-Officers, who kept the Registers, making search into their Knots and Cyphers, made such Answers as appeared in their Register.

By the same Rule, they answered the Enquiries made of Laws, and Rites, and Ceremonies, which were expressed by the colour of their Knots; and of what punishment was inflicted for such and such Crimes. By the same Rule also they were put in mind of the Sacrifices and Ceremonies which were to be performed at the several Festivals, celebrated in honour of the Sun; with what provision was made for Orphans, and Widows, and Poor, and Travellers, and of all other matters which were committed to the custody of Tradition: For these several Knots served to put them in mind of all particulars, which they desired to have remembered; for as we by the number Ten remember the ten Commandments, and by other numbers call to mind the Sacraments, good Works, and Acts of Mercy, which we learn in our Catechism, so these *Indians*, by these Knots, and Strings, and Colours, remembered more perfectly what their Fathers had delivered to them by Tradition; which they regarded with respect and reverence due to the sacred Conservatories of that Law, and Idolatrous Religion, which they professed; for without this help, having no Writings, they would certainly have been as ignorant of their own History, as the *Spaniards* themselves are, or any other Strangers, or Aliens. The knowledge which I had of their *Quipus*, and Knots, I gained by the means of some *Indians*, who served my Father, and of certain *Curacas*, who came every Midsummer and Christmas to the City, to pay their Tribute; and these *Curacas* desired my Mother that she would prevail with me faithfully to examine their Accounts, and read the Acquaintances which the *Spaniards* had given them, for they were jealous of their actions, and reposed much more confidence in me, than in them; which when I had perused, and read to them, they compared them with their Knots, and finding them to agree, they remained satisfied. And by this means I came to have some knowledge in their way of Accounts.

C H A P. X.

The Inca Pachacutec visits several parts of his Empire, and conquers the Nation of Huanca.

THE *Inca Viracocha* being dead, *Pachacutec*, his legitimate Son and Heir, succeeded in the Empire, and having solemnly performed the funeral Rites of his Father, he resided for three Years at his Court, attending to the due administration of his Government. Afterwards he took a progress into all parts of his Dominions, passing orderly from one Province to another; and though the presence of the *Inca* might seem of no moment, in regard the Lords, and Governours were so diligent, and faithfull to their trust, that the *Inca*, in all the way he travelled, received no complaints from the people of Aggrievances and Oppressions, laid illegally on them by their Rulers; for the frequent appearance of the *Inca* at certain times, did so overawe the Ministers, that they were fearfull to act any thing which was not permitted to them by Law or Equity. Moreover the appearance of the *Inca* personally before his Subjects, gave them the opportunity to prefer their Petitions, and offer their Complaints by way of immediate Address, which was much more beneficial to the Subjects, than to have their Aggrievances made known by a third hand, which by favour or friendship might disguise the laments, and make Injustices appear less than they were, to the prejudice of the Plaintiffs; and herein such care was taken, that never any people, who lived by the mere Light of Nature, and Law of Reason, did ever surpass the equitable proceedings of the *Incas*, which indifference, and unbiassed judgment, gained them that love of their people, that even to this day, and to many future Ages, will their Memory be sweet and precious. At the end of three Years this *Inca* returned again to his City, and left he should seem to spend all his time in Peace and Repose, he judged it convenient to attend at length unto military Exercises, and gain the Reputation of a Souldier by War, as well as of a civil and just Governour in the time of Peace; to this end he raised an Army of thirty thousand Men, with which together with his Brother *Capac Yupanqui*, a valiant Man, and worthy of that name, he marched through all the Division of *Chinchafuyu*, untill he came to *Villica*, which was the utmost extent on that side of their Conquests.

There he remained himself, whilst he sent his Brother with an Army well furnished with all provisions of War, into the Province called *Sansa*, which the *Spaniards* corruptly call *Xauxa*, which is a most pleasant Countrey, containing about thirty thousand inhabitants, all of the same Lineage and Name of *Huanca*. They boasted themselves to be descended from one Man, and one Woman, which they say had their Original from a Fountain; they were a sort of fierce and warlike people, fearing those whom they took in the Wars, the Skins of which they filled with Ashes, and hanged them up in their Temples, for Trophies of their Victories; with the Skins of some they made Drums, being of opinion, that the sound of them would terrifie and affright their Enemies. These though they were a small people, yet had well strengthened and fortified themselves, for being all of one Nation, they united their Interests to encroach on the Lands and Territories of their Neighbours; and to make that good which they had acquired, they fortified themselves in such places of Defence, as were accustomary in those Countries.

In the times of their ancient Gentilism before they were reduced under the power of the *Inca*, they worshipped the Image of a Dog in their Temples, eating the Flesh of Dogs for the greatest rarity and delicacy in the World; so that it is believed their Appetite to Dogs-flesh was the original of their Devotion, which was so great to that Beast; that the most solemn Feasts and Entertainments were

served

served with many Dishes of Dogs-flesh; and to demonstrate their great respect to Dogs, they made a sort of Trumpet with their Heads, which they sounded for their most pleasant Musick, at times of their most solemn Festivals, and Dances; and in their Wars they used the same to terrifie and affright their Enemies; for, said they, our God causes these two different Effects by the same Instrument: in us it raises Joy and Delight, and in our Enemies Horror and Con-
 sternation: But all these Superstitions and Errours were quitted, and rooted out by the better Instruction and Rudiments of the *Incas*; howsoever to indulge their humour so far as was warrantable, they permitted them in place of Dogs-heads to make their Trumpets with the Heads of Deer, or Stags, or any other Wild-beast, as they pleased, which afterwards they used at their Festivals and Balls, and times of rejoicing; and because the Flesh of Dogs was so extremely pleasing and savoury to them, they gained the Surname of Dog; that whensoever *Huanca* was named, they added Sir-reverence the Dog. They had likewise another Idol, in figure and shape of a Man, which was an Oracle through which the Devil spoke, and returned Answers to all Demands, which uttering nothing that was in contradiction or disparagement to the Religion which the *Incas* professed, was still conserved, and left undemolished, though the Idol of the Dog was broken down and confounded.

This considerable Nation, and the most kindly affectionate to Dogs, the *Inca Capac Yupanqui* subdued by fair terms, and presents, rather than by force; for this was always the Masterpiece of the *Incas*, who made it their Profession to take the Bodies of Men, by captivating first and alluring their Souls and Minds. All things passing in this manner smoothly with the *Huancas*, and every thing being settled in peace and quietness, the *Inca* divided their Nation into three Divisions, the better to divide and supersede the old Feuds and Disputes amongst them, sing about the Boundaries and Limits of their Land: The first Division they called *Sansa*, the second *Marca villica*, and the third *Llacsapallanca*. The attire of their Heads was ordered not to be altered in the form and manner of it, but differently onely for distinction sake, by variety of colours. This Province, which anciently was called *Huanca*, was by the *Spaniards*, I know not for what reason, named *Huanca villica*, without considering that there is another Province, called *Huanca villica*, not far from *Tumbez*, and three hundred Leagues distant one from the other: This latter is situate on the Sea-coast, and the former far within the Land; the which we here intimate to the Reader, that so he may know in the perusal of this History to distinguish one from the other, that when we shall come to relate many strange occurrences in the Countrey of *Huancavillica*, he may not be confounded by mistaking it for *Huanca*.

D d

C H A P.

C H A P. XI.

Of other Provinces which the Inca subdued; of their Manners and Customs, and the severity they used against those who were guilty of Sodomy.

BY the same good policy the *Inca Capac Tupanqui* allured and invited several other Provinces to submission and Obedience, which extend themselves on both hands of the common road; amongst which the Provinces of principal note and consideration were *Tarma* and *Pompu*, which the *Spaniards* call *Bombon*, being very fertile Soils, and abounding with all sorts of Fruit. These being allured by fair Words, and Promises, gently submitted to the affable and courteous treatment of *Capac Tupanqui*; howsoever these people being warlike, and fierce by Nature, did not entirely yield to the persuasions of their Enemies, but withstood them in some Battels, and Skirmishes, though the Defence they made was rendered more faint than was expected, by the Wheelers, and fine Words, and Gifts of the *Inca*.

The Inhabitants of these Provinces of *Tarma* and *Pompu*, and the borderers upon them, did in sign of Matrimony, seal the Agreement with a kiss, the Bridegroom kissing the Bride on the Fore-head, or the Cheek. Widows could not marry within the Year, and shorn the Hair of their Heads for a sign of Mourning. The Men on their fasting days neither ate Flesh, nor Pepper, nor Salt, nor accompanied with their Wives: Such as were Priests, or addicted themselves much to religious Worship, fasted the whole Year in this kind of Abstinence.

In this manner the *Inca Capac Tupanqui* reduced the Provinces of *Tarma* and *Pompu*, with many others, lying Eastward, near *Antis*; the Natives of which lived like Salvages, without Order, or Government, or Religion; and as Brutes, and Wild-beasts, were dispersed through the Woods and Mountains, killing one the other, as they casually met, or encountered, without knowing or assigning any cause or reason for their Slaughters; these Men lived in a state of common War, because they were ignorant of the usefulness of Peace; and having no Lord or Ruler, had consequently no Name, their Country being only distinguished by the Climate or Position of the Place under such a degree, running thirty degrees North and South, and as many East and West. These were with great facility reduced to the Obedience of the *Incas*, for being a sort of poor simple Animals, which were easily allured by the good was offered them, were willing to embrace the Religion and Manners which were taught them, and to suffer themselves to be carried to any Place or Colony, where the *Inca* should think fit to transport them. Of these People nothing offers farther, nor of any other Province worthy to be related, until we come to the Country of *Chucurpu*, which was well peopled with a warlike Nation, barbarous and fierce in their Nature and manners; and as an evidence hereof, and in a conformity to this humour, they worshipped a Tyger for their God.

The Fierceness and natural Bravery of this Nation made them to scorn all proposals of Accommodation, and bid Defiance to their Enemies; so that *Capac Tupanqui* being put by his Art of gentle Insinuations, was forced to have recourse to his Arms, and engaging in several Skirmishes, wherein above four thousand *Indians* were slain, they at length yielded and submitted themselves to the invincible Powers and force of the *Inca*, which yet had not so great an influence over them, as had the gentle Temper and compassionate Bowels of the *Incas*; for they being sensible, that when it was in the hand of the *Inca* to have destroyed, and totally exterminated them, yet even then he used a tenderness towards them, offering them the conditions of an advantageous Peace; with a sense of which being in part overcome, they assented to an Accommodation, receiving the *Inca Pachac-*

see for their supreme Lord and Master, embracing his Laws and Customs, and forsaking their God the Tyger, they were ever after contented to adore the Sun, and live after the manner of his Followers and Worshipers.

This fierce and resolute people having received Conditions and Terms of Peace, and submitted themselves to the Obedience of the *Inca, Capac Tupanqui*, esteemed his success herein to be a great piece of his Art, and an Effect of his good Conduct, as well as of his Fortune; for had they persisted in that obstinate resolution of dying as one Man, the destruction and slaughter of this whole People, would have blasted that good opinion which the World conceived of the Gentleness and Mercy of the *Inca*; and on the other side for the *Inca*, on consideration of Compassion and good Nature, to have desisted from his Conquests, and left them free, would have argued Cowardise, or want of power to subdue them; so that using force, and fair terms, equally between these two extremes all matters were reconciled, and the Province of *Chucurpu* received into friendship: And so confiding to Law; Garrisons and Souldiers were set over them, to rule them according to their Obedience. Thence taking the right-hand from the great Road, with the same good Fortune and Conduct, he reduced two other Provinces, large and populous, the one was called *Ancara*, and the other *Huaylas*, in which, as in the others, he left Teachers, and Governours, and Souldiers, to keep them in Awe and Obedience. In the Province of *Huaylas* some accusations were brought against certain Persons, who secretly practised that abominable sin of Sodomy; which wickedness having not been as yet known amongst the *Indians* of the hilly Countries, though in the Plains it had some times been secretly practised, gave such a general scandal to all that heard of it, that they detested the Society of the *Huaylas*, and in common Reproach and Derision of that Nation would commonly scoff at them, and say, *Astaya Huaylas*, which is as much, as laugh, be gone *Huaylas*, thou stinkest, and art loathsome; such detestation had the *Indians* of this sin, though it were acted in secret, and had already been severely punished by the *Inca Capac Tupanqui*; who having performed what we have related, and made sufficient provision for security of his Conquests, which reached seventy Leagues in length North and South; and all the Plains in breadth to the foot of the snowy Mountain, he thought it convenient after three years, since the time he had departed from *Cusco*, to return again to the City, where his Brother *Pachacutec* received him with favour and kindness, commanding the People to rejoice for the space of a whole Moon, (for the *Indians* make the account of their Months by Moons) and to celebrate their festival with triumphal sports for the victories obtained.

C H A P. XII.

Of their Edifices, and Laws, and new Conquests obtained by the Inca Pachacutec.

THE Holy-days or Festivals being over, the Officers of the Army, *Curacas* and common Souldiers, were rewarded according to their respective degrees and qualities, and merit of their valour; for the Actions of particular Persons were taken notice of, and as every one signalized himself so was his Reward. Then did the *Inca* resolve again after some few months to visit his Dominions, which were always pleased and enlivened with the Blessing and Favour of his Presence. In the more famous Provinces where he passed, he commanded rich and magnificent Temples to be erected, wherein the *Indians* might with the more awe and reverence adore the Sun; and likewise founded Houses for the select Virgins; for these two were always Neighbours, and where one was, the other was built by it. This great care which the *Incas* took to have their Subjects incited in their Devotion, was a farther endearment of them to their Kings; for it made them not only religious, but gave them the privileges of Naturalization, and being Citizens of the City of *Cuzco*. Besides these Temples he built Fortresses and Castles on the Frontiers, and Royal Palaces in the Vallies, and in the places of best Air and most delightfull situation, and in those parts which were in the common Road and way, at such distances as were most convenient for the *Incas* to take up their Lodgings and Residence, when they travelled or marched with their Army: He also built Magazines, and Store-houses in every Province, for the provision and maintenance of the People in years of Dearth and Famine.

He ordained many Laws and Statutes, indulging to every People and Nation their own ancient Customs, in such things as did not contradict or interfere with the Religion established, or oppose the rules of common honesty; by which gentleness the people lived without Tyranny or Compulsion, not being sensible of any unpleasant alteration, but such as tended to their good and benefit, leading them from a bestial to a rational and moral Life, which was the great design and intention of the *Incas*.

Having in this Visit and Travails spent three Years, he returned again to *Cuzco*; where having passed some Months in joy and festivals, he consulted with his Brother, who was his chief Minister, and others of his Council, concerning the entire Conquest of the Provinces of *Chinchasuyu*, for there were no other Countries on that side remaining to be subjected to their Dominion; for on the other quarter, towards *Antisuyu*, bordering on the snowy Mountain, there was nothing discovered besides Rocks, and Precipices, and inaccessible places.

The *Inca*, *Capac Yupanqui* having so well acquitted himself with Prudence and Valour in his late Expedition, it was resolved, that he should again take upon himself the Command and Conduct of the Army; and that his Nephew, called *Yupanqui*, who was Prince, and Heir apparent, a Youth of about sixteen Years old, should accompany him in the War, it being the custom for young Men of that Age, to take up their Arms, and make their first Campaign; according to the Ceremony practised in *Huacac*; (as we shall hereafter more particularly Discourse) that so they being initiated, and exercised in military Discipline, and Arts, might become experienced and valiant Captains in their more mature years. To this intent fifty thousand Souldiers being levied, and put in a posture of War, the Uncle and Nephew marched with the Van, which was one third of the Army towards the Province called *Chucuy*, which was the ultimate extent of the Empire on that side.

Thence

Thence were the usual Summons dispatched to the Inhabitants of the Province called *Pincu*; who finding themselves in no condition to resist the power which marched against them; and being well informed of the happiness of those people, who became Vassals to the *Inca*; they readily accepted the Propositions of Peace, with this Complement, That they rejoiced to receive the Blessings of the *Inca's* protection, and to be numbred with those Subjects who were under his Dominion and Empire. Thus the *Incas* entred that Province, from whence they sent the like Summons to the Neighbouring Countries, of which *Huacac*, *Piscopampu*, *Pincu*, unexpectedly took other counsels, and confederating one with the other, resolved to join in the common defence, and agreeing to fend this Answer, That they would rather dye, than receive new Laws, new Customs, or a new Religion; for they were so well satisfied with those Gods, which they and their Ancestours had from all Ages served and adored; that they had no need to change them for that specious shew of Religion, by which the *Inca* had allured and deceived the Neighbouring Nations, and usurped a Tyrannical Power and Dominion over them.

Having given this answer, and knowing themselves unable to resist the *Inca* in open Field, they retired to their strong holds and fast places, being resolved to defend the narrow and difficult Passes; and to that end, with all diligence and care, they Victualled their Camp, making the best provisions they were able against a long siege.

C H A P. XIII.

The Inca subdues the Rebellious Provinces by Famine, and Stratagems of War.

THE General *Capac Yupanqui* received, without the least surprize, this rude and obstinate Answer from his salvage Enemies; for being a Person of great Prudence and Constancy, he had learned how to bear with the same equality, as well the good as unfortunate successes, and not to be moved into passion by the wild and surly Answers of an untaught and immoral people. But not to despise the weakness of an Enemy, which was retired into their strong Holds, he divided his Army into four Battalions, each of which consisted of ten thousand Men, commanding them to march towards the Fortresses of the Enemy, but not to engage with them, but onely to besiege and straiten them in such manner, that at length being almost famished, they might be compelled to a voluntary surrender; and that he, with the Prince, would post himself in that advantageous station, as to be ready on all occasions, and emergencies, to administer Succours where his assistance was required. And lest the destruction which the Enemy had made of all provisions, for sustenance of an Army, should occasion great Famine, and should bring supplies, and administer a quantity of all provisions, double to that proportion which was ordinarily appointed.

In this manner *Capac Yupanqui* being well provided, a most cruel and desperate War began with great Mortality on both sides; for the Enemy defended themselves and their strong holds with much bravery and courage; and when they perceived the *Incas* cautious, and backward to attack them, they would then adventure to make their sallies, every Party and Province of them endeavouring to out-vye each other, and demonstrate its Valour by some signal action.

The

The *Incas* all this while remained on the defensive part, resolving to straiten the Enemy by Famine, and force them to a surrender by other inconveniences of War; and when they found any of the Women, or Children, belonging to the Enemy wandering in the Fields and Countrey, which by reason of weakness, or sickness, were not able to keep company with their friends and relations; the *Incas* took care of them, nourished and cared for them, fed them and clothed them; giving them assurances, that their design was no other, than to better their condition by good and reasonable Laws and Customs, and not to tyrannize over their Persons or Liberties: And then afterwards they gave and permitted them free and safe passage into the quarters of the Enemy; and herein they acted with a kind of Military subtilty and policy, knowing that the numbers of useless people were cumbersome to an Army, and served to increase their troubles and necessities; and that the cries of Wives and Children for bread and sustenance would serve to affect the minds of the Husbands and Parents, and sooner move them out of tenderness and compassion to them unto a surrender, than bow their fierce and stubborn spirits with fear, or dread of any misery, or death which the Enemy could inflict.

This kindness towards the Women and Children was well taken by the Enemy, but yet did not so far affect them, as to soften their spirits, but rather seemed to enflame and harden them with greater obstinacy and resolution. Untill perfiting in this manner for the space of five or six Months, when Famine and Sickness began to rage amongst them; they then casting a compassionate eye on their Wives and Families, entertained those thoughts for their sakes of a surrender, to which otherwise neither fair promises could have allured them, nor Sword, nor Famine, nor Death itself could have affrighted them. But now being mollified and worked into a more gentle temper, by common consent of the Captains and Souldiers of the respective Forts, they dispatched Ambassadors to the *Incas*, with instructions to ask pardon for the rebellion and offences committed, and to offer themselves for the future to become Vassals, and obedient to the Empire of the *Inca*.

The *Incas* received this submission with their accustomed clemency and gentleness, treating them with the kindest words they were able to express, exhorting them to return to their people and families; for that by being only loyal and faithful Subjects to the *Inca*, they would merit his favour, and cause him to forget their Rebellion, and pass an Act of Oblivion for all that was past.

The Ambassadors highly satisfied with this Gracious Answer, returned to their people; who being overjoyed with this happy negotiation, received the good news with hearts now revived, having been lately dead, and benumbed with fear and despair: And in compliance with the Commands of the *Incas*, they immediately repaired to their homes and dwellings, where care was taken of them, and provisions made for the first year wherewith to feed and sustain them; and in regard, that during the time of War, there had neither been sowing nor planting, so that all provisions failed, there was occasion to make use of that double proportion of Victuals, which *Capac Yupanqui* had providently appointed at the beginning of the War: Besides which, such Officers were ordained as were required for administration of Justice amongst them, and to oversee the Revenue, and instruct them in matters of their Idolatrous Religion and Worship.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the good Curaca Huamachucu; and in what manner he was reduced.

THE *Inca* proceeding forward, after his Conquest arrived at the Confines of that Province, which was called *Huamachucu*, where lived a certain great Lord of the same Name, esteemed for a Person of profound judgment and prudence; to him therefore he dispatched his usual Summons, offering terms of Peace and Friendship, provided that he would receive such Laws, Customs and Religion, as should advance and improve his Countrey to a more happy and blessed condition: For the Nation which he governed was a barbarous and cruel people, abominable in their manners and sacrifices; Worshipping Stocks and Stones, especially such as had brightness and lustre with them: the *Jaspar* was esteemed a God, and all the pebles near banks of Rivers, which had any variety of colours, were esteemed to have something of Divinity in them, and therefore they carefully gathered them, laid them up in their Houses, and Worshipped them. Their Sacrifices were of Humane blood, living in the Fields and Mountains, under sheds, like brute beasts, without rule or order. All this salvage manner of living, the good *Huamachucu* endeavoured to reform; but the fear he conceived of this wild people suppressed the desires he had long entertained, untill he was encouraged by the message sent him from the *Inca*. And then being ready to put the conceptions he had formerly figured to himself of a Moral and Rational life into practice, did with a deep sense of joy entertain the Messengers of the *Inca*, telling them how pleased he was, that the Dominion and Empire of their Master was extended to the Confines of his Province: For having heard such an admirable report and description of their Laws and Religion, he had long desired the Government of the *Inca*, and to be enrolled in the number of his Vassals; but in regard he lived amidst a barbarous people, and surrounded with Neighbours, who were Enemies to the *Inca* and his Empire, he durst not adventure to shew his affection thereunto, or own the honour and obedience he secretly entertained towards the Person and Laws of the *Inca*: And that therefore since he had now means and opportunity to make his inclinations known, he beseeched the *Inca* graciously to receive these late demonstrations of his duty, with the same favour and compassion as he had done to other *Indians*, who lived under the happy influence of his beneficence and direction.

The Prince *Yupanqui*, and the General his Uncle, being invited by these expressions of *Huamachucu*, marched into his Countrey; at the entrance into which, the *Curaca* met them, with such Presents as his Countrey afforded, offering them his People and Estate to serve them; and putting himself into an humble posture before them, worshipped them with such devotion, as was due to the Children and Offspring of the Sun. The General received him with his accustomed favour and clemency, returning him thanks for his affection and good-will; and the Prince bestowed several Garments on him and his relations, and his companions with him, of such sort and fineness, as were worn by himself and his Father; assuring him of the great esteem which the *Inca* had for his Person, in consideration of the service he had done him by that voluntary and free surrender; the which was made good by the *Inca Pachacutec*, who conceiving a particular kindness and affection for this *Huamachucu* and his Family, enobled them afterwards with Titles of Honour and Dignity.

The Ceremonies and Rejoicings at this Reception being past, the great *Curaca Huamachucu* desired the General, that he would be pleased to modelize and reform with all expedition the corrupt and salvage manners of his State, and to bestow upon them other Customs and Religion in place of those bestial and ridiculous practices

practices which were observed amongst them; for they being now his Vassals, he might exercise an absolute and despotical Power over them, they being ready to hear and receive all the Commands and Rules which the Sun and his Children should enjoin them. According to these desires the *Inca* in the first place commanded that the people, who were dispersed through the Countries under theds and trees, should be gathered into a Political society, and live like Citizens in friendship and amity together, in a Town regularly built with Streets, and situate in such a Country as was both fruitfull and pleasant. Then he commanded that Proclamation should be made, that they should own and worship no other God but the Sun, and that the pebles and shining stones which they kept in their houses for divine Worship should be thrown into the streets; and for better government and instruction of this people, Governours and Teachers were appointed and set over them.

CHAP. XV.

The People of Cassamarca make some resistance, but are at length subdued.

ALL these things being performed and established according to the desire of *Huamachuco*, the *Inca* proceeded forward in their Conquests; and being arrived on the Confines of *Cassamarca*, (which was a place famous for the imprisonment of *Atabalpa*) being a rich and fruitfull Province, and the people stout and warlike; they dispatched their usual Summons by a Herald, requiring them to yield themselves on terms of peace and friendship.

The people of *Cassamarca* having long observed the progress of the *Incas*, and the motion which their Arms had made towards them, had already provided for a War, having possessed the strong Holds and Passes of the Country, and furnished them with Victuals, and Ammunition of War; and in confidence of such security, returned a proud answer of defiance to the *Incas*, giving them to understand, that they would neither accept of new Gods, nor new Laws; nor a Stranger, or Foreigner, for their King; but would adhere to those ancient Statutes and Religion, which were known to them and their Ancestours; and rather than relinquish them, to embrace Novelties, they were resolved to dye, and undergo all the miseries which a cruel and enraged Conquerour could inflict. With this Answer *Tupacqui* being provoked, entred boldly into the Confines of *Cassamarca*, where the Natives, like a brave and hardy people, manfully opposed themselves against him in all dangerous and difficult passes, being resolved to dye or overcome. The *Inca*, though unwilling to engage, out of a desire he had to spare the effusion of blood, was yet forced sometimes to fight, that he might gain possession of the most difficult passes; in defence of which, the Enemy combating with all their might, many were slain on one side and the other; nor did they sometimes refuse Battel in the open Field; but in regard the Conduct and Numbers of the *Inca* was more excellent and great, than that of the Enemy, they were forced to retreat into the Mountains, and Rocks, and fast places; from whence making oftentimes their Sallies, great slaughters did ensue. Thus was the War continued for the space of four Months, because the *Incas* were unwilling to take advantages entirely to destroy them, but rather to suffer, and weary them out, untill their fury and mettle began to abate: During all which time, the *Incas* used their customary lenitives, endeavouring to win them with all fair and mild treatment; for as many as they took in War, they released; such as were wounded, they healed and cured, and then sent them away; assuring them, that so often as they took them, they would use them with the same compassion, being never wearied

with doing good; for that was the profession of the *Incas*, and was their method to overcome by Mildness and Benevolence, rather than by Tyranny and Oppression; the Women and Children which they found in the Mountains and Caves, after they had fed them, and treated them with respect, and gentle terms, they sent away, that so they might relate the courtesies they had received, and persuade their Fathers and Husbands not to persist longer in their Opposition and Rebellion against the invincible Family of the Sun.

These and such like Instances of kindness being frequently repeated during the whole course of the War, began to operate on the rude and fierce disposition of this People, whose hard and obdurate temper being a little softened, it was obvious and plain to them, that it could be no unhappy condition to fall into the hands of such, who being incited by a thousand provocations to destroy them, did not only seek ways to preserve and keep them from utter ruine, but how also to bestow benefits, and even also against their own Will to shew them mercy. They considered also that the power of the *Inca* did daily increase, as theirs did diminish, and that Famine and the Sword were evils inevitable. Wherefore consulting with their *Curacas* upon these difficulties, they concluded and agreed to receive the conditions offered them by the *Incas*, rather than perish out of an obstinate and perverse humour. Upon this resolution they dispatched their Ambassadors to the *Inca*, confessing the Faults and Errors they were guilty of, in so long opposing and trying the Patience of the *Incas*, whose Generosity could not be paralleled by any of humane Race; and therefore confessing them to be of the lucid family of the Sun, they with all humility begged to be received into the number of their Vassals; and that both the Prince, and the General his Uncle, would be pleased to intercede with the Majesty of the Imperial *Inca* in their behalf; that so he would condescend and vouchsafe to own and receive them for his Subjects.

Scarce were these Ambassadors come into the presence of the *Inca*, before the *Curaca* of *Cassamarca*, and his Nobles resolved to go themselves, and personally demand Pardon for their Offences; and accordingly appearing before the General, they prostrated themselves after the most humble fashion of their Country, repeating in substance the same words which their Ambassadors had uttered. The assurances of the *Inca's* Pardon and Favour, and for the opposition they had rendered of them, as he was of his other Subjects; and for the opposition they had already made, and the acts of Hostility committed during the time of War, they should never more be called to remembrance, provided that they continued obedient, and by their Services and Duty performed and endeavoured to deserve those benefits which the Sun had encharged unto his Children to communicate unto such who willingly and without compulsion yielded themselves and their people faithfull and loyal Subjects to the *Inca*, which being said, the *Curaca* and his followers bowed themselves, and worshipped, saying, that their Generosity others, and gave a clear evidence of their undoubted Descent from the Sun, and Extraction from something else than humane Race. After which they were dismissed, and returned to their own Habitations.

C H A P. XVI.

*Of the Conquest of Yauyu; and of the Triumph celebrated
in honour of the Uncle and Nephew.*

THE General was much pleased with this Conquest, and considering the fruitfulness of the Soil, and pleasant situation, he esteemed it the best Flower he could add to his Brother's Crown, and therefore most worthy to be improved; to which end, he directed that the scattered Cottages, should be reduced into a Town, in which the people might live in a more comfortable and political Society. That a Temple should be erected to the Sun, and a House for the select Virgins, the which were afterwards so well endowed, and adorned by the Magnificence of succeeding Princes, that they became the most renowned and famous Edifices of all Peru. Moreover Teachers were appointed to instruct them in the Rules of their Idolatrous Worship, and Governours, and Magistrates set over them to preside in civil matters; Officers were also ordained to gather the fruits belonging to the Sun, and to the *Inca*; besides Engineers, and Workmen for making Aqueducts, and draining Lands; and lastly, Guards were quartered in their Country, to secure the Peace, and conserve them in Obedience.

All which being performed and established, they resolved to return to *Cusco*, but by the way to spend a little time in reducing a corner of Land, which they had left behind, for which being out of the way, they had not touched at it in their march outward. This Province was called *Taynu*, the Country was mountainous, and rocky, and the people warlike; howsoever it being concluded that twelve thousand Men were sufficient for this Achievement, the rest of the Army was dismissed, that they might not be harassed and wearied with unnecessary Marches. Being arrived on the Confines of this Province, the usual summons were dispatched, offering them terms either of War or Peace.

The *Taynu* entered into consultation upon the matter of these summons, and in debate thereupon divers opinions arose; some were stout and obstinate, and were ready to dye in defence of their Gods, and their ancient Customs; but others, of more cool and prudent temper, refuted the rashness, and folly of such resolution, considering that they were already surrounded by a puissant Enemy, whom other greater Provinces than theirs were not able to resist, nor their Gods to defend them. That the Clemency and Wisdom of the *Inca* was amiable, and such as ought to move them to desire, and embrace rather than decline their Government: With which consideration they unanimously concluded on a surrender, the contrary course threatening nothing but entire ruine and desolation; so that this more moderate counsel prevailing, they unanimously received the *Inca* with solemn Festivals and Rejoicings; and the *Inca* in return vested their *Curacas*, and Nobles, with Garments of the finest sort, called *Compi*, and the Commonalty with *Avasca*, which was of a coarser thread, all concluding to the general satisfaction of that people, who were overjoyed and proud to become the Subjects of so gracious, and powerfull a King. Officers and Governours being here appointed and established, according to the usual Stile and Custome; the *Inca* returned to *Cusco*, whence the *Inca Pachacutec* went out to meet his Son and Brother, and conducted them to the City; commanding that they should be carried in triumphal Chairs on the Shoulders of some People belonging to the late conquered Provinces, and received with all the joy, and festivity, which was due to the solemnity of that day.

The several Nations which lived in the City, and the *Curacas* which presided over them, did every one in their several orders, with different instruments of Drums, and Trumpets, and Cornets, present themselves after the fashion of their Country,

Country, chanting out the Songs which they had composed in honour and praise of the mighty and excellent Actions performed by the General *Capac Tupanqui*, and his Nephew the Prince, by whose happy beginnings his Father conceived entire satisfaction and hopes, that he would one day answer the desires and expectations of his Subjects. After the Citizens the Souldiers followed in their ranks and orders, according to their Companies and Divisions; singing also the Songs which they had composed in praise of the Heroick Actions of their *Incas*, making their Valour, and Conduct, and Excellencies, the subject of their Sonnets, adjoining thereunto Panegyrics in commendation of their Piety, Charity, Liberality and Magnificence towards their Captains and Souldiers, filling up the burthen of their Songs with the Names of the Uncle and Nephew, adding Titles unto them, and Dignities which their Vertues and brave Actions had acquired. After the Souldiers followed the *Incas* of the Bloud, all armed with the same sort of Weapons, as well those who had remained at home, as those who had been at the War; all being equally to share in the Booty and Honour; the Merits of those who had presided over the Civil Government at home, being no less esteemed than the hazards and labours of those who adventured abroad.

Amidst the *Inca* was the General and his Nephew surrounded, and after them came the *Inca Pachacutec*, mounted on his Chair of Gold, in which order they proceeded to the sacred Limits and Verge of the Temple, where the *Inca* alighting, took off their Shoes, and all, excepting the *Inca*, who was Emperour, walked barefoot to the Gate of the Temple; at which place also the *Inca* himself with bare feet, attended onely by *Incas*, entred in and worshipped; and having given thanks for the Victories obtained, they all returned to the publick Marketplace, where they celebrated the Festival, with Songs and Dances, with Eating and Drinking, which was their best entertainment on those days of merriment. In their Dancings they observed this order to avoid confusion. That every Nation according to their Seniority and Place took their turns in Dancing after the mode and fashion of their Country, whilst their Servants beat the Drums, and other Instruments, joining in the *Chorus* at the end of every period. Those who had performed their Dances drank one to another, and then arose and danced again, in such manner, as this pastime interchangeably continued for the whole day. And in this manner was the Ceremony and solemnity of their Triumphs observed, for the space of a whole month; which we have here described more particularly on occasion of the Victories which *Capac Tupanqui* had obtained; being then solemnized with the most order and magnificence.

C H A P. XVI.

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All which being performed and established; they resolved to return to *Cusco*, but by the way to spend a little time in reducing a corner of Land, which they had left behind, for which being out of the way, they had not touched at it in their march outward. This Province was called *Tayta*, the Country was mountainous, and rocky, and the people warlike; howsoever it being concluded that twelve thousand Men were sufficient for this Achievement, the rest of the Army was dismissed, that they might not be harassed and wearied with unnecessary Marches. Being arrived on the Confines of this Province, the usual summons were dispatched, offering them terms either of War or Peace.

The *Taytines* entered into consultation upon the matter of these summons, and in debate thereupon divers opinions arose; some were stout and obstinate, and were ready to dye in defence of their Gods, and their ancient Customs; but others, of more cool and prudent temper, refused the rashness, and folly of such resolution, considering that they were already surrounded by a puissant Enemy, whom other greater Provinces than theirs were not able to resist, nor their Gods to defend them. That the Clemency and Wisdom of the *Incas* was amiable, and such as ought to move them to desire, and embrace rather than decline their Government: With which consideration they unanimously concluded on a surrender, the contrary course threatening nothing but entire ruine and desolation; so that this more moderate counsel prevailing, they unanimously received the *Incas* with solemn Festivals and Rejoicings; and the *Incas* in return vested their *Curacas*, and Nobles, with Garments of the finest sort, called *Compi*, and the Commonalty with *Avasca*, which was of a coarser thread, all concluding to the general satisfaction of that people, who were overjoyed and proud to become the Subjects of so gracious, and powerfull a King. Officers and Governours being here appointed and established, according to the usual Stile and Customs; the *Incas* returned to *Cusco*, whence the *Inca Pachacutec* went out to meet his Son and Brother, and conducted them to the City; commanding that they should be carried in triumphal Chairs on the Shoulders of some People belonging to the late conquered Provinces, and received with all the joy, and festivity, which was due to the solemnity of that day.

The several Nations which lived in the City, and the *Curacas* which presided over them, did every one in their several orders, with different instruments of Drums, and Trumpets, and Cornets, present themselves after the fashion of their Country,

Country, chanting out the Songs which they had composed in honour and praise of the mighty and excellent Actions performed by the General *Capac Yupanqui*, and his Nephew the Prince, by whose happy beginnings his Father conceived entire satisfaction and hopes, that he would one day answer the desires and expectations of his Subjects. After the Citizens the Souldiers followed in their ranks and orders, according to their Companies and Divisions; singing also the Songs which they had composed in praise of the Heroick Actions of their *Incas*, making their Valour, and Conduct, and Excellencies, the subject of their Sonnets, adjoining thereunto Panegyricks in commendation of their Piety, Charity, Liberality and Magnificence towards their Captains and Souldiers, adding Titles the burthen of their Songs with the Names of the Uncle and Nephew, filling up the unto them, and Dignities which their Vertues and brave Actions had acquired. After the Souldiers followed the *Incas* of the Bloud, all armed with the same sort of Weapons, as well those who had remained at home, as those who had been at the War; all being equally to share in the Booty and Honour; the Merits of those who had presided over the Civil Government at home, being no less esteemed than the hazards and labours of those who adventured abroad.

Amidst the *Incas* was the General and his Nephew surrounded, and after them came the *Inca Pachacutec*, mounted on his Chair of Gold, in which order they proceeded to the sacred Limits and Verge of the Temple, where the *Incas* alighting, took off their Shoes, and all, excepting the *Inca*, who was Emperour, walked barefoot to the Gate of the Temple; at which place also the *Inca* himself with bare feet, attended only by *Incas*, entred in and worshipped; and having given thanks for the Victories obtained, they all returned to the publick Marketplace, where they celebrated the Festival, with Songs and Dances, with Eating and Drinking, which was their best entertainment on those days of merriment. In their Dancings they observed this order to avoid confusion. That every Nation according to their Seniority and Place took their turns in Dancing after the mode and fashion of their Country, whilst their Servants beat the Drums, and other Instruments, joining in the *Chorus* at the end of every period. Those who had performed their Dances drank one to another, and then arose and danced again, in such manner, as this pastime interchangeably continued for the whole day. And in this manner was the Ceremony and solemnity of their Triumphs observed, for the space of a whole month; which we have here described more particularly on occasion of the Victories which *Capac Yupanqui* had obtained; being then solemnized with the most order and magnificence.

CHAP. XVII.

Two Vallies are subdued: with the proud and insolent Answer of China.

After the Festivals were finished, the *Incas* passed three years in peace and repose; dedicating their time to the administration of Justice and adornment of the Empire, improving the Provinces with Fountains and Aqueducts, and stately Edifices. After such time that the Souldiers had taken their repose, another War was agreed and concluded to be carried on towards the Plains, or Low-Countries, not having on that side extended the borders of the Empire, farther than to *Nanaska*, for this design thirty thousand Men were designed to be raised, and immediately to be dispatched for this Conquest; and in regard these Vallies were very unhealthfull, and sickly for the camp; it was resolved at a Council of War, that another Army of thirty thousand Men should be raised, which every two months was to relieve the other, and so interchangeably take their turns and hazards in that unwholesome Air, which to the Natives themselves was almost pe-
tential.

The Armies being raised, the *Inca Pachacutec* commanded, that thirty thousand Men should quarter in the neighbouring parts, so as to be ready for the Invasion, and relief of the Guards at the times appointed; and with the first Army he, with his Son the Prince, and Brother *Tupangui* proceeded by short marches to the Provinces called *Rucana*, and *Haimurucana*, resolving there to fix his Court, as the most convenient place near the confines, whence at all times he might be in a readiness to give the Succours which the War required, and apply those arts which were agreeable to Peace. In the mean time the *Incas*, who were his Son and Brother, proceeded towards *Nanaska*, and being arrived there, they dispatched their usual Summons to the People, who live in the Valley of *Tca*, lying northward from *Nanaska*. The Natives desired time to communicate, and consider together concerning the Proposals offered them, who after they had held a consultation which admitted of some debate; they resolved to receive the *Inca* for their Lord and Master, being thereunto the rather moved from the report they had heard of the gentle Government of the *Incas*, and which they had already, by reason of the Neighbourhood with *Nanaska*, in part known and tried. By this Example the Natives likewise of the Valley of *Pisco* submitted, though their ill Neighbours of the Valley of *Chincha* endeavoured to corrupt and alienate their Minds from Obedience to the *Inca*, by promises to enter into a League and mutual Confederacy with them; but they being sensible that their united strength was not able to defend them from the prevailing power of the *Inca*, resolved to take the secure, and saving course of Submission, and accept the Laws, Customs, and Religion of the *Incas*, promising to adore the Sun, and esteem all other Gods vain and Idolatrous, but such only as the *Incas* should impose upon them.

This Vale of *Tca*, is a fertile and fruitful soil, as are all those other low Lands and Vallies, and therefore esteemed worthy to be improved by the Power and Industry of their Kings, in order whereunto they erected a fair Aqueduct, whereby the waters were conveyed from the highest part of the Mountains by a plentiful stream; the which naturally running from the East, they with art turned to the West, by bringing the Current to fall into a Chanel which received the Rains in the Winter, which being dried up in the Summer, all those Plains became burnt, and scorched up for want of moisture, which was afterwards supplied by the great convenience and benefit of these new Waters; so that their Tillage and Lands were improved thereby, that ever after the People lived with great ease and abundance; which when the conquered *Indians*, and those not as yet subdued, had seen and proved, they became Admirers of the *Incan* Empire, and desirous to be numbred with the Subjects to it, that so they might lay claim to a share of
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those blessings, which the vigilance and ingenuity of the *Inca* bestowed on his Vassals.

It is here to be noted, that the *Indians*, who inhabited along the Coast for the space of almost 500 Leagues, extending from *Trujillo* to *Tarapaca*, which is the utmost border North and South of *Peru*, generally adored and worshipped the Sea for God, (unless it were some petty Idol, or diminutive God, which was peculiar to the Province) by reason that the Sea fed and sustained them with Fish for their nourishment, and threw up vast quantities of Pilchards, with the Heads of which they dunged their Lands, (as we have said before) by reason of which benefits they gave it the Name of *Mamacocha*, or Mother-sea. They likewise adored the Whale for its vast bulk and bigness; and some Provinces adored this, and others that sort of Fish, as they were most plentiful, and yielded most benefit to the Natives. This was, in short, the Idolatrous Religion of the *Tuncas* before the times of the *Incas*, or that they came to have Rule and Dominion over them.

The Vallies of *Tca* and *Pisco* being thus reduced, the *Incas* dispatched their Summons to the great and powerfull Valley of *Chincha*, (so called from *Chinchafsynt*, which is one of the four quarters into which the *Incas* divided their Empire) requiring them either to pay their Obedience to the *Inca Pachacutec*, who was a Child of the Sun, or otherwise to prepare themselves for War, and defend their Cause and Country with their Arms: But the people of *Chincha* confiding in their Numbers, and puffed up with an opinion of their bravery, and skill in War, returned an answer of Defiance; that they would neither receive the Sun for their God, nor the *Inca* for their King; that the Sea was the Deity, which they had most reason to Adore, in regard it supplied them with Fish for their nourishment, and was in other particulars and instances the most usefull and beneficial; whereas the Sun on the other side scorched their Country, and parched and tormented their Bodies; so that they wished rather to live remote from him, than to be troubled with the inconveniences of his Neighbourhood; that perhaps he might be a more proper God for those who inhabit the cold Climates under the frozen Zones; but as to themselves, his Rays and Presence were offensive. That as to the King, they had a Natural Prince of their own, whom they loved, and would not part with for all the race and lineage of the Sun; and for their Arms, they were always ready to be employed against those who provoked their Passion, or infringed their Liberty, or invaded their Country or despised their Gods; the chief and principal of which was called *Chincha Camac*, who was the Maker and Conservator of *Chincha*, a God so powerfull, that the *Incas* would do well to consider how they provoked or injured the King of *Chincha*, who was supported by the Providence of that powerfull God. The Natives of this Country do likewise much avail themselves on a Tradition, that their Forefathers came from a far Country, (though they do not say whence) under the Conduct of a valiant and religious General, by force of whose Arms they conquered that Country, by destroying all the people, which were the natural Inhabitants of it not suffering one of them to survive, because they were a vile and brutish Race; besides many other brave Actions, which they recount of their Fore-fathers.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Obstinacy which the People of Chincha shewed; and how they were at length reduced.

THE *Incas*, heated with the disdain of this Answer, proceeded towards *Chincha*, and the *Curaca*, or Lord, called by the same Name, with a considerable band of Men as readily marched to encounter them, and skirmished with them in the Valley; but the Sand and Dust was so great, that the Armies could not remain long engaged; wherefore the *Tumcas* retreated to take possession of a Pass, at the entrance to which, though they opposed the *Incas*, yet so faint was the resistance which they made, that they gave ground and admission to the Enemy to lodge, and take up their quarters within the place which they endeavoured to defend: All which was performed with signal courage, and with blood and wounds on both sides; the *Tumcas* labouring to defend their Country, and the *Incas* to enlarge and advance their Dominion.

During these many days of Skirmishes and Defiance, the *Incas* did not omit their invitations and persuasions to prefer terms of Peace, before the cruelties and extremities of War; but all to little purpose, for the *Tumcas* continuing obstinate in their resolutions, and being of opinion that the heat of the Sun would at length constrain the Enemy, accustomed to a more moderate climate, to relinquish their design; refused all propositions of Peace, rather shewing themselves every day more averse and rebellious on confidence of these hopes and expectations: Notwithstanding which, the *Incas* still maintaining the ancient principles, and constant practice of gentleness and moderation, did not take the advantage they might have done on many occasions, to the destruction of their Enemies; but rather endeavoured to weary them out, and by long patience work them into a more pliable temper; for continuation of which, at the end of two Months, the Army which was appointed to relieve the other, was commanded with all diligence to march, and take the place of those who had preceded them, before the heat of the Country had produced Calentures amongst them, or any other diseases incident to the bodies of Men unaccustomed to excess of heat.

The Officers hastning the March of the Army, with all expedition possible they arrived in a few days at *Chincha*, where the General *Tupangu* stayed to receive them, and dismiss the former Army, which he ordered to be lodged and quartered in such Neighbouring places, as to be near and ready to relieve the Guards another time, if the obstinacy of the Enemy should protract and delay the accomplishment of their subjection. The Prince departed with the Army which was relieved, for better security and conservation of his health.

The War being renewed by exchange of Forces, the General besieged and straitened them, as close as he was able, destroying their Harvest and Fruits, and hindering all Provisions from coming to their Camp: He also cut off their Channels of Water, so that they could not refresh their Fruits and Plantations; every thing being burnt, and scorched up, but what they had already reaped, and gathered in; and this was the greatest misery that afflicted the *Tumcas*, whose Country being exceeding hot, was not capable to produce any Fruit but what was watered every three or four Days.

The *Tumcas* grew now more sensible of their lost condition, for finding their streams of Water to be cut off, and themselves straitened in the narrowness of their quarters; and being disappointed of the hope and expectation they once conceived, that the Heat of the Country, and the ill Air, would constrain the *Incas* to quit and abandon it; and, on the contrary, perceiving the policy of their Government, that by relieving and exchanging their Guards, they were enabled to continue the War, they began to abate something of their pride and confidence; but were not as yet so humbled, as readily to submit without trying the utmost

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extremity: For in this posture of War they persisted for the space of two Months longer, refusing all proposals of Peace, though tendered to them every eight Days by the *Incas*; and opposing them with Arms in their hands, in despite of Fatigue with earnest devotion, and vows, the assistance of their God *Chincha Camac*; who begged his protection and deliverance of them.

It is observable that the *Indians* of this famous Valley of *Chincha* adored an Idol, which they called *Chincha Camac*, fashioned after the form of *Pachacamac*, or the unknown God, whom (as we have said before) the *Incas* spiritually, or mentally, adored: for they taking notice, that the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Valley had erected an Idol, named *Pachacamac*, which signifies the Sustain of the Universe, and dedicated a Temple to it; did after their example mould another Idol after similitude of the former, giving it the Name of *Chincha Camac*, or the Sustain in their fancy, of such a vast extent, that the God, who had to great an employment, as the care and conservation of the Universe, could not be at leisure to descend to them, or think so narrow a corner, as *Chincha*, worthy his trouble or contempt; wherefore that they might gain a more peculiar Deity, and such as they might appropriate to themselves, they figured a *Chincha camac*, or a Domestic God, by whose favour and power they promised to themselves succour and deliverance from their Enemies.

The *Incas* all this while patiently endured the tediousness of this War, and the obstinacy of their Enemies, who could not as yet provoke them to destroy them utterly, though policy of War and necessity compelled them to straiten, and distress them as far as they were able. At length *Capac Tupangu* having observed the obstinate resolution of the Enemy, and that he lost both time and reputation by a tedious attendance on their pertinacious humour; and considering that towards his own Subjects, in case that long delays, and protraction of time, should produce a sickness in the Camp, as was much to be feared from the violent Heats, and unwholesome Air: Wherefore to avoid, and prevent this danger, he dispatched a Messenger to them; acquainting them, in express terms, that having already complied with the compassionate and tender Instructions of his Brother the *Inca*, by his long forbearance of them; he sent now to let them know, that he gave them eight days to yield, and surrender themselves; in which space of time, in case they submitted, they should then be pardoned, and received to mercy; and if they refused, that they should no longer expect compassion, or quarter, for that he was resolved to put them all to the Sword, and people their Country again with a new Colony and Nation more wise and obedient to the *Inca*: which message being delivered, he ordered the Heralds to return without attending for an answer.

The *Tumcas* being terrified with this positive message, apprehended that the just rage of the *Incas* might reasonably transport them to an execution thereof; for that the *Incas* having received such bad returns for all the pity and gentleness they had shewn towards them, no other forbearance could be now expected; and considering their present state of famine, and want, and other incommodities of War, they took a resolution to send their Ambassadors to the *Inca* to implore his pardon, and that he would vouchsafe to receive them for his Subjects, promising to exchange the rebellion and obstinacy they had used, into a faithful and loyal Obedience to the *Inca*; the day following the *Curaca*, accompanied with his Kindred and Nobles, went to kiss the hands of the *Inca*, and personally make tender of their Duty and Obedience.

C H A P.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Ancient Conquests, and vain Rodomontadoes, of the Chinchas.

THE *Inca* much satisfied with this submission, congratulated with the *Curaca* *Chincha* the happiness of the ensuing Peace, whereby an end was put to the miseries of a bloody War, which was destructive to his people: And speaking kindly to this great Commander of the *Tunacas*, assured him of pardon from his Brother the Emperour; and because he perceived him to be much dejected and afflicted for his fault, he encouraged him with many kind and obliging expressions, telling him, that the King his Brother was a gracious and mercifull Prince, who never recalled to memory the enmity shewn him at first, provided that having once submitted, and acknowledged him for their Lord, they did never afterwards return to their rebellion: And as an evidence of favour and acceptance, he commanded, that Vestments should be given them of the finest sort; and so all concluded in a mutual satisfaction.

These *Indians* of *Chincha* boast much of this resistance they had made against the *Incas*, pretending that they repelled them twice, because they reckoned the exchange of the first Army with the second to be a kind of retreat. They report also, that the *Incas* were many years before they could conquer them, and that at length they submitted upon conditions and promises; and that they were won rather by gifts and presents, than subdued by force of Arms. Thus was the mild usage and treatment which the *Incas* shewed to them, interpreted for a sign of their own Valour and Courage; whereas, in reality, the power of the *Incas* was so great in those days, that they could with facility have subdued them, had they in earnest applied their Strength, and Military Art, in that Conquest: but Men have liberty to talk of the Mighty Actions of former times, and of their Ancestours, without offence to any in the present Age.

They report farther of themselves, that before they were Subjects to the *Inca*, they were of that power, and Martial disposition, that they made frequent Incurfions into the Neighbouring Countries, from whence they carried Spoils and Trophies of Victory; that they were so dreadful to those who inhabited the Mountains, that those people, for fear of them, deserted their Country, and that they often came as far as the Province of *Colla*. All which appears to be false, because these *Tunacas* are naturally a sluggish and dull Nation, and not given to labour, or travel, and therefore it is not probable, that they would undertake a March of almost 200 Leagues, through greater Provinces, and more populous than their own. And that which makes this report still more improbable is, That the *Tunacas*, being (as we have said) born in a very hot Country, where it never Rains, and where consequently the noise of Thunder is never heard; are so affrighted with the sound, and claps of it, so often as they enter into the Hilly-Countries, that with consternation and terror they return into their own Climate; and therefore it is not credible they should adventure into Mountains where the voice of Thunder is often heard, and which their ignorance made so horrible and affrighting to them.

Whilst *Tupacqui* employed himself in Establishing the Government of *Chincha*, and putting all things into the best order and posture he was able; he gave intelligence to his Brother of the success of his proceedings, desiring him to relieve the Army, which remained then on Duty; by exchange for another, that so he might proceed in the entire conquest of the *Tunacas*. And whilst he was thus settling the Government in *Chincha*, and imposing new Laws and Customs on them; Informations were brought him against certain persons guilty of Sodomy, to which sin that Country was much addicted: All which he took, and condemned, and burned alive; commanding their Houses to be thrown down, their Inheritances to be destroyed,

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their Trees rooted up, that so no steps or marks might appear of any thing which had been built, or planted by the hands of Sodomites, and that their memory, as well as their actions, might be abolished; with them they destroyed both their Wives and Children, which severity, though it may seem unjust, was yet an evidence of that abhorrence which the *Incas* conceived against this unnatural Crime. Some time after this Conquest the *Inca*-Kings honoured, and enobled this valley of *Chincha*, with a famous Temple dedicated to the Sun, with a House also for the Select Virgins; it contained about thirty thousand souls, being one of the most pleasant and delightful Vallies of *Peru*. The Actions and Exploits of the *Inca Pachacutec* were many and various, though his Conquests for the most part were performed in the same manner; wherefore to divert the Reader with some varieties, we shall now intermix our Discourse with two principal Festivals which the *Incas* celebrated with the greatest solemnities, and then we shall return again to the Life and Achievements of this King.

CHAP. XX.

Of the principal Festival of the Sun; and in what manner they prepared themselves for the Celebration of it.

THE principal Festival was called *Raymi*, which sounds, or at least signifies as much with them as *Pascha*, (which with us in English is *Easter*) amongst the four Festivals, celebrated by the *Incas* in the City of *Cusco*, which was the Metropolis of their Religion, (as *Rome* is to us) none was observed with that solemnity, as this which they called *Thisp Raymi*, held in the month of *June*, in honour of the Sun, soon after the Summer Solstice; and if they attributed this name of *Raymi* to any other Feast, it was in reference, or as it depended on this chief Festival.

This Solemnity was performed to the Sun, under Notion of the Supreme, Sole and Universal God, by virtue of whose Heat and Light all living Creatures were generated and sustained. At which also they commemorated their first Father *Inca Manco Capac*, and *Coya Mama Ocelo*, his Wife and Sister, owning and acknowledging them to be descended from the Sun, and sent by him into the World for the common benefit of Mankind. For which important Reasons this Festival being esteemed the most solemn, all the principal Captains and Commanders of the Army, and *Curacas* or Lords of Provinces, assembled themselves at *Cusco* to celebrate this Feast; not that it was of Precept or Injunction, but out of mere Devotion to the Sun, and respect to the *Inca*. In case any *Curaca* or Officer were hindered by Age, or Infirmary, or by any distant Employment in service of the *Inca*, he then sent his Son, or his Brother, or some other Relation, to assist at this Function in his Name and Place; nor did the *Inca* esteem himself excused from this personal attendance, unless the War, or remote Visits of his Kingdoms obliged him to be absent.

At the first Ceremonies the King, as High-Priest, did always administer; for though there was another High-Priest, of the same legitimate Blood, being a Brother or Uncle of the *Inca*, to whom it properly belonged at other times to officiate; yet this being the chief of all the Festivals, was ever graced and honoured by the administration of the *Inca*, who was the first and eldest Child of the Sun.

The *Curacas* were habited and dressed at this time in the finest Cloths and gayeties that they could bring; some wore Garments platted with Gold and Silver, adorning themselves with Garlands, or Crowns of Gold, platted over their Wreaths; some of them appeared in Lions Skins, having their Heads and Bodies covered with them, and these were such, who boasted themselves to be descended from that generous Creature.

Such as had a great esteem and veneration for that Fowl which they call *Cuntur*, so as to fanthe the Original of their first Parents to be defended from it, appeared in fashion of Angels, with the Wings of that Bird, which they say are so large, that some of them being killed by the *Spaniards*, have measured fourteen or fifteen Foot from the point of one pinion to the other.

Others appeared in antick Shapes, with horrid Vizards, and these were *Tunacs*, who, to make themselves the more ridiculous, entred with Grimaces, making mouths, and turning themselves into a thousand fantastical gestures, like Fools, or Madmen; carrying instruments in their hands, agreeable to their postures, such as Flutes, and ill-tuned Cymbols, without Musick or Harmony, which served to make up their wild Masquerade.

The *Churacas*, according to their qualities, carried the Ensigns of their respective Countries; some bore the Weapons which they used in War, such as Bows and Arrows, others Launces, and Darts, and Slings, and Pole-axes to be managed with one hand, and Halberts which they wielded with both; in their Colours and Ensigns the Actions and Stories of their Valour, which they had acted in the Service of the Sun, and *Inca* were painted and designed: in short, every *Churaca* came habited in the best manner that he was able, and attended with his best Equipage, every one endeavouring to outdoe his Neighbour, or Companion, in something that was fine and extraordinary.

Fasting was the general preparation and introduction to the *Raymi*, or Festival of the Sun, which was so rigorous, that it continued for the space of three days; during which time they ate nothing, but a little white Mayz unbaked, with a few herbs called *Chucam*, and drank nothing but water; no fire was kindled in the whole City, during this solemn fast, nor was it lawfull for any Man to accompany with his Wife. The Fast being ended, upon the Eve or Vigil thereof the *Incas*, who were Priests, and appointed to offer the Sacrifice, were employed in preparing the Sheep, and Lambs, and Drinks, which the day following were to be offered to the Sun; all which were provided according to the number of the people which came to the Festival, in regard, that not only the *Churacas*, and their Deputies, but the common People, and their Servants, were to partake of the Benefit and Blessings of these Sacrifices.

The Virgins, or Wives of the Sun, were employed on the Eve in kneading great quantities of Dough, made of Mayz, which they call *Canco*, which they fashioned into round Cakes about the bigness of our Apples. For it is observable, that the *Indians* never eat their Mayz kneaded into Bread, but at this Feast, and at the other which they call *Citua*; nor do they eat this Bread at their Meals, but only two or three mouthfulls at the beginning; for that which they ordinarily use for Bread is *Cara*, which they either parch, or boil before they eat it.

The Flower of this sort of Bread which the *Inca* and those of the Royal Family did eat, was grinded, and kneaded by the select Virgins, who were Wives of the Sun, and who likewise dressed all the other Dishes which were provided for this Festival; so that the Sun rather seemed to entertain his Family, than his Children to bestow a Treat or Banquet upon him: But as to the common sort, great numbers of other Women were set at work to make Bread, and dress Victuals for them; in making this common Bread great care was taken to have it of the best Flower, and such as was pure, and without mixture, being esteemed sacred, and such as was not to be eaten, but only at this Festival, which was the principal of all their Feasts.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

How having adored the Sun, they went in Procession to his Temple, and sacrificed a Lamb to him.

ALL things being well prepared, and disposed on the Eve, the Feast being come, the *Inca*, accompanied with his Brethren, and every one ranked in his place and order, according to his Quality and Age, went in procession by break of day into the Market-place of the City, which they call *Huacaypata*, where remaining bare-foot, they looked attentively toward the East in expectation of the Sun's Rising; when so soon as they saw him appear, they all immediately, casting themselves down on their breeches, (which is as much as with us on our knees) adored and worshipped him, and with open Armes and Hands lifted up, putting them before their Mouths, threw empty Kisses into the Air, and so worshipped with profound reverence, acknowledging the Sun for their God, and their natural Father.

The *Churacas*, which were not of the Blood Royal, assembled in a separate Company in another place called *Cusipata*, where they performed the same Ceremonies with the *Incas*. Then the King raising himself on his Feet, whilst the others remained sitting, he took two great Cups of Gold, which they call *Aquilla*, into his Hands, filled with that Drink which is their chief Beverage; and then in the name and stead of his Father the Sun, (being esteemed the first-born) he lifted up the Bowl, which he held in his Right-hand, and invited the *Inca*, being himself, and all his Relations, to the Festival, to pledge him in that Liqueur; for this Ceremony of drinking one to another, is the most familiar instance can be given of Friendship and Good-will.

Having performed this Ceremony of Invitation, he poured the Drink which was in his Right-hand Bowl into a golden Jar, dedicated to the Sun; from which the Liqueur ran into a smooth Chancel, made of Stone, which reached from the Market-place to the Temple, as if the Sun himself had drank it. Then the *Inca* drank of the Bowl which he held in his Left-hand, pledging the Sun, giving to every *Inca* some part thereof, in a small Cup of Gold, or Silver, which every one had ready to receive it; so that by little and little they had drained the great Bowl; the Liqueur of which being sanctified by the hand of the Sun, or the *Inca*, of which all those of the Royal Family received. The *Churacas* drank of another Cup, though of the same sort of Liqueur, prepared by the Wives of the Sun; which was not esteemed so holy and sacred as that which was consecrated by the *Inca* himself.

This Ceremony being performed, which was but an Antepast to what they had afterwards to drink, they proceeded all in their order to the Temple of the Sun; and being about two hundred paces from the door, they all (except the King) pulled off their Shoes, and walked to the Gate of the Temple. Then the *Inca*, and all his Kindred, entred in, and performed, as legitimate Children, their Obedience and Adoration to the Image of the Sun; whilst the *Churacas*, as unworthy of so great a Privilege, attended without in the great Court, which was before the Gate of the Temple.

Then the *Inca* offered with his own hand those Vessels of Gold with which he had performed this Ceremony; and the other *Incas* delivered theirs into the hands of the Priests, who were *Incas* and particularly nominated and dedicated to the Sun; for it was not lawfull for any *Inca* to officiate at this holy Service, who was a Secular, or not ordained to this sacred Function. When the Priests had thus received the Chalice from the *Incas*, they went afterwards to the Gate, to

take others from the hands of the *Curacas*, every one of which proceeded in their order, according to seniority, or priority of time, in which they had become Subjects of the Empire, and so consigned into the hands of the Priests their Vessels of Gold and Silver; with all sorts of Animals, such as Sheep, Lambs, Lizards, Toads, Serpents, Foxes, Lions and Tygers, &c. all rarely well cast, and moulded in Gold and Silver, which they presented for their Offerings to the Sun, every one in some small quantity according to their Abilities.

The Offertory being made, every one returned to his place, and then the *Incas* who were Priests came with great droves of Lambs, Ewes and Rams of divers colours; for the Flocks of those Countries have as much variety in their colours as the Horses have in *Spain*; all which Cattle were the proper Goods and Estate of the Sun; out of which they chose a black Lamb, for that colour was preferred before all others, as most proper for Sacrifice, and most pleasing to Divinity; for they said, that brown Cattel were of the like colour, as well within as without, and that the white, though white over all their Bodies, had yet some black spots on the tip of their Snouts, or Noses, which was esteemed a defect, and therefore less fit for unspotted Sacrifices; for which reason the Kings most commonly were clothed in black, their mourning being a kind of yellowish, and spotted colour.

From the first Sacrifice of the black Lamb, they made their Prognostications, and Divinations of matters relating to the Feast; likewise in all matters of importance, relating to Peace or War, they took their Omens and Signs from the Sacrifices of Lambs, searching into their Heart and Lungs; and thence divined from the colour and clearness of them, whether their Offerings were acceptable to the Sun, or not; whether the day of battle were to be successful and victorious; and whether the Year were to be fruitful: Howsoever they did not always consult the entrails of Lambs; but in some matters they opened the Bowels of a Ram, in others of a barren Ewe; for it is observable, that they never killed a breeding Ewe, but such only as were barren, or by age unfit for Procreation. When they killed a Lamb, or Sheep, they turned his Head towards the East, and without tying his Legs, either before or behind, three or four *Indians* held him fast; and laying him down, the Priest opened his left side, into which thrusting his Hand, he tore from thence his Heart, and Lungs, and all his vitals, not cutting them, but tearing them out whole with his hand, from the very upper parts of the Throat and Palate, to the lowermost Entrails, great care being taken that all the Vessels should be kept entire, and united with the same connexion that they had in the Body.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Divinations made from these Sacrifices, and the Fire with which they were consumed.

THE most happy Omen of all they held to be the throbs and palpitations of the Lungs, which if they still moved, and continued living when they were first drawn from the Body, they then esteemed the Omen certainly good, and could dispense with other less promising Symptoms, for that this had a superiour and an over-ruling power over all other unlucky appearances. Then they drew out the Guts, and blowing them up with Wind, they tied the neck very hard and close, and they pressed them on each side with their Hands, observing by which way the Wind found its easiest passage into the Veins and Lungs, which the more they swelled, and became replete with Wind, the better was the Omen accounted. There were many other particulars observed by them, which I have forgotten, but these which I have before mentioned I am well assured of, having noted them in my Journals, and remember, that when I was a Youth, I saw them twice performed by certain old *Indians*, not as yet baptised; I do not mean the Sacrifice of *Raymi*, for that was abolished long before I was born; only the superstitious inspection into the Entrails of Lambs, and Sheep, in order to Divination, and the Sacrifices of them after such inspection was still continued in my time, the which Sacrifices were offered after the manner of those at the principal Feasts. It was held for a very bad Omen if the Lamb, or Sheep, after they had opened his side, proved so strong as to be able by struggling to get the Maltory of bad Omen, if in drawing out the Entrails the mouth of the Small-guts broke off from the Ligatures of the Stomach, so as not to come out whole and entire. It was also a bad Omen for the Lungs to come forth bruised, or broken, or the Heart wounded; besides other things, as I have said, which I neither noted, nor made enquiry of, only these I remember, being told me by certain *Indians*, whom I found offering these Sacrifices; and indeed they were willing to be free with me, and resolve me in any thing I asked them concerning their good or bad Omens; for I being then but a Youth, they entertained no jealousy or suspicion of me. But to return to the Solemnity of the Festival of *Raymi*, we farther say, if the Sacrifice of the Lamb declared not that fortunate Omen which was desired, then they made trial of another with a Ram, and if that neither promised fair or happy Tidings, then they consulted the Bowels of a barren Ewe, and if that also did not foretell something more hopeful, they then proceeded in their Sacrifices and Solemnities of the Feast, with Sorrow and Mourning, saying, that the Sun their Father was for some Crime, or Omission in his Service, angry and displeased with them, and therefore in vengeance thereof, expected the punishment of War or Famine, or some other Judgment; but then when the Omens were happy and smiling, they rejoiced with high contentment, being full of hopes and expectations of fortunate successes.

This Sacrifice of the first Lamb, from whence they made their Divinations, being offered; great droves of Lambs and Sheep were brought afterwards for the common Sacrifice; but then they did not open their sides, being alive, as they did the first, but after the usual manner they fairly cut their Throats, and shed them; the Blood they saved, and with it offered the Heart unto the Sun, burning the Body altogether, until the whole Lamb was consumed, and converted into Ashes.

The Fire for that Sacrifice was to be new, and then kindled (as they called it) from the hand of the Sun; to alight this Fire they made use of a great Bracelet, worn by the High Priest, which they called *Chipana*, being after the fashion of those which the *Incas* commonly put on the Wrist of their Left-hand; this being greater

greater than ordinary, was held over a Cylinder of the bigness of a half Orange, bright and well polished, which uniting the Rays of the Sun in one point, cast such a reflexion into the Cylinder, as easily set fire to the Cotton, which being finely combined, was put into it, and readily received the flame: With this fire alighted from the Sun, they burnt their Sacrifices, and dressed all their Meat for that days provision; of this fire they carried some into the Temple of the Sun, and some to the Convent of the Select Virgins, to be there conserved for the space of the following Year; being esteemed a most unhappy Omen, in case it should by any accident have been extinguished. If on the Vigil or Day before the Festival, which is the time when they prepared all things in a readines for the Sacrifice, the weather should have proved cloudy, so that the Sun did not appear, then for kindling this Fire they made use of two round pieces of a hard sort of Wood, being about the bigness of the middle finger, and about half a yard long, called *V yaca*, which being rubbed hard together, produced a Flame, and with these the *Indians* struck fire, as we do with a Steel and Flint; when they travelled, and passed through desert and unpeopled Countries, and I have frequently seen the Shepherds make use of the same.

Howsoever it was accounted a bad Omen to be enforced on that day to have recourse unto that instrument; for in regard the Sun did then hide his face from them, it argued his displeasure and anger for some offence committed. All the flesh which was prepared for that Sacrifice, was dressed in the publick Market-place; and there divided amongst the Guests which came to the Feast, and distributed first to the *Incas*, then to the *Curacas*, and afterwards to the Commonalty, according to the several Orders and Degrees. The first Dish, or Course, served in at this solemn Banquet, was that sort of Bread which they called *Canchu*; then they brought in several varieties of Meats, without Drink, it being the custome over all *Pernu*, not to drink at the time of their Meals.

From what we have said concerning the *Indians* sipping from the Bowl or Cup, offered them by the hand of the Priest, the *Spaniards* raised a report, that the *Indians* communicated in the same manner as do the Christians; but having plainly delivered the matter of Fact, we shall leave the similitude, or comparison, to every Man's fancy.

The Dinner, or Banquet of Meats being over, great quantities of Drink were brought in, in which the *Indians* were notoriously addicted to exceed, though by the Mercies of God, they are so well reformed from that Vice, by example of that Temperance and Sobriety which they observed in the *Spaniards*, that it is now a strange thing to see an *Indian* drunk, the Vice being generally become detestable; and esteemed infamous; so that had the like good example been shewn in other things to this People, as hath been in this, it might have produced the same good effect, and signalized the *Spaniards* for true Apostolical Preachers of the Gospel.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Order in which they drank one to the other.

THE *Inca* being seated on his Chair of Massie Gold, raised on a Pedestal of the same metal, he sent a Message to his Kindred called *Hanan Cosco*, and were the most famous and renowned in their respective Nations. First they nominated the Captains, who had signalized their valour in the War, being for their Martial Exploits, preferred before the *Curacas*; and in case a *Curaca*, who was a Lord over some Vassals, had merited also the honour of a Captain, they called and mentioned him with both Titles. In the next place the *Inca* sent to inviting such as had been reduced by the first *Inca Manco Capac*, and for that reason having the privilege of being called *Incas*, they were preferred in the next place to amongst those Kings never to alter or diminish those Titles of Honour or Privileges which their Ancestours had bestowed as favours on their Subjects, but were rather willing to confirm and enlarge them.

Now their form and manner of Drinking one to another, was this; all the *Indians* generally (according to their condition and quality) had and do still keep a couple of Cups to drink in, equally matched, being of the same size and shape, and of the same Metal, either of Gold, Silver, or Wood, that so every Man might drink alike, and have his equal proportion one with the other. He that invited to the Drink, held up his two Cups in each hand, and then gave to him whom he invited the Cup which was in his Right-hand, in case he were of greater Quality, and if he were of inferiour Degree, then that in his Left, and then both drank at the same time; and afterwards receiving his Cup again, he returned to his place; though commonly at these Feasts the Person inviting was greater than the Person invited, so that the Invitation was an evidence of grace and favour of the Superiour to his Inferiour; though from this Custome afterwards it came, that when the Inferiour invited the Superiour, it was by way of acknowledgment of his Service and Vassalage.

In observance of this common Custome of Invitation, the *Incas*, who carried the Drink from the King, said to the Person invited, *The Capa Inca hath sent me to invite you to drinking, and I am come to drink with you in his name.* Whereupon the Captain, or *Curaca*, took the Cup into his Hands, and lifting up his Eyes unto the Sun, as if he would return him thanks for the great Favour he received from his Offspring; and then having taken the Draught with silence, returned back the Cup, making signs of profound Reverence and Adoration with his Hands, and kissing the Air with his Lips.

But it is to be noted, that the *Inca* did never send Invitations of drinking to all the *Curacas* in general, but to some particular persons of them, who were famous, and had a great interest with their People, and well beloved by the Commonalty, and were Men zealous of the publick good; for this matter of publick good was the great concernment to which the *Inca*, the *Curacas*, and all the Ministers of War and Peace bended their chief aim and studies. To other *Curacas* the *Incas* who carried the Cups drank in their own, and not in the name of the *Inca*, with which the *Curacas* were abundantly satisfied, acknowledging it an Honour sufficient for them to drink with one who was of the Family, and allied to the Sun, as well as the King himself.

The first Ceremony of Drinking being finished, then immediately the Captains and *Curacas* of the several Nations made their Invitations in the same manner and order as they had been themselves invited; some making their immediate Ad-

drels to the King, and others to the *Incas*, in return to their late Complement. When they approached the *Inca*, it was with deep silence, and humble prostration; and the *Inca* received them with great Courtesie, and gracious Countenance; and in regard he was to pledge them all, he took the Cup from every Man's hand, touching it with his Lips; though he drank more plentifully out of the Bowl of those to whose Dignity and Quality he bore some particular respect; what remained at the bottom of the Cup, the *Inca* commanded his Servants, who were also *Incas* by privilege, to drink of the remainder, which being done, the Cups were again returned to the Owners.

These Cups having touched the Hands and Lips of the *Capa Inca*, were ever afterwards conferred as sacred Reliques, and held in great Veneration, never afterwards being applied to common uses, but separated, as were their Idols, for Worship and Adoration; for in reality such was the interior Devotion which they conceived towards their Kings, that we cannot express the Love and Veneration which these poor *Indians* entertained of every thing which had relation to them.

In this manner the Healths being gone about, and every one pledged, they all returned orderly to their places; and then the Dances and Songs began; all Nations presenting themselves respectively in their Masquerades, and Colours, and antick Postures, according to the fashion of their Country; during all which the drinking still went on, the *Incas* inviting each other, as also the Captains and *Curacas* entertaining their Friends, and Acquaintance, and such as were Neighbours and Relations in their several Countries.

Thus were nine days spent in the solemn celebration of this Feast of *Raimi*, where was plenty of Meat and Drink (as we have said) accompanied with all kinds of Mirth and Jollity; though the first day onely was appointed for Sacrifices, and for inspection into the Entrails of Beasts, from whence they made their Divinations of future Events. After the nine days were over, the *Curacas* taking their leave of the King, returned to their respective Countries, having received entire satisfaction in the solemn performance of the principal Feast, which they dedicated to their God the Sun. When the King was employed in the War, or was far remote in visitations of foreign Countries, he always observed the solemn Celebration of this Festival, in that place, where his occasions had drawn him, though not with the pomp and magnificence, as it was performed at *Cusco*; where in the absence of the King, the Governour and High-Priest, who were always *Incas* of the Blood, took care to celebrate the Festival, at which the *Curacas*, or their Deputies did appear for them, with a great concourse of people from the adjacent Provinces.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

In what manner the Incas took their Degrees of Chivalry, and what Examination they passed.

THIS word *Huacach* is of the true *Peruvian* Language, and signifies as much as to arm a Cavalier; meaning no other thing than those Badges of Honour and Banners which they gave to the young Men of the Royal Blood, whereby they received their first admission into the War, and were capacitated to take their Degrees and places of Dignity; without these attestations given to these young Men, they could pretend to no Place, or Degree, in Civil or Martial Affairs; and farther to capacitate them thereunto they were to be Batchelours, or single Men, according to the Books and Rules of Chivalry. Now to qualify them farther to receive these Honours, they were (as we shall more amply discourse hereafter) to pass a most severe and rigorous Novitiate, which was an examination of all the Toils, Labours and Hardships incident to War, and which became a Souldier to undergo in prosperous or adverse Fortune. For the better understanding of which, it will be necessary to recite all the particulars performed at this Festival; which, considering the barbarity of this People, is extraordinary, and admirable, and which might be owned by such as are expert, and far advanced in the Art of Military Discipline. At this Festival the Common People demonstrated great Joy, and the *Incas* both old and young received the Honours due to their Merit and Condition; the old Men were pleased to have their valiant and noble acts recited, and young Men to be thought worthy of being admitted and enrolled in the Lists of Chivalry; and because the Honour or Dishonour of this Test, which the Novices underwent in their Examination, was derived to all their Parentage, and Kindred; the clear and handsome approbation which every one received, became the concernment of the whole Family of the *Incas*, though they were more particularly interested in the Reputation of such who were of the limpid and lawfull Blood.

Every Year, or two, more or less, according as it was judged convenient, the young *Incas*, of sixteen Years and upwards, were admitted to this military probation; and no others, though Sons of the greatest Lords, and *Curacas*: Their Custome was to educate them in a certain House properly constituted for these military Exercises, built within the precincts of *Colcampata*, which I remember once to have seen, when they celebrated some part of these Ceremonies in it, but fell so short of the greatness of the ancient Exercises, that they may be rather called shadows, or representations, than real performances of them. The Masters or Instructors of the Novices in this House were ancient *Incas*, who were well experienced in the Arts of War and Peace; and these were those who made trial of them in these following particulars; and in others which I have now forgotten. One of the trials they made of them, was, how they were able to endure a fast of six days, onely with some few handfulls of unbaked *Cara*, which is a sort of their Wheat, and with no other Drink than a small Jarr of Water, and without any thing else, either Salt or *Yebus*, which is the red *Spanish* Pepper, yielding such a pleasing sort of taste to them, that it made every thing to relish, and for that reason it was forbidden to the Novices in their fastings.

This severe Fast was never enjoined to any above three days, but onely to the Novitiates, who were to be proved to the utmost extremity, whether they were able to suffer Hunger, and Thirst, in the Wars, in case any accident should necessitate them thereunto; but then another Fast, less rigorous than this, the Fathers, Brothers, and near Relations to the Novitiates imposed on themselves, which they solemnly observed, supplicating their Father the Sun, that he would vouchsafe to bestow on his Children, who were now Probationers, force and strength to undergo their task, and acquit themselves with honour; for such as were not able to

sustain such hardships as these, they rejected, as not worthy to be admitted into the number of Novitiates. The Fast being performed, and that they were refreshed and strengthened again with their usual nourishment, then trial was made of their natural nimbleness, and activity of Body in running, from the Mountain called *Huanacauri*, which was esteemed sacred by them, to the Castle of the City, being about a League and a half; at the end of which race a signal was set up, where he that first arrived, was elected Captain over all the rest. Nor did all the others lose their Honour hereby, for the second, third, unto the tenth, acquired reputation; but those who fainted in the course, and were not able to hold out, were noted for sluggards and Cowards, and pitifull persons; and therefore their Parents and Relations, would intercept them in the way as they ran, encouraging them to strain and force themselves all they were able, telling them, that they had better dye, and break their hearts in the Race, than come off with Infamy and Dishonour.

Another day these Novitiates were to be divided into two equal parts; one half was to garrison and maintain the Fortress, and the other half was to assault and storm it; and having thus fought and contended a whole day, then the day following they changed their stations, and those who had before defended the Fortress, were now to assault it; so that trials were made in every respect of their Strength and Agility of Body, and of their Art and Conduct in War. In these Skirmishes, though they fought with blunted Arms, yet so much was the heat with which both sides contended for their Reputation, that many were wounded, and oftentimes some killed in earnest.

CHAP. XXV.

That these Novitiates were to know how to make their own Arms and Shoes.

HAVING performed these Exercises, they were in the next place to wrestle one with the other, being matched according to their age, and proportion of Body; then they were to leap, and throw the Stone, the Lance, and Dart, and other Weapons, which were thrown by hand; then they shot at Butts with Bow and Arrows, to try their dexterity in Archery; then they tried who could throw farthest against the Walls of the Fortress, for proof of the strength and exercise of their Arms; in like manner they threw at marks with their Slings, and managed all sorts of Arms which they used in War; then they tried their vigilance and watchfulness, how well they were able to endure the want of Sleep, setting them on the Centinel for ten or twelve nights together; and in case any one was found sleeping on the Guard, he was severely reproached, as unworthy to take any Degree of military Order. They tried also how hardy they were in their Flesh, and how able to endure and suffer Wounds, which they made with the sharp points of Rods in their Arms and Legs, and other parts, which according to the Habit and Fashion of *Peru*, were commonly naked; they observed when those Wounds were made, with what courage they received them, whether they changed their countenance, or shrunk up their Legs or Arms; for unless they seemed insensible of the smart, they were rejected as nice, and effeminate, and their Flesh not hardy, nor enduring the Blows and wounds of an Enemy.

Sometimes they placed them in a narrow Trench, where a Fencing-master with a club wielded with both hands, or a Quarter-staff, which the *Indians* call *Macana*, came to them, or with a half Pike, which they call *Chugui*, which they brandished and flourished before their Eyes and Faces, making offers at their Legs and Heads, at which if they unluckily seemed to wink, or shrink away, as if they feared the blow,

blow, they were rejected, and not suffered to pass the Muster, saying, that such as were fearful of receiving blows, which were practised in Exercise only, without design of hurt, would be much more timorous when they appeared before the face of an Enemy, from whom they could expect nothing but Death, or Wounds without favour or mercy; so that none were approved, but such as were unshaken, and were Bullies as immovable as the Rock it self.

Moreover and besides all this, they were to have learned the Trade of making with their own hands all sorts of offensive Arms, which were used in the War, at least, such as were most common, and which were made without the help of a forge, or art of a Smith; such as Bows and Arrows, and Launces, which were sharpened and pointed without Iron; and Slings which were made of Hemp or Flax; of all which Arms they were to make use, as occasion required: As to defensive Arms they made use of none, unless they were shields, or Targets, which they called *Hualcanca*. These Targets they were obliged to make with their own hands, at least to know how to make them; as also their Shoes, which they call *Ufuta*, which is a Sole of Leather tied about the Foot with packthread, such as some wear in *Spain*, and are like the Sandals of the Franciscan Friars.

The strings which they used for these Shoes were made of Wool twisted with a Spindle, which they held in one Hand, and the Thread in the other, the string was made as thick as the middle finger, and broad, that it might not hurt or gaul the Foot, half a yard whereof for each Foot was sufficient, which may serve to confute the Words of a *Spanish* Historian, who, writing of the *Indians*, says that they wove they knew not how, nor for whom; but we may pardon this false Relation, so much to the Disreputation of the *Indians*, which also is not altogether without some reflexion on the *Spaniards* themselves; for such Men as these being Strangers, and not versed in the Customs of that Countrey, take up at hazard any Report which Men out of Ignorance or Interest deliver to them. Only this Opinion I would have the World to entertain of these *Indians*, that of all the Gentiles in the World, there never was any Nation more manly, and which valued themselves more on the account of Hardiness and Bravery, in detestation of all sorts of effeminacy, than did the *Incas*; for they being generally puffed up, and exalted with the lofty thoughts of Alliance to the Sun, were Heroick to an high Degree, and aspiring to greater matters than those which fall within the sphere and compass of their management.

This manner of spinning Wool they called *Milluy*, which signifies as much as to spin Wool for making strings to tie Shoes, or Ropes for carriages or Burthens; the which work was the proper business of Men, the Women had another sort of Spinning, which they called *Bubca*, which signifies as much as to spin with a Distaff, and is that Word which is only applied to the Work of Women; which different Expressions and Proprieties of Speech I have denoted, for satisfaction of such as are curious in this Language, for want of which knowledge in the propriety of Words belonging to that Speech, many *Spaniards* who have writ Histories of *Peru*, and dispersed them in *Spain*, have been guilty of gross mistakes, having charged the *Incas* with many Customs and Practices never known, or in use amongst them. But to return again to our purpose: We say, that the Novitiates were obliged to learn the Trade of making their own Arms and Shoes, so as to be able to provide themselves with such necessities at any time, when the urgency of War, or any other emergent constrained them to have recourse to their own Art and Industry.

C H A P. XXVI.

That the Prince himself underwent the rigour of Approbation, and that they dealt more severely with him than with others.

DURING the time of Probation one of the Captains, or Masters of these Ceremonies, did every day make a Speech to the Novitiates, putting them in mind of their lofty Lineage, and descendency from the Sun, repeating the noble and heroick Actions performed and atchieved by their Kings, and other famous Princes of the Royal Bloud; and that according to their Examples they ought to signalize their Vertue and Valour, towards the enlargement of their Dominions, and with generous Constancy and Patience exert all the faculties of Heroick Souls. Moreover they recommended to them Clemency, Piety, and Gentleness towards the poor, Impartiality in their Justice, and to see that none did Wrong without due punishment, to be liberal and magnificent, as became the bright Sons of so glorious a Father: and in sum, they instructed them in all those Lectures of Morality unto which their Philosophy had as yet attained, ever inculcating the remembrance of their more than Humane Race, and of their Descent from the Celestial Region. They made them also sleep on the ground, walk bare-foot, exercising them in all other points of hardship which was incident to a Souldier's Life. Nor was the Prince, who was the Eldest Son, and Heir to the *Inca*, exempted from these Exercises of Probation, or treated with less rigour or severity than the others, unless perhaps the greatness of his Birth might excuse him from the labour and fatigue of the Race, which being run by others, the Flag, which became the prize and reward of the most swift, was by him laid at the Feet of the Prince, as his undoubted right, to whom also the Inheritance of the Kingdom appertained; but as to all other Exercises, such as Fastings, military Discipline, making his own Arms, and Shoes, sleeping on the ground, eating and faring hardly, and marching bare-foot, they were required of him, as the most necessary qualities belonging to a Prince, who being exalted above all others in the sublime Station of his Power and Sovereignty, was also to excell others in his Vertues and Abilities, both of Body and Mind: For in case at any time their Princes should be reduced to an equality of Fortune, it would not become the Royalty of their Persons to be less worth than other Men, or less able to contend with the cross accidents of an adverse condition; for as they had the advantage of others, both in Prosperity and Adversity, so ought they to be endued with predominant Vertues (especially such as are warlike) above the ordinary capacity and scantling of the multitude.

By virtue of such Excellencies as these, they were of Opinion, that the Prince deserved the Inheritance, and claimed it on a better Title, than of being born Heir to his Father. They were of opinion also, that it was necessary for Kings and Princes to have tried and experienced in their own Persons the Labours and Difficulties of War, that so they might be more sensible, and better able to judge of the merits, and gratifie the hazards of their Souldiers. During all this time of Approbation, which continued for the space of one New Moon to another, the Prince went habited in the most poor and mean Clothing that can be imagined, being all made up with rags and patches; with which he was not ashamed to appear in publick, so often as his occasions required: And this was done with this farther intent, that when he should behold himself on the Throne of his Majesty, he should look down from thence with a compassionate Eye on the poor, in remembrance that he himself was once one of that number, and on that score endearing his Person to them with Friendship and Charity he might duly claim the Title of *Huachacuyac*, which signifies a Lover of the Poor. These Exercises of Probation

Probation being past, they were declared worthy of being dignified by the *Inca*, and to be entitled true and legitimate Children of the Sun. Then came the Mothers and Sisters of these young Men, bringing them *Usnas*, or Sandals of Packthread, which they put on their Feet, in testimony that they had passed and overcome all the severe methods of military Exercises.

C H A P. XXVII.

That the Inca conferred onely the chief and principal Mark of Dignity; and that one of his Kindred conferred the rest.

THESE Ceremonies being performed, notice was given thereof unto the *Inca*, who being attended with the grave Seniors of his Royal Family, came to the Novitiates, and in a short Oration, acquainted them, that they were not to rest in the bare Formalities of Chivalry, and Marks of the Royal Bloud, onely to satiate their light humour with the vanity of empty Honour; but to emulate the Vertues of their Ancestours in their Justice to all, and Mercy to the poor; and that being the true and undoubted Progeny of the Sun, they ought to imitate their Father, shining with the splendour of good Works, which tended to the common benefit of all his Vassals, which was the sole Design and Errand for which they were made, and sent from Heaven to inhabit the Earth. Then the Novitiates came one by one to the King, and presenting themselves before him on their Knees, they received from his hand the first Mark and Signal of Royal Dignity, which was to have their Ears bored, and pierced by him in the soft part of the Ear, with a large Nail of Gold, leaving it in the holes both for cure of the Wound, as also to widen the Orifice, and stretch the Ear, being often extended to an incredible bigness.

The Novitiates, in recompence for this favour, kissed the Hand of the *Inca*, and every one in his turn having received the order, arose from his Knees from before the other *Inca*, who was Brother, or Uncle, to the *Inca*, and the Person next in Authority to him; who having loosed their *Usnas* of unspun hemp, shod them with Sandals of Woollen Manufactory, of the most gentle and fashionable sort, after the manner of the King, and the *Incas*, that in token of Approbation, and having passed examination, were found and esteemed worthy. This Ceremony of putting on the Shoes, did something resemble the practice of buckling the spurs on the heels of Knights of the military Order in Spain; which being done they kissed them on the right Shoulder, saying, *That Child of the Sun, who hath given these evidences of his Merits, deserves to be kissed*: For the same Word which with them signifies Kisses, signifies also Adoration, Honour and Courtesie. This Ceremony being past, the Novitiate was introduced into a round Chamber, adorned with Hangings, where the ancient *Inca* vested him with the Habit agreeable to his Order, which, untill that time, it was not lawfull to put on. This Vestment was made with three corners, two of which hung down at length, to cover the Privy-parts, being girt about the Waist with a Twist of the Thickness of a finger; the other part behind was girt or laced about the Thighs, so that though all the other Garments were stripped off, yet this habit would remain a sufficient and decent covering for the Body.

But the chief and principal Mark of this Order was the boring of the Ears, which, as it was a Badge of Royalty, so this of the Vestment was of Chivalry: the Ceremony of the Woollen Shoes was a Novelty introduced, signifying the Weariness of the Novitiate after his Labours, and were bestowed by way of refreshment

freshment rather than as any essential Ceremony belonging to the Order. From this word *Huara*, which fully expresses all the Solemnity of this Festival, the word *Huara* is derived, which signifies a Cloth or Vestment, and implicitly denotes, that that Person who deserves such Habit, hath a lawfull Title of pretence to all those Dignities, Honours, and Royalties, which may be acquired, either by War or Peace. Moreover they placed on the Head of these Novitiates Garlands of two several sorts of Flowers; one was of that which they call *Canna*, being of a very beautiful form, and of various Colours, such as yellow, murrey, red, and others, all being very lively and cheerful. The other sort of Flower was called *Chihuyhua*, being of a deep incarnation, not unlike the Gilliflowers of Spain. These two sorts of Flowers were appropriated onely to those of the Royal Family; it not being lawfull for the Commonalty, nor for any *Curaca*, how great soever he were, to wear that sort of Flower. Moreover they wore upon their Heads the Leaf of an Herb called *Vinay Huayna*, which signifies youthfull, being very verdant and green, and bearing a Leaf like that of the Lilly; it conserves it self fresh for a long time, and though it be withered, yet it continues its colour.

All the Badges of Chivalry and Honour, such as the Flowers and Leaves before mentioned, and other things, were conferred alike on all Novitiates, as well as on the Heir apparent; who was differenced from them onely in the Wreath which bound his Temples, which was four fingers broad, not round, as the Spaniards imagine it, but like a Fringe, made of Wool; for the Indians had no Silk in their Country; the colour was of a pale yellow, like a Lemon-colour. This distinction was not worn by the Prince, until he had passed his time of Approbation, and then it was his single and peculiar Badge of Honour, not being allowed to any other, no not to his own Brother.

The last Royal distinction they gave unto the Prince, was a kind of Pole-ax, with a Handle of about a yard long, which they called *Champi*. This Iron had an edge like a sword on one side, and the point of a Diamond on the other, being like a Partisan, onely that it wanted a point. When this Weapon was put into his Hand, they said *Aucacunapac*, which is a Noun of the Dative Case, and signifies for Tyrants, for Traytors, for cruel Persons, for false Breakers of their Faith, for this and much more this word *Auca* signifies; these Arms which were put into his Hands, served for an Embleme of Justice, with which he was to punish Offenders: the other particulars of Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs, signified Clemency, Piety, Gentleness, and other Vertues and Royal Endowments of a Prince, which he ought to make use of towards his faithfull and loyal Subjects. For as his Father the Sun had caused those Flowers to grow in the Fields for the contentment and pleasure of Mankind; so likewise ought a Prince to cultivate the Flowers of Vertue in his Mind, that so he might justly claim the Title of Lover of the Poor, and that under that character and notion his Name might smell sweet, and be precious in the World.

The Officers of Chivalry having in the presence of the *Inca* made and concluded this Discourse unto the Prince; then immediately the Uncles and Brothers of the Prince presenting themselves on their Knees before him, adored and revered him for the true and undoubted Child of the Sun, and Heir of the *Inca*. The which Ceremony seems a kind of Investiture of the Prince, and Admission to the hereditary Succession of the Empire; which being done, they bound his Temples with the yellowish Wreath. And thus the Feast of the Novitiates, admitted into the Order of Chivalry, concluded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Distinctions which the Kings, and the other Incas, and the Masters of Novitiates wore.

THE King wore the same sort of Wreath about his Temples, but of a different colour, being red, besides which the *Inca* carried another more peculiar distinction, proper to himself, which was the two pinion Feathers of the Bird called *Coquequeque*; the which are streaked white and black, and as large as the Wings of a Falcon, or long-winged Hawk; they were to be fellows of the same Bird, as I once remember to have seen them planted on the Head of *Inca Sayri Tupac*. The Birds which have these Feathers are found onely in the Desert of *Vilcanota*, being about thirty Leagues distant from the City of *Cusco*, situate near a little Lake, lying at the foot of the inaccessible snowy Mountain. Those that are acquainted with that sort of Fowl say, that never above two of them, namely a Male and Female, are seen together; but whence they come, or where they are bred, is not known: besides which place, the Indians say, that none are seen in any other part of *Peru*, though there are other Lakes, and snowy Mountains, and Deserts, besides that of *Vilcanota*: perhaps this Bird may be like the Phoenix, which none having seen, we may fantasie it after the form and colour of this Bird.

Now in regard that these Birds were singular in the World, and that none besides them were ever seen before, nor since, the *Incas* esteemed them such a rarity, as did not become any besides the Royal Head; for these Birds, for the singularity of them, resembling (as they said) their two original Parents, Man and Woman, which descended from Heaven, served to continue the memory of them, and therefore as their Feathers were sacred, so they were the peculiar note and mark of the Imperial Dignity. For my part, I am of opinion that there are many other Birds of the same species with these; and that though I will not deny but that there may be a Phoenix in the World, yet that this Bird is not of that kind is most probable; howsoever the Indians may maintain what opinion they please, and in devotion to their Fore-fathers, may fantasie them like these Creatures which are rare, and esteemed sacred. It is certain that the Feathers of these Birds were highly esteemed of in those days, though they are more common now, being worn by many, who falsely pretend to a descent from the Royal Bloud of the *Incas*, though in reality the Race of those Princes is almost totally extinct, for in regard the example of foreign fashions hath confounded the true distinctions on the Head, by which the quality of every Person was known, so it gave a confidence to many to usurp this Royal Mark, and pretend to Princely Descent, every one almost assuming the Title of an *Inca*, or a *Pallas*.

These Feathers were planted over the coloured Wreath which bound their Temples, the pique Feathers pointing upwards, removed at a little distance one from the other, as they were naturally spread. Having these Feathers on their Heads, they carried great respect for all sorts of Birds and Fowl, so that they took care how they affrighted or chafed them away. Every new *Inca* that succeeded to the Empire, procured new Feathers; for that the former belonged to the King deceased, who being embalmed, conserved all his Ensigns of Regality, of which these Feathers were an especial mark. Such was the Majesty of this Bird *Coquequeque*, and such was the Reverence and Respect which the *Incas* expressed towards it; which though the matter it self be of little importance to the People of Spain, yet the knowledge thereof may be pertinent to such, as have the curiosity to be acquainted with the Customs and practices of the *Incan*-Kings. But to return again to our Novitiates: So soon as they had received these Marks of Chivalry, they were conducted to the principal place of the City, where a general Festival was publicly solemnized for many days with Songs and Dances, in honour and triumph for their Victories; the like also was more privately celebrated in

in the Families of their Parents and near Relations; who boasted and rejoiced much in the proficiency of their Sons, challenging to themselves a share in their commendations; for they having instructed them in martial Exercises, how to manage their Arms, and make their Shoes, and educated them with hardship remote from effeminacy and softness, did justly triumph and glory, that having performed their duty towards their Sons, in their Childhood, had now accomplished them with Abilities to serve their Country either in War or Peace.

CHAP. XXIX.

How Chuquimancu, a Lord of four Vallies, yielded himself.

BUT to return again now to the Reign and Conquests of the *Inca Pachacutec*, we are to understand, that the General *Capac Yupanqui* having subdued and conquered the great *Curaca Chincha*, sent to the King his Brother for a new Army, whereby he might be enabled to overcome those Vallies, or Plain Countries which presented themselves before him. The *Inca* with all readiness supplied him with new Forces, commanded by good Officers, providing them with all sorts of Victuals and Ammunition, agreeable to the greatness of the Enterprize. The new Army being come, with which also the Prince *Yupanqui* returned, being very desirous to exercise and signalize himself in the War; the General of *Chincha* boldly proceeded out of his Quarters, and posted himself in the pleasant Valley of *Runahuana*; which is as much as the People's Terror, because in the River which runs through that Valley many people had been drowned, who supposing the Water to be as shallow in the Winter as in the Summer, rather than go a League about by way of the Bridge, have foolishly adventured to wade over it; but the Chanel being deep, and the Current rapid, have most miserably perished in the Waters. But the *Spanish* Historians give this Valley, and the River, the name of *Lunaguana*, by corruption of three Letters of this Word; one Writer says, that the Word *Guano* signifies mudd, or dung, because it affords good Sillage, and great improvement for their arable Lands; but this Letter *G*, ought to be *H*, so that the true word is *Huano*, for the *Peruvian* Tongue doth not admit of the Letter *G*, which word *Huano* signifies dreadful; by this particular, and many other instances that we could give, it is very apparent how little the *Spaniards* understood that Language; and what gross mistakes also the Mongrels, or those that are mixed of *Spanish* and *Indian* Blood, did likewise make; for they taking the accent in part from their Fathers, both in speaking and writing are often guilty of strange corruptions; which when I have observed, I have endeavoured to correct amongst them, but to little purpose, considering how prevalent conversation is, and the communication of a people to whom they are subdued, and become Vassals.

In those days this Plain of *Runahuana* was greatly peopled, as also another Low-Country lying to the Northward of it called *Huancu*, which contained thirty thousand Inhabitants; in like manner also *Chincha* was inhabited, and other Countries situated North and South of it; but now there are not two thousand Inhabitants reputed to be there in all, and some lie wholly desolate, unless they be some few *Spaniards* who have taken up their dwellings in those parts.

Having already related the Conquest of *Tumac*, we are now to take notice, that the Plain of *Runahuana* with three others to the Northward of it called *Huancu*, *Aulla*, *Chilca*, were all in subjection to a great Lord called *Chuquimancu*, who having several of these Provinces under his Jurisdiction presumed to give himself the Title of King, and by reason of his Power claimed an Authority and Dominion

over

over others, who were not really, and duly his Subjects. This King (for so we may term him) hearing that the *Incas* marched against him, joined what forces he was able to make, and boldly attempted to meet, and give a stop to the Enemy at the pass of the River; where after several Skirmishes, wherein many were slain on each side, the *Inca* at length passed the River by help of some flat, botomed Boats, and Floats, which he had made for that purpose. Nor did the *Tumac* make all the resistance they were able, in regard their King *Chuquimancu* declared his Design of retreating to the Valley of *Huancu*, which, as he falsely supposed, was the most advantageous Post; but being unskillful in the Art of War, he was deceived in his measures, as will hereafter appear; for the *Incas* having well encompassed their Army, made their benefit of this ill Counsel, and in less than a months time gained all the delightfull and pleasant Valley of *Huancu*.

The *Inca*, for security of his Arrear, and for Convey to his Provisions, having left a sufficient force in *Runahuana*, marched forward into *Huancu*, where a cruel and bloody War began, for *Chuquimancu* having gathered all his Forces into a Body, to the number of twenty thousand Men, pretended with good Conduct and Stratagems of War to defend his people, and gain the reputation of a renowned Captain. On the other side the *Incas* used all their Arts to subdue them with the least effusion of Blood that was possible; though in this War eight months time passed, with many bloody Skirmishes, not to be avoided, during which time the *Incas* relieved their Armies with three, some say four exchanges of their forces, and that the Enemy might despair of wearying them out, and constrain them at length to remove their Camp; they gave them sure evidences of their resolution to continue in that Station until their surrender; for as a token that they lived at ease, with all the conveniences of the City, they called the Quarter of the *Inca Cero*; and to the parts about it, where the Army was lodged they gave the name of the principal streets. *Pedro de Cieza* says, that this War continued above four years, and that the *Inca* in that time founded a new City, which he called by the name of *Cero*; but this Relation he pretends to have received from the *Tumacs* themselves, who out of vain glory might be apt to magnify the greatness of their Actions: But the truth is, the four years were no other than a relieving of the Army four times, and the Foundation of a City was no other than the denomination of *Cero* given to the Camp.

By this time the *Tumacs* began to be sensible of Hunger and Famine, which is the most cruel Enemy, and that which abates and brings low the heat and resolution of the most proud and haughty Spirits; but some time before that extreme Famine distressed them, the Natives of *Runahuana* had instantly petitioned their King *Chuquimancu* to submit to the *Incas*, before it was too late, and before their obstinacy had exasperated the mind of the *Incas* to give away their Houses, Lands and Inheritances to their Neighbours of *Chincha*, who were their mortal Enemies: The people being apprehensive of these matters, and finding their King obstinate in his resistance, privately with-drew, and fled from the Camp, giving private intelligence to the *Inca* of the condition and want in the Enemies Army.

Chuquimancu growing now sensible of his Weakness and Distress, and fearing to be wholly abandoned by his people, and at length to fall without any conditions into the hands of the *Incas*, began to shew himself inclinable to hearken to proposals of Peace; whereupon calling a Council, they resolved to go in Person, and without Mediation of Ambassadors, to humble themselves before the *Incas*; and accordingly they proceeded to the Royal Quarters, where casting themselves on their knees, they begged Mercy and Pardon for their Offences, declaring their readiness to acknowledge themselves Vassals to the *Inca*, since it was the pleasure and determination of the Sun his Father to make him supreme Lord and Sovereign of the Universe.

The *Incas*, both Uncle and Nephew, courteously received them, according to their usual Grace and Favour, assuring them of pardon, and having vested them with such Garments as were customary, dispatched them with contentment, and licence to return unto their own homes.

The Natives of these four Provinces, like those of *Chincha*, make great boastings of the wonderful Prowess and Valour of their Ancestours, whom the *Incas* were not able to subdue in less than four years War; besides many other Stories of their mighty Deeds, which we omit, because they are not pertinent to our History.

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Howsoever this is certain, that the *Incas* esteemed it so great a work to have conquered the King *Chuquimanchu*, that as a Trophy of their Victory, and in perpetual remembrance of the valiant Actions performed in this War, both by their own people, and by the *Tunecas* in their own defence, they built a Fortrefs in the Valley of *Huancu*, which, though it were of little compass, yet it was a wonderfull and rare Work for that people, being made with due Symmetry, and according to the Rules of Fortification; and for that Reason, and for the situation of the place, being built on the Sea shore, it ought to be permitted to remain for an ancient piece of antiquity; and indeed the work was so strong and durable, as may last for many ages without any repair; for when I passed by it in the Year 1560, it still shewed what it had been, and which neither I nor any other could behold, without some resenting thoughts of this unconstant and transitory World.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Vallies of Pachacamac and Rimac; and of their Idols.

THE King *Chuquimanchu* being thus subdued, and the Government established in his Country, according to the Laws, Rites and Customs practised and observed by the Subjects of the *Inca*. They passed forwards in farther pursuance of their Conquests, over the Vallies of *Pachacamac*, *Rimac*, *Chancay* and *Huancu*, (which the *Spaniards* call the *Baranca*, or Breach of Earth between two Hills,) all which four were under the Command and Dominion of a powerfull Ruler, called *Cusimanchu*, who also had the vanity to take upon himself the Title of King; and though amongst the *Indians* they have not a word properly to express the name of King, yet the term of *Hatun Apo*, which is as much as a great Lord, hath some affinity with that signification: And as to these Vallies of *Pachacamac* and *Rimac*, which I shall say once for all, that the *Spaniards*, by corruption of the last Word, give it the name of *Lima*, by which it is known to this day.

Now as we have said before, so we must say again, and as all the *Spanish* Historians write, That the Kings of *Peru* did by the mere light of natural Reason attain to the knowledge of one God, the Maker of all things, whom they called *Pachacamac*, and Sustainers of the Universe; the which Doctrine was more ancient than the time of the *Incas*, and which was dispersed through all their Kingdoms, both before and after their Conquests. They farther affirmed, that he was invisible, and because he would not suffer himself to be seen, for that reason they did not build Temples to him, nor offer him Sacrifices, as they did to the Sun, but only adored him interiorly with profound Veneration in their Hearts, as may appear by their outward gestures, of bowing their Heads, lifting up their eyes, and opening their Arms whensoever his sacred Name came to be mentioned. This Doctrine (as we have said) was everywhere dilated; for so soon as any people was subjected to the *Inca*, this Principle was intilled, in case it had not taken place and root before: But those who had chiefly admitted and received this Doctrine, before the times of the *Incas*, were the Ancestours of this King *Cusimanchu*, who having built a Temple to *Pachacamac*, did afterwards give the same Name to the Valley where it was erected; which in those days was of the greatest Fame and Renown of any in that Coast. In this Temple the *Tunecas* placed their Idols, which were the Figures of divers sorts of Fish; and amongst them they had also introduced the Image of a Shee-fox.

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This Temple of *Pachacamac*, which was the onely place so dedicated in all *Peru*, was very magnificent both for the structure, and for the services performed there; for the *Tunecas* offered many Sacrifices of Beasts, and other things; not excepting the Blood of Men, Women and Children, which they killed at their principal Festivals, being practised also in many other Provinces, until reformed by the Government of the *Incas*; and this shall serve at present to have spoken of *Pachacamac*, intending to touch farther thereupon, as we shall have occasion in the occurrences of this History.

The Valley of *Rimac* lies four Leagues to the Northward from *Pachacamac*; *Rimac* signifies something which speaks, having its name from a certain Idol, of the Figure of a Man, which spake, and answered questions, like the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and several others in the World, by which the Devil deluded the people in times of the ancient Gentilism. This Idol was seated in a most sumptuous Temple, though not so magnificent as that of *Pachacamac*, to which the Great Lords of *Peru* either went in Person, or enquired by their Ambassadors, of all important Affairs relating to their Provinces. The *Tunecas* held this Idol in great Veneration, as likewise did the *Incas*, after they had subdued that pleasant Valley where the *Spaniards* founded that City which they call the King's City, or King's-Town, having had its first Foundation begun on that day which we celebrate in remembrance of our Saviour's first manifesting himself to the Gentiles; so that *Rimac* and *Lima*, or the King's-Town, is all one, bearing Three Crowns, with a Star, for its Arms.

The *Spanish* Historians confound the Temple of *Rimac* with *Pachacamac*, saying that the Idol of *Pachacamac* was the speaking Oracle; but this is but one of those many mistakes of which, for want of knowledge in the propriety of that Tongue, they have been guilty; and indeed the neighbourhood of those Vallies, and vicinity of one of them to the other, being not above four Leagues distant, may make their Error the more tolerable. And thus much shall serve to shew that the speaking Idol was *Rimac*, and not *Pachacamac*; with which let us return to our former purpose.

Before the General *Capac Yupanqui* arrived with his Army at the Valley of *Pachacamac*, he dispatched after his usual Custome, his Summons to the King *Cusimanchu*, requiring him to yield Obedience to the *Inca Pachacutec*, and that he should prepare to acknowledge and receive him for his supreme Lord and Sovereign, and to observe his Laws and Customs, and that renouncing all other Gods and Idols, they should adore the Sun for the chief and principal God: These were the conditions which he offered to him, which if he refused to accept, he was resolved to make War upon him, and constrain him thereunto, either by fair means or foul, by gentle persuasions, or ruder arguments of the Sword.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XXXI.

*Of the Answer demanded of Cuyfmanco to these Summons;
and of what Capitulations were made with him.*

THE late successes of the *Inca* in the neighbouring Countries, had sufficiently alarmed this great Prince *Cuyfmanco*, and warned him to provide for a War, and for his own defence; wherefore having gathered his Army, in presence of the Captains and Souldiers he received the Summons of the *Incas*; for answer whereunto he replied, That neither he nor his people stood in need of other Prince or Ruler besides himself, that the Laws and Customs which they observed were defended and derived to them from their Fore-fathers, which they found so good and laudable, that they could not resolve to forsake them to embrace Manners and a Religion wholly strange and foreign to them; that amongst other Gods they adored the *Pachacamac*, who was the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe, and for that reason must be greater than the Sun; that they had built a Temple wherein they sacrificed unto him of the best of their Substance, and offered the Blood of their Men, Women and Children to him, esteeming nothing too dear whereby they might testify the great Reverence and Veneration they had for him, which was so profound and dreadful, that they durst not behold his Image in the Face, but approached to him at his hinder parts, as also did the Priests, who durst not so much as lift up their Eyes to behold him; that they had another God called *Rimac*, whom also they adored, who was more familiar with them, and discoursed and talked with them, and gave them Counsel in their most difficult Affairs; that they worshipped also a Fox for his Craft and Subtily, and the *Mamacocha*, or Mother-Sea, because it provided them with Fish for their nourishment; all which were a sufficient number of Gods for their protection and use; but as to the Sun, they never had heard any great report of him for a God, or that any had heard him speak like *Rimac*; nor had they need of much more hear than what was natural to the Climate of their Country, and therefore they desired the *Inca* to grant them Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom in their way of Worship, for that they did not find any great need they had either of the *Inca's* Government, or his Religion.

The *Incas* were so well satisfied to understand that the *Tunacas* conceived much Devotion for the *Pachacamac*, whom they inwardly and mentally adored in their Hearts, that they proposed to reduce them without War, and overcome them with persuasions, reasonings and gentle promises and allurements, reserving the force of Arms and compulsion for the last and ultimate Remedy.

With this Intention the *Incas* proceeded into the Valley of *Pachacamac*, where they were encountered by the King *Cuyfmanco* with a strong Band of Men, resolved to defend their Country: Whereupon the General *Tupangu* dispatched a Messenger to them, advising them not to engage in Battel, untill such time as they had passed a Conference together, touching the Honour and Worship of their Gods: For that besides the Sun, whom they adored, they thought fit to acquaint them, that they conceived a great Devotion for the *Pachacamac*, to whom though they had erected no Temples, nor offered Sacrifices, because he was invisible, and incomprehensible, and above their Conceptions, yet they inwardly worshipped him in their Hearts, and conceived so great an Awe and Reverence for him, that they durst not take his Name in vain, or pronounce it with their Mouths, without profound and humble Adoration; wherefore since they worshipped the same God, and were of the same Religion, there was no ground or foundation of Quarrel; but Reason rather persuaded, that they should live in Friendship and Amity together. Moreover the *Incas*, besides this Devotion which they paid to *Pachacamac*, whom they held to be the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe;
they

they had a farther Honour to the sacred Oracle of *Rimac*, which the *Tunacas* also adored; and therefore since the *Incas* condescended so far to them, as to worship their Idol of *Rimac*, they ought also to correspond with the like Brotherly kindness, and comply with them in the religious Worship of the Sun, who was a visible God, and whose Beauty and Splendour deserved Veneration, and whose Benefits bestowed on Mankind, did merit the grateful acknowledgment of all Creatures, being much more to be preferred before the Deity of a Fox, or other low and insignificant Animals of Sea and Land, to which they paid Divine Honours. Wherefore now by way of friendly Accommodation they proposed to them to acknowledge the *Inca* his Brother for their Lord and Sovereign, and to obey him as a true born Child of the Sun, being esteemed for such, and a God upon Earth, the which he evidenced and proved by his impartial Justice dispensed to all by his Clemency and Piety, by his Gentleness, and by the Excellencies of his Laws and Government, which were so easie and beneficial, as rendered him amiable, and desired by many Nations, who upon the Report of his Vertues, and rare qualifications of his Majesty, have voluntarily desired to be admitted, and came from remote Countries to list themselves in the Roll of his Subjects; wherefore since the *Inca* hath been pleased to spare them these pains, and come and offer them in their own Country so much felicity, there was no reason they should neglect or refuse so precious a Blessing, because it was free: Wherefore they entreated them again to consider, without prejudice or passion, of these Offers, and not constrain the *Inca* to impose that on them by rude and forcible terms, which he desired gently to infill into them with the most soft persuasions imaginable, and not be forced to have recourse unto his Arms, against which no humane power was capable to make resistance.

The King *Cuyfmanco* and his Subjects lent a favourable Ear to all these Discourses, and having obtained a Truce for some days, at length by the Industry and Prudence of the *Incas*, a Peace was concluded on these following Conditions:

That the *Tunacas* should adore the Sun and the *Incas*; that they should build a Temple apart to *Pachacamac*, where they might sacrifice, and make him any Offerings they pleased, provided they were not of the Blood of Mankind; it being against the Law, and light of Nature, for one Man to murder another, or kill him for a Sacrifice to his God: Wherefore that Custome was wholly to be abolished. That all the Idols in the Temple of *Pachacamac* should be ejected thence, it being neither reasonable, nor decent to entertain mean and petty Deities in the Temple of that Great God, who is the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe; and who being invisible, ought invisibly to be worshipped; and for that reason, that no Image or Representation of him should be erected in his Temple, where it had not pleased himself to discover his Shape and Form, or to evidence his Beauty in that manner as the Sun daily appears unto us. That for the better Ornament and Fame of this Valley of *Pachacamac*, a Monastery of Select Virgins should be founded there, with a Temple dedicated to the Sun, both which gave a great Reputation to this Valley; because it resembled the City of *Cusco* in that matter which made the City it self illustrious and sacred. That the King *Cuyfmanco* should still remain Prince in his own Dominions, and the *Curacas* continue with their Authority, onely that they should acknowledge Obedience to the *Inca*, as their Supreme, and observe his Laws and Customs. And finally, That the *Incas* should bear all Reverence and Respect to the Oracle of *Rimac*, and should command all their People and Subjects to doe the like.

Upon these Terms and Conditions a Peace was concluded between the General *Capac Tupangu* and the King *Cuyfmanco*, to whom he gave a Memorial of all the Laws and Customs which the *Inca* commanded him to observe; together with these Constitutions, which relate to the Tribute payable to the Sun, and *Incas*; all which seeming to be just and honest, the King received them with much alacrity. All which matters and things being orderly ordained, and established, and Officers, with a sufficient Guard, being placed for better security of the Country, the General with his Nephew returned to *Cusco*, to render the *Inca* an Account of their Successes, and Subjection of the *Tunacas*. And that the *Inca* might have the Acquaintance of the *Cuyfmanco*, and own him for his Confederate and Allie, rather than his Vassal, he was invited to accompany the General to *Cusco*,
with

with which *Coyfman* was greatly pleased, having not onely the opportunity hereby to satisfy his curiosity in the fight of that famous City, but to receive the honour of killing the hands of the *Inca*.

The *Inca Pachacutec*, who at the beginning of this War, had seated himself in the Province of *Rucana*, was now upon the news of his Brother's good Success returned back to *Cusco*, from whence he went to meet his Brother, and Son, welcoming them home with all the Joy and Triumph he was able; and having received *Coyfman* with obliging Terms, and encouraging expressions, he commanded that he should take his place in this solemnity amongst the *Incas* of the Royal Blood, of which *Coyfman* was not more proud, than envied by his *Curacas*.

This Triumph being solemnized, the *Inca* gratified *Coyfman* with many Honours, and dispatched him to his own Countrey laden with his Favours; as he likewise did to the other *Curacas*, who accompanied him, and all returned greatly satisfied, proclaiming the *Inca* for the true Child of the Sun, and to be adored, and served in all parts of the Universe. It is very observable: That so soon as the Devil saw, that the *Inca* was become Master of the Valley of *Pachacamac*; and that the Temple there was despoiled of all the little Images and Idols, which possessed it, he presently contrived to make it a Habitation for himself, and to be there worshipped for the unknown God; that he might vent his Lies and Deceits in all Shapes and forms, and set them to sale with best advantage. To which end he whispered into the Ears of the most eminent Priests from all the corners of the Temple, telling them, that since the Temple was now freed of the false Idols which polluted it, he was ready to give answer to all the Questions and Demands which should be enquired of him; not that he would attend to the frivolous and impertinent Queries of the common People, but onely to such as should be put to him by their *Incas*, and Princes, who were desirous to be resolved in matters of great importance, relating to the Government, and alterations of State and Religion. And that the common People also might not want a Director, he was pleased to commit the care of those Resolves to his Servant the Oracle *Rimac*, whom he had inspired with Wisdom to answer all their Enquiries. From which time it became a Custome to consult all matters of State with the Oracle *Pachacamac*, and to make common and vulgar Enquiries at *Rimac*; which because they were many, and that this Oracle was ever solicited with a multitude of Demands, he was called the prating Oracle; for being obliged to answer all, it was necessary for him to talk much; the which passage *Blas Valera* touches briefly in his History.

And now at length the *Inca Pachacutec* thought it convenient to desist for some years from farther progress in his Conquests over the new Provinces, by which time of Peace his Armies would be able to recover and refresh themselves, and he having leisure thereby to attend his Civil Government, might also have means to enoble his Kingdoms with magnificent Edifices, Laws, and Rites, and Ceremonies, agreeable to the new Reformation he was making in Religion, that so his Actions might correspond with the signification of his Name, and his Fame eternized for a great and wise King in Government, for a sanctified High-Priest in Religion, and for a great Captain in War; and indeed the truth is, he gained more Provinces than any of his Fore-fathers, and enriched the Temple more than any particular *Inca* before him; for he plated all the Walls with Leaves of Gold, both of the Temple, and Chambers and Cloisters about it. In that place where formerly was the Image of the Sun, is now the Altar of the Blessed Sacrament; and those Cloisters serve now for Processions at the times of Festivals; that Fabrick being now the Convent of St. *Dominick*: For which happy Alteration may the blessed Name of the Eternal Majesty be for ever praised and exalted.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Conquest over the King Chimu, and the cruel War against him.

AT the end of six years the *Inca Pachacutec* finding his Kingdoms rich and happy by the advantages of so long a Peace, commanded an Army of thirty thousand Men to be raised to subdue those Vallies which lie along the Coast of the high Mountain, and which were the confines of his Empire, on the side, or at the foot

The Army being raised, was commanded by four Major Generals under his Son, the Prince *Tupacqui*, for he having been exercised for some years under the Instructions and Example of that famous Commander his Uncle, was now become so good a Proficient in War, that he was capable to conduct and lead an Army on the most difficult and hazardous Design. And for *Tupacqui*, Brother to the *Inca*, and whom he justly called his Right-hand, he desired to stay, and keep company with him, that so he might rest, and take repose after his many and great labours; in reward of which, and for his Royal Vertues, he bestowed upon him the Name and Title of his Lieutenant General, and second Person in all matters and causes relating to War and Peace, with absolute Power and Command in all parts of his Empire.

The Army being in a readines, the Prince marched with a Detachment of about ten thousand Men by way of the Mountain, until he came to the Province of *Taym*, which lies overagainst the City of the Kings, or Kings-town, where he made some stay, until the rest of his Army was come up to him; with which being joined, he marched to *Rimac*, where the prating Oracle had his Temple. To this Prince *Tupacqui* the *Indians* attribute the honour of being the first who made Discovery of the South-Sea, and subdued many Provinces in those parts, as will appear more at large in the History of his Life. The Prince being in those parts, was met by the *Curaca* of *Pachacamac*, called *Coyfman*, and of *Rumahuac*, named *Chunquimancha*, who with their Souldiers received him with much Honour, and with intention to serve him in the War; and the Prince on the other side gratified them with demonstrations of his usual Favours and Bounty. From the Valley of *Rimac* they went to visit the Temple of *Pachacamac*, where they entred with a profound silence, without vocal Prayer or Sacrifice, onely with signs of mental Devotion, as we have before expressed. Thence he made his Visit to the Temple of the Sun, where he offered many Sacrifices, and other gifts both of Gold and Silver. And to please the *Indians* he visited the Idol *Rimac*; and in compliance with the late Capitulations between the *Inca* and them, he commanded many Sacrifices to be offered, and enquiry to be made of that Oracle concerning the success of that expedition; to which having received answer that the design should be prosperous, he marched forward to that Valley which the *Indians* called *Huanan*, and named now by the *Spaniards* the *Barranca*; from whence he sent his usual Summons to a certain Lord called *Chimu*, who commanded all the Vallies reaching from the *Barranca* to the City *Truxillo*, and are many in number; but the chief and most principal of them are five, namely *Parmunca*, *Hualimi*, *Santa*, *Huanapu*, and *Chimu*, which is the Countrey in which *Truxillo* is situated, and are all five most pleasant and fruitful Vallies, and well peopled; the Prince giving himself the Tide of the powerful *Chimu* from the name of that Province where he kept his Court. He also took on himself the Title of King, being feared and honoured by all his Neighbours, who bordered on his Countrey, that is to the East, North and South; for to the West he was confined by the Sea.

This great and powerfull *Chimu* having received these Summons, gave a quick Answer, That he was ready with his Weapons in his Hands to defend his Countrey, Laws and Liberties; that he would not know, nor receive new Gods; and that

that the *Inca* should take this for a positive Answer, without seeking farther Resolution or Query in the case. Upon this Answer the Prince *Tupacqui* marched as far as the Valley *Parmunca*, where he expected to meet and engage with his Enemy, and had not long attended before they appeared with a strong band of Souldiers, who readily made trial of the Force and Valour of the *Incas*; the Fight was sharp and long, in defence of a Pass, which, notwithstanding the resistance made by them, the *Incas* possessed, and lodged themselves in it, many being slain and wounded on both sides.

At length the Prince observing the resolution with which these *Tumcas* defended themselves, and that this confidence proceeded from a contempt of his small numbers, sent unto his Father an account of all his proceedings, desiring him to supply him with a recruit of twenty thousand Men, not that he would relieve his Army, as he had formerly done, and thereby give time and breath to the Enemy, but that he might be enabled to fall upon them with a double force.

These Advices being dispatched to the *Incas*, the Prince closely attended to all the advantages of War, in which he found himself much assisted by the two *Ceracas* of *Pachacamac*, and *Rumaluanac*, who having formerly been mortal Enemies to *Chimu* on the old Quarrels about their Confines, and *Pasturage*, making one the other Slaves and Vassals, did with great animosity and malice take this opportunity in conjunction with the *Incas*, to vent their malice, and satisfy their revenge, which the *Chimu* did more sensibly feel than any other circumstance, and therefore heated with anger and indignation prepared the more obstinately to defend themselves.

Thus did the War become most cruel and bloody being increased by the ancient animosities between the *Tumcas*, which they exercised one against the other in service of the *Inca*, and which was so sharp, that in few days the *Inca* gained the Valley of *Parmunca*, driving the Natives out, and forcing them to retire into the Valley of *Huallini*, where also happened many Skirmishes, and engagements, and being also driven from thence, they fled into the Valley of *Santa*, esteemed the most pleasant and delightful place in those days of any upon the Sea Coast, though now it remains almost desolate, because the Natives have destroyed both this, and all the other Vallies.

The Inhabitants of *Santa* appeared more warlike than those of *Huallini* and *Parmunca*; so that Skirmishes and Battels frequently happened, and sometimes with that equality of Fortune, that they gained the Honour and Reputation of good Souldiers in the esteem of the *Incas*, and raised the hopes of the great *Chimu*; for he flattering himself with the valour and courage of his own Souldiers, and entertaining fancies and imaginations to himself, that this Prince, who had been educated in the softness of his Father's Court, would quickly be tired with the long continued rudeness of War, and so be desirous to enjoy the pleasures of peace and quietness at home; that the natural desire also of his Souldiers to see their Wives and Families, would cool their ardour and heat towards the War, and that the heat of the Country would abate their Mettle, and incline them to a lazy Humour, or else cause Diseases and Indispositions amongst them; with which vain imagination the resolute *Chimu* entertaining his thoughts, refused to hearken to any Propositions which the *Inca* from time to time offered to them; but rather reinforcing his Army with all the recruits those Vallies could contribute, he renewed the War with fresh vigour and courage, so that many being killed and wounded daily on both sides, 'twas accounted the most difficult and bloody War that was ever waged at any time by the *Incas*. Howsoever the Captains and *Ceracas* of *Chimu*, who with due consideration weighed the true state and condition of Affairs, knew well that this opposition could not continue long, but that either sooner or later they must yield unto the Enemy; and therefore inwardly were enclined to hearken unto Propositions of Peace and Friendship, though in respect to the Will and Pleasure of their Lord, they patiently endured all the labours and dangers of War, not daring to express their opinions to the contrary, until such time as they saw their Wives and Children seized and carried into slavery.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Miseries and Sufferings of the Great Chimu; and of his Obstinary therein; and how at length he was forced to yield.

WHILST the War was thus carried on with great resolution, the twenty thousand Souldiers which the Prince had demanded for a recruit to his Army arrived, which much abated the haughty and confident humour of *Chimu*, finding he perceived the force and strength of the *Inca* to be doubled, when he supposed, or imagined it to be decreased; and on the other, he found the spirit and courage of his own people to be dejected and terrified with the appearance of a new Army; being of opinion, that they were now rather to fight in compliance with the humour of their Prince, than in hopes of making defence against the power of the Enemy: Wherefore being much dismayed and terrified, the chief and principal Lords addressed themselves to *Chimu*, advising him not to contend, or hold out until the last extremity, but rather accept the offers and propositions made to them by the *Inca*; there being no reason to persist longer in this obstinacy, which would give opportunity to their inveterate Enemies to enrich themselves with their spoils, carrying away their Wives and Children into slavery: To prevent which, no farther delays ought to be made, lest their lasting obstinacy should provoke the *Inca* beyond all sufferance, and bowels of humane compassion; and that casting away the terms of Mercy, he should entirely extirpate their race with fire and sword.

With this discourse and admonition of his Friends, (which seemed rather like Menaces, than wholesome counsel) the brave *Chimu* lost his wonted courage, not knowing what to do, or unto whom to fly for succour; all his Neighbours and Allies fainting under the same dread and fear of the *Inca*: So that at length not knowing where to turn, he resolved to accept the first offers and propositions which should be made to him by the *Inca*; for his great Soul could not bear a submission in Person, or that the first proffers should come from him, lest it should betray a meanness of his Spirit, but rather that the Proposals and Articles of Peace should come to him from the *Inca*. And in the mean time covering this his intention to his own people, he encouraged them to continue the War; telling them, that he had still hopes, and did not fear with the help and valour of his people, but to conclude this War with great honour and advantage. And therefore he encouraged them to stand up in the defence of their Country, for whose sake and safety they were obliged to dye with Weapons in their hands, and not for every small disaster to faint and yield; it being the manner of War to be doubtful, and to lose that one day, which they might re-gain the next: If they were troubled to have seen some of their Wives and Children carried into slavery, that they should comfort themselves with the thoughts, that they had the advantage of their Enemy in that particular, having made greater Depredations on their Wives, than they ever did upon theirs. And therefore that they should not shew any Delpendency of mind, but rather trust to his judgment and persuasions, who had more care of their safety than he had of his own.

With these faint encouragements and counsels, rather than with solid hope, the Great *Chimu* dismissed his people, amongst whom he was much troubled to find such dejected and disconsolate countenances; howsoever, putting the best face he could on the business, he maintained the War, until such time as the usual Propositions came from the *Inca*, offering pardon, peace, and friendship according to the accustomed style often and often repeated. Having heard the Proposals pronounced again to him, he seemed to entertain them with the same indifference

as formerly; howsoever, as if he were become a little more pliable than he had been, he answered, that for his part, he continued in the same resolution never to condescend, unless for the good and quiet of his Subjects, whom he would therefore consult, and act according to their Directions and Resolves; and so having assembled his Relations and Captains, he acquainted them with the Propositions of the *Inca*, and that they should consider of them, and of their own welfare; for if it were their opinion to submit, and obey, he would prefer their will and safety, before his own Honour, or Sovereignty.

The Captains were over-joyed to find their *Chiruca* thus to meet their desires, and to recede from that principle, which would have been their destruction; and thereupon took the liberty to tell him, that it was reasonable and just to yield unto such a mercifull Prince, as was the *Inca*, considering that when it was in his power to have subdued them by force, he would rather invite them by the terms of Mercy. This being the general sense of all the people, it was pronounced with a confidence of Free-men, and not with the awe and reverence of Vassals; and therewith the Great *Chimu* being also convinced, and assenting, dispatched his Ambassadors to the Prince *Yupangu*, supplicating, that he would be pleased to dispense one Ray of that mercy and compassion to him and his Subjects, which like the bright Children of the Sun, they had cast upon all the four quarters of the World, which were subjected to their power: the which he with the more confidence implored, having had such frequent examples and precedents of Clemency and Justice, which both his Father the *Inca*, and others of his Ancestors, had daily and freely imparted to Mankind; and therefore he was no less assured of his indulgence towards his Subjects, who had less fault than himself, having rather continued in their rebellion by his instigation and encouragement, than by any inclination or perverseness in themselves.

The Prince being well satisfied with this Embassy, that he might spare the effusion of that blood which he had so long feared, received the Ambassadors according to his accustomed grace and favour, encouraging them to lay aside all apprehensions of distrust; and for better assurance thereof, he advised them to bring their *Chiruca* with them, that he might personally hear his Pardon and Absolution pronounced by the mouth of the *Inca* himself, and receive favours and presents from his own hand.

The brave *Chimu* having abated the haughtiness of his spirit, with much humility and submission presented himself before the *Inca*, and prostrating with his face in the Dust, often repeated the same supplications, which he had made by his Ambassadors: And in this posture continued, untill the Prince, being greatly affected with the sense of his afflictions, commanded two of his Captains to raise him from the Earth; and then told him, that he did not onely pardon him whatsoever was past; but assured him, that he could have done much more, in case he had committed greater offences. That he was not come into his Country to deprive him of his State, but to improve, and make it better; instructing them in such Laws both of Religion and Civil government, as would greatly advantage their condition and happiness of living: And in evidence hereof, that *Chimu* might be sensible that he was not to lose his Estate and Government; he did here freely resign it again into his hands, promising unto him all security in the enjoyment thereof; conditionally, that rejecting and destroying all their Idols which represented Fish, and other Animals, they should Worship and Adore no other than the Sun.

Chimu being thus cheered up, and comforted with the pleasant countenance, and obliging expressions of the *Inca*; again bowed himself, and adored him; and told him, that he was sorry for nothing so much, as that he had not yielded to his first Summons; and though his Highness was so Gracious as to pardon this fault, yet he could not forgive himself, being resolved to punish himself for this crime by a perpetual penance, and grief, and lamentation for it in his heart; and that as to Religion, or Customs, or Laws, he should impose what he pleased, and they should be readily received.

With these Conditions the Peace was concluded, and the *Chimu* yielded to Subjection and Vassalage; and thereupon both he and his Nobles were vested and honoured. After which, for the improvement and adornment of their Country, Orders were given to erect Royal Edifices, and make Aqueeducts and Channels for carrying Water into their Arable Lands; and for enlarging the Grounds

for

for planting and sowing, and all manner of Agriculture. Store-houses also were erected wherein to lay the proportion of those Fruits which belonged to the Sun, and to the *Inca*; and for receiving such Provisions as were made against the times of famine, or years of scarcity; all which was agreeable to the ancient and laudable customs and care practised by the *Inca*: More particularly in the Valley of *Parmunca*, the Prince commanded, that a Fortrefs should be built, and there to remain for a perpetual remembrance and signal Trophy of their Victory obtained against the King of *Chimu*, having been the place and seat of a bloody War. The Fort was strengthened with great Art, and adorned with Paintings, and other curiosities: Howsoever, these rarities could not administer consideration to unconcerned Strangers and Foreigners sufficient to spare them, and free them from being demolished; howsoever, they are not so totally destroyed, but that still some ruines remain to shew the compass and circumstance of that Work.

Things being quieted and settled in *Chimu*, Garrisons established, and Ministers appointed both for Civil Government and Matters of Religious Worship; the Prince took his farewell of *Chimu*, who was greatly satisfied to see himself continued in his Power and Rule; and then the Prince returned to *Cusco*, where he was received with the usual solemnity, and the Festivals of Triumph celebrated for the space of a Month.

CHAP. XXXIV.

How the Inca improved his Empire, and of his other Actions till the time of his Death.

THE *Inca Pachacutec* being by this time grown aged, began to study his quiet and repose, resolving not to engage himself farther in War for the enlargement of his Empire, having already extended the same 130 Leagues North and South, and in breadth as far as it is from the snowy Mountain unto the Sea, which is 70 Leagues East and West; and all in order to the propagation of those reducing principles from their Ancestors, which were to doe benefit to Mankind, reducing them to rules of Morality and good manners.

He planted many Colonies in dry and barren Countries, having by his Channels of Water made them fruitful.

He erected many Temples to the Sun, and Monasteries for the Select Virgins, after the form and model of that at *Cusco*. He also made many Store-houses for Corn and Victuals, and for Arms, wherewith to supply his Army in their march, and maintain his people in the time of scarcity, and also built several Palaces on the great Roads for better accommodation of the *Incas* in their Travels. In short, he reformed every thing that was amiss in the whole Empire, and added to his Religion many new Rites and Ceremonies, and introduced many laudable Customs, and new Laws, tending to the better regulation of Moral life: He ejected many of the Idols formerly Worshipped by his Subjects out of the Temples, and forbade many barbarous and abominable customs in use amongst them.

And that he might shew himself as great a Captain and Souldier, as he was a King and Priest, he reformed the Militia, instructing them in the Discipline of War; and for encouragement of his Souldiery, he established new favours and honours for those that should deserve them. He also enlarged and beautified the great City of *Cusco* with sumptuous Buildings, and supplied it with new Citizens and Inhabitants; and particularly he erected a Palace for himself near those Schools, which his Great Grandfather *Roca* had founded: For which Magnificent actions, and for his sweet and gentle disposition, he was beloved and adored like another *Jupiter*. He reigned fifty years, and, as some say, seventy; during all

which time, he lived in great peace and prosperity; at the end of which he dyed, being universally lamented by his Subjects, having his place allotted to him amongst the Kings his Predecessors, and enrolled in the List and Number of their Gods. He was embalmed according to the custome of their Country; and his Obsequies performed with cries, and sighs, and sacrifices, and other ceremonies of Funeral, which continued for the space of a whole year.

He left the Universal inheritance of his Empire to his Eldest Son *Tupangui*, and his Wife and Sister *Coya Anahuarque*, besides which he left above three hundred Sons and Daughters; and that in all, with legitimate and natural Children, he made up the number of more than four hundred; and yet the *Indians* esteem these but few, considering they were the issue of so great, and so good a Father.

The *Spanish* Historians confound the Names of this Father and Son in one denomination, calling the Father *Tupangui*, and the Son *Inca*, whereas *Inca* was the Royal Title, as *Augustus* was to the Emperours. The cause of this mistake amongst the *Spaniards* arises from the *Indians* themselves, who having occasion to mention these two Kings, say *Pachacutec Inca, Tupangui*; which the *Spaniards* misunderstanding, take to be one person, and so confound the Father with the Son; though, in reality, the *Indians* make great difference, distinguishing this *Tupangui* from his Father and others by the surname of *Tupac*, which is as much as to say (resplendent) in like manner they distinguish another *Inca Tupangui*, by the Father of *Huayna Capac*, and another *Tupangui* by the Grandfather of *Huáscar*; and so give some distinction to them all, which I denote for better clearing the History to observing and intelligent Readers.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Schools which he founded and enlarged, and of the Laws he made for good Government.

BLas Valera discoursing of this *Inca*, hath these following words: "*Viracocha* being dead, and placed by the *Indians*, amongst the number of their Gods, the Grand *Titi* his Son succeeded in his Throne by the Name of *Manco Capac*, until such time as his Father gave him the Name of *Pachacutec*, which signifies as much, as if they should call him the Reformer of the World: the which Name was verified by the many famous Actions he performed, and the many wise Sentences and Proverbs which he uttered; the which were so excellent and renowned, that having deserved that August Title, the former Name began to be forgotten. This *Inca* governed his Empire with that vigilance, prudence and courage both in War and Peace, that he not only enlarged it towards all the four quarters of the World, which they called *Tavantihsuyu*, but strengthened and corroborated it by such excellent Laws and Statutes, as were judged worthy to be confirmed by the Wisdom of our Catholick Kings; those only excepted, which had respect to the Idolatrous Rites of their Religion, and to the permissions of their Incestuous Marriages. This *Inca*, above all things, amplified and endowed with Honours and Revenues those Schools which the *Inca Rocca* had first founded at *Cuzco*: He encreased the number of Masters and Teachers; commanding, that no Officer, Captain or Souldier, should be capable of any Honour, Office or Dignity, but he only that could speak, and who was knowing and skilfull in the Language of *Cuzco*. And that no person might plead excuse for his ignorance therein, he ordained and appointed several Masters to teach that Tongue to all the Nobles, and to others capable to serve in publick employment; so that the Language of *Cuzco* became the common and universal Tongue of all *Peru*: However of late (I know not how) by negligence of

"of Officers, 'tis almost lost and forgotten, to the great damage and obstruction of the Gospel. Such *Indians* as to these days retain that Language, are much better civilized, and more intelligent than those others, who are as gross and corrupt in their Manners, as they are in their Language.

"It was this *Pachacutec* who prohibited all perions, unless they were Princes, and of the Blood-Royal, to wear Gold or Silver, or pretious Stones, or Feathers of divers colours, or the fine sort of Goats Wool, which they had learned to Weave with admirable Art. He commanded, that upon the first days of the new Moon, and other days of Festival, they should go decently, but not gaily dressed; by which means he made moderate cloathing to become a fashion, which to this day is observed by the *Indians*, who are Tributaries; and hath that good effect upon them, that thereby they are freed from the danger of bad Arts, which oftentimes necessitate Men to exercise unlawfull contrivances for the sake of fine cloathing, and gay apparel. Though indeed at present those *Indians* who are Servants to *Spaniards*, or live amongst them, are become greatly corrupt in that particular, not valuing their honour or consciences in comparison with the gallantry and finery of their Apparel. This *Inca* likewise enjoyed great temperance in Eating, though he gave more liberty to the Commonalty, as well as the Princes, in the excess of Drink. He ordained particular Officers to oversee, and take notice of idle Persons, and Vagabonds, not suffering any person to want business, or employment, but to serve his Father, or his Master, so that Children of five or six years of Age were not excused from some employment and work agreeable to their years. Even the lame, and blind, and dumb had some sort of work put into their hands; the Old Men and Women were set to affright away the Crows and Birds from the Corn, and thereby gained their Bread and Cloathing. And left Men, by reason of continual labour and toil, should become weary, and their lives burthenfome, he provided, that for their better ease, they should have three Days of repose and divertisement in every Moon, by which they accounted their Month: He appointed three Fairs in every Month, to be held at the end of every nine Days; so that such as lived in the Villages might at the end of the Week find a Market, at which to vend the Commodities they had made and worked: With occasion of which meeting and concourse of people, they heard and learned those Rules and Ordinances which the *Inca* and his Counsel published and proclaimed, though afterwards this King, for the better convenience of his people, appointed Markets to be held every day in the City, which they call *Casu*, and to remain unto this time: onely the Fairs he appointed to be kept on Festival-days for the greater solemnity and divertisement of the people. He made a Law, that every Province and City should assign Limits and Boundaries to their Mountains, Pastures, Woods, Rivers, Lakes, and Arable Lands, which they claimed and challenged, and so to remain for perpetual signals of their Rights and Inheritance, that so no Governour, or *Cuzaca*, might dare to encroach thereupon, or extend his authority, or jurisdiction, beyond them; but that the Inhabitants might enjoy freely their own possessions without any disturbance from Aliens, or people of the Neighbouring Provinces: In like manner the Royal Rents belonging to the Sun, and the *Inca*, were assigned, which the *Indians* were to plow and sow, and gather the fruits of them according to those rules and measures which are before prescribed by their *Agrarian* Law. Hence appears the error of those who affirm, that the *Indians* allowed no right or propriety in their Inheritances: For though the proportion of Lands was not set out by any exact measures of possession, yet every Man's labour gave him a title to that Land which he was able to Manure; for it was an Ancient custome of the *Indians* to meet together, and Manure not onely the Lands belonging to the publick, but such also as were the possessions of particular persons, which every one appropriated to himself by the right of that labour which he had bestowed upon it: For the manner was for the people to meet together, and then in the first place to plow and sow the Lands belonging to particular men, assisting each other with common labour: Then they employed themselves in Manuring the Lands belonging to the Sun and *Inca*, with common labour, observing the like rule in reaping and gathering in the Fruits in times of Harvest, and lodging them in the Royal Repositories, or Store-houses. By the same help, and almost by the same common consent they built their Houses, the Neighbourhood being appointed and obliged

" obliged thereunto by Orders of the Common Council within the respective
 " Precincts; to which the people so readily concurred, and willingly contribu-
 " ted to supply the necessities of each other, that in a very short time they ran
 " up a House, or Cottage, agreeable to the minds of those Inhabitants: the
 " which custome being very beneficial to the people, was afterwards made into
 " a Law, and confirmed by the authority of the *Incas*: And this usefull affluence
 " which some *Indians* do unto this day afford unto each other, is like the Precepts
 " of our Christian Charity: And where this Rule is neglected by some covetous
 " and selfish *Indians*, there the common good is injured and abused by those who
 " are neither usefull to themselves nor others.

C H A P. XXXVI.

*Of many other Laws introduced by the Inca Pachacutec,
 and of his Sentences and Wife Sayings.*

" **I**N fine, this King, with the assistance and wisdom of his Counsel, having
 " reviewed and weighed the several Laws, Statutes and Customs in use and
 " practice amongst the many Nations and Provinces which he had reduced, con-
 " firmed those of them which were good and profitable, and abrogated those
 " which interfered with the common peace, and were repugnant to the Majesty
 " and Sovereign Dignity of the *Inca*; to which he added many other Laws against
 " Blasphemers, Parricides, Homicides and Traytors to the *Inca*, also against Adul-
 " terers of both Sexes; against those who forcibly stole away Daughters out of
 " the Houses of their Parents, or by violence committed Rapes on the Bodies of
 " Women, or attempted the Chastity of the Select Virgins, or robbed, or purloin-
 " ed, or burned Houses, or were guilty of Incest in the right line. Besides
 " which, he added many Rites and Ceremonies to be observed in their Sacrifices,
 " and confirmed those ancient Institutions of his Ancestors, relating unto their
 " Temples and Religion. He also confirmed these ancient Laws following:
 " Namely, That Children should obey and serve their Parents untill the Age of
 " twenty five years; and that all contracts of Marriage before that time, without
 " the consent of Parents on both sides, were void and null; and that Children
 " born in that condition were Bastards, and Illegitimate; but if in case, in the
 " Estate of such Matrimony, the consent and approbation of Parents should after-
 " wards be obtained, then were the Children esteemed Legitimate, and restored
 " to the privileges of lawfull Inheritance. He moreover approved and confirmed
 " the Estates which were appropriated to the maintenance of Lordships and Sei-
 " gnories according to the ancient customs of Kingdoms and Provinces, in which
 " cases the Judges were not to receive Fees or Rewards for Judgment. Many o-
 " ther Laws were made by this *Inca* of less consideration, the particulars of which,
 " for brevity sake, we omit; and shall hereafter discourse more fully of those
 " Laws which he made for Regulation of Judges, of Matrimonial Contracts, and
 " of the Testaments of persons deceased, and of what he instituted about Mil-
 " itary Discipline, and the account to be observed in the course and circle of the
 " year. In this Age of ours *Don Francisco de Toledo*, changed and altered many of
 " those Laws and Statutes which were made by this *Inca*, in which the *Indians* ob-
 " serving and admiring his absolute and uncontrollable power, gave him the
 " Name of *Pachacutec* the Second, which is as much as to say, the Reformer of
 " the Reformers; and so great was that reverence which they bore to that *Inca*,
 " that even to this day his Memory is dear and precious to them. Thus far are
 " the words of *Blas Valera*, which I found amongst his loose Papers; all other mat-
 " ters

ters which he wrote concerning Judges and Marriages, with the account of their
 Militia, and the course of their year were all lost, which was a general damage
 to the whole World. Howsoever, in a scattered leaf, I found some Sententious
 Sayings of this *Inca Pachacutec*, which are these which follow.

*When the Subjects, Captains and Curacas heartily and willingly obey their Prince, then
 doth the Nation enjoy perfect peace and quietness.
 Envy is a Cancer which eats and gnaws into the bowels of the Envious.
 He that is envious, and is envied, hath a double torment.
 Better is it that thou shouldst be envied by others for being good, than that thou shouldst
 envy others, because thou art bad. He that envies others, hurts himself.
 He that envies good Men, contrails evil unto himself, as the Spider draws and sucks poi-
 son from flowers.*

*Drunkenness, anger and folly are equally mischievous; differing only in this, that the
 two first are transient and mutable, but the third permanent and continuing.
 He that kills another without the authority of Justice, passes sentence upon himself. He
 that slays another like himself, must necessarily dye for it, and pay the punishment with his
 own life: for which reason the Kings, Our Royal Progenitors, did ordain, that whosoever kil-
 led another, should pay the price of blood with his own life.
 Thieves are not upon any terms to be tolerated, because they are a generation who would
 rather live upon prey and robbery, than gain riches by honest labour, or enjoy their possessions
 by a lawfull title.*

*Adulterers, who take away the good reputation and honesty of another Family, are distur-
 bers of the common peace and quiet, and are as bad as Thieves and Robbers, and therefore
 to be condemned to the Gallows without mercy.*

*A truly noble and courageous spirit is best tried by that patience which he shews in the
 times of adversity.*

*Impudence is the character of a poor and degenerate spirit, and of one that is ill taught
 and educated.*

*When Subjects are obedient, their Kings and Governours ought to treat them with gentle-
 ness and clemency; but the perverse and obstinate are to be ruled with a severity and rigour
 moderated by prudence.*

*Judges, who are corrupted by Gifts clandestinely received from Plaintiff or Defendant, are
 to be esteemed for Thieves, and to be punished for such with capital punishment.*

*Governours ought to have a special eye unto two things; first, that they themselves observe
 and execute the Laws of their Prince, and not suffer others to transgress them: And next,
 that they seriously consider, and contrive all matters which may tend to the good and benefit of
 their respective Provinces. That Indian who knows not how to govern his own Family, will
 be much less capable to rule a Kingdom.*

*A Physician, or Herbalist, who knows the Names, but is ignorant of the Virtues and Qua-
 lities of Herbs; or he who knows few, but is ignorant of most, is a mere Quack and Mount-
 ebank in Physick; and deserves not the name and repute of a Physician, untill he is skillfull,
 as well in the Noxious, as the Salutiferous qualities of Herbs.*

He that would pretend to count the number of the Stars is a Fool, and worthy to be derided.

These are the Sayings and Sentences of the *Inca Pachacutec*, which were confer-
 red in memory by their Knots, they having not attained to the more ready way of
 letters or cyphers.

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K VII.

C H A P. I.

Of the Colonies planted by the Incas, and of the two different Languages in Peru.

IT was a custome amongst the *Incas* to transplant the people from one Province to another, that is, from barren Lands and Countries, to more fruitfull and pleasant soils, whereby both the government was secured from rebellion, and the condition of the people advantaged by a happy and profitable exchange: In performance of which design, the *Incas* had always a respect to the condition and quality of the people, and the temperature of the climate; transplanting those who had been born and bred in hot or cold Regions, into Countries of the same degree, and equal temper of heat and cold. Likewise in Provinces where the people multiplied greatly, and were become too numerous to be contained within the limits and compass of it; then did they subtrae from thence such a number as might ease the Province, and supply the wants of other places. The like was practised in *Collao*, which is a Province of 120 Leagues in length, containing several other Nations under its jurisdiction: This Countrey being very cold, produced neither Mayz, which is Indian Wheat, nor *Uchu*, which is Red Pepper, and yet it abounds with Pulse, and all sorts of lesser Grane, such as that they call *Papa* and *Quirru*, which do not grow in hot Countries; and is also rich in Flocks and Herds of Cattel. From all those cold Provinces they transplanted great numbers of *Indians* to the Eastward by the Mountains of *Andis*, and to the Westward along the Sea-coast, where lyes a vast Countrey, containing many large and fruitfull Vallies, which produced Mayz and Red Pepper in great abundance, and which before the times of the *Incas*, for want of the Art and Knowledge of making Aqueducts and Chanels for watering the Furrows of their Land, lay wholly dispeopled and deserted. The *Incan* Kings having well considered the benefit of these improvements, did frequently transplant their people from the barren, to more commodious and happy soils; and for their refreshment in those Plantations, furnished them with a quantity of Water sufficient for their Lands; making it a Law, that they should succour and help one the other, and by bartering their commodities one for the other, what one wanted was supplied by the other. By these means also the *Incas* secured their own Revenue, which was paid them in Mayz or Indian Wheat, for (as we have said before) one third of their Fruits which their Lands produced, did belong to the Sun, and another third to the *Inca*.

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Moreover by this course the *Incas* were supplied with great quantities of Mayz, for maintenance of their Armies in that cold and barren Countrey, so that the *Collas* were able to carry great quantities of *Quinna* and *Chinn*, and great slices of that which they called *Charqui*, to their Kindred in other Plantations, and in exchange and barter for them, returned home laden with Mayz, and red Pepper, and other Fruits which those Countreys yielded; which commodious way of trade was of great benefit and consolation to the *Indians*.

Pedro Cieca de Leon, in the 99th Chapter of his Book, discoursing of this manner of mutual Commerce, saith, "That in fruitfull Years the Inhabitants of *Colla* live with contentment and plenty, but in dry years they suffer great wants, and scarcity of all Provisions. The truth is, had not the *Incan*-King prescribed excellent Laws for the government of this People, and ordered every thing with a provident and industrious regard, certainly these Countreys would have laboured under great penury and wants, and perhaps have relapsed into the same bestial condition, in which they once were before the times of the *Incas*. And thus much I affirm, because I know that the Climate under which the *Collas* inhabited, is cold, and therefore not so fruitfull as the warmer Regions of more happy Countreys. And in regard the mountains of *Andes* did border on all sides of those Colonies; it was ordered, that all parts should issue forth a certain number of *Indians*, with their Wives and Children, who being planted according to the direction of their *Caciques* in such places, as were convenient, might improve their Lands, and by Industry and Art supply that which was wanting by nature; which People were called *Mitimas*, and were so obedient, and observant to their Lords and Captains; that to this day they are Drudges to them, their principal care and business being to manure and cultivate the *Coca* Plantations, which are so precious and profitable, that though in all *Collas* they neither sow nor reap Mayz, yet neither the Lords, who are Natives, nor the Common People, who are industrious, do want sufficient quantities of Mayz, Honey, and all other Fruits, in exchange for their *Coca*. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieca*, extracted verbatim from his Original Writings.

Moreover they transplanted the people sometimes on other occasions, when having subdued some warlike and stubborn Nation, which being remote from *Cocca*, might be apt to rebell, then in such case of suspicion or jealousy, to prevent all danger of Mutinies, their practice was, to transplant the people from their own soil to some other Countrey, nearer, and within the reach of the *Inca*, where finding themselves encompassed with loyal Subjects, and friends to the Government, more easily submitted their Necks to the Yoke, and so became faithfull against their own Inclinations. When any of these Exchanges were made of Colonies, they were always accompanied with some of those whom the first *Inca* *Manco Capac* had honoured with the Title of being *Incas* by privilege; and these were such as were appointed to govern and instruct the others. The title of these *Incas* was an honour to all those whom they accompanied, so that they were much more honoured and respected by the neighbouring and adjacent People. The Colonies which were thus transplanted were called by the common Name of *Mitimas*.

Another piece of their policy much conducing to the regular Government of their Empire, was a Command and an Injunction laid upon all their Vassals, obliging them to learn the Language of the Court, which to this day is called the common or universal Tongue; for the teaching of which, certain Masters, who were *Incas* by privilege, were appointed and ordained to instruct the People in it; besides which the *Incas* had a Court-language appropriated to themselves, which being esteemed the holy and divine Speech, was not to be proprianed by vulgar Tongues. This, as they write me from *Pern*, is entirely lost; for the Empire of the *Incas* being ruined, their Language ran the common fate of their other Regalities. The Reasons why the *Incan*-Kings did command that one common Language should be used, was for two respects, first to avoid the multitude of Interpreters, which would be necessary for understanding the variety of Languages spoken within the Jurisdiction of that great Empire. And in the next place the *Incas* entertained a particular satisfaction when they could speak their own words

unto their Subjects, and not be beholding to the Tongue of another; believing also that their Subjects with much more cheerfulness received the gracious Speeches of their Prince from his own mouth, than when they were conveyed to them by the breath of their Officers; but the chief Reason and Ground of this policy was in reference to foreign Nations, who for want of common Speech and Dialect, were subject to misunderstandings, whence Enmities and cruel Wars arose amongst them; for appeasing which, and reconciling their Affections, nothing seemed more probably conducing than a communication in speech, whereby all Misunderstandings might be obviated, and the People be induced to love each other, as if they were of the same Family and Parentage. With this artifice the *Incas* reconciled different Nations in a strict alliance, who had before been divided in their Idolatry, Customs and Manners of Living, and so effectual hath this Expedient been, that Nations who have hated each other, have thereby been allured into amity and friendship by it. The which good effect being observed by many Countreys, who had not as yet attained the happiness of being Subjects to this Empire, was a means to invite them to the Study of this general Language of *Cocca*; the which they having learned, and thereby Nations of different Tongues understanding each other, their Affections were reconciled by it, being from mortal Enemies become Confederates and Allies. Howsoever by this new Government of the *Spaniards*, many of the Nations who affected the *Coccan* Tongue, have now forgotten it, the which *Blas Valera* confirms in these words:

"It was the Command, says he, of the *Incas*, that all Nations should speak the same Language, though now in these days, by whose fault I know not, the same hath been lost and forgotten in many Provinces; the which hath proved a great interruption to the spreading of the Gospel, which hath much increased in the adjacent parts of *Cocca*, where that Tongue is used, and where that people are much more civil, and docible than in other parts. These are the words of *Blas Valera*, to which he adds in another Chapter, "That the general Language of *Pern* ought not to be lost, but rather taught and kept up by practice amongst the people, so that the Preachers of the Gospel may have but one Tongue to learn, and not be forced for every Province to study a different Speech, which would be a task and labour not to be overcome.

Moreover by this course the *Incas* were supplied with great quantities of Mayz, for maintenance of their Armies in that cold and barren Country; so that the *Collas* were able to carry great quantities of *Quinna* and *Chinu*, and great slices of that which they called *Charqui*, to their Kindred in other Plantations, and in exchange and barter for them, returned home laden with Mayz, and red Pepper, and other Fruits which those Countries yielded; which commodious way of trade was of great benefit and consolation to the *Indians*.

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C H A P. II.

That the Great Lords of Provinces sent their Eldest Sons to be educated in the Court of the Incas, and their Reasons for it.

THE *Inca*-Kings enjoined all the Lords of their Vassals to send their eldest Sons to be educated at their Court, that so they might imbibe certain good Principles of Learning and Religion in their tender years, and being accustomed to a conversation and familiarity with the *Incas* might contract a friendship and an affection for their Persons and Government; and these were called *Mitmas*, which is as much as Domesticks, or of the Family. Moreover it shewed the Grandeur of the Court to be frequented by the Presence and Service of all the young Heirs to those Kingdoms, States and Provinces which depended on that Empire; by which means the Language of the Court became more general and common, being learned with ease and pleasure; for it being the custome for the Sons of all Great Men to take their turns of waiting at Court, they could not fail of attaining some words and smatches of the Court Language; the which when they returned to their respective Countries, they made use of in all companies, being proud to shew what Courtiers they were, and how much refined in their Manners and Words, having learned the Tongue of the Divine Family; the which created an Emulation in others to attain that Tongue also for which their Neighbours and Acquaintance were so much admired: And having also by the help of this Tongue an introduction to the Conversation and Familiarity of the Chief Officers of Justice, and Managers of the Revenue of the Sun and of the *Incas*, every one did so labour to obtain the advantage of this Tongue, that without the instruction of Masters they with great ease, and almost insensibly attained unto it; by which means it came to be so generally spread in all parts, that for the compass of almost one thousand three hundred Leagues it became the only Tongue in use and esteem.

Besides the Honour and Grandeur that this Court received by the presence and attendance of so many noble Heirs, another benefit did thence accrue, by being a means to secure the Empire from Mutinies and Rebellion; for so long as the young Heirs were at the Court, they were like so many Pledges and Hostages for the good behaviour of their Parents and Country-men, divers of whose Provinces being four, five and six hundred Leagues from the Court, and many of them inhabited by fierce and warlike Nations, were ready and inclined upon every small overture to cast off the Yoke of their Servitude; and though these Nations of themselves singly were not able to contend with the Power of the *Inca*-Empire, yet being united in a League and Confederacy, might put it into some danger and difficulty; all which was prevented by the residence which these Heirs made at the Court, who were there treated with plentiful Entertainment, and honoured according to their several Degrees and qualities; of all which the Sons rendering to their Parents a true Relation, and confirming the same with such presents as the *Inca* sent to them, being Garments of the same quality which the *Inca* himself wore; they esteemed themselves so much obliged thereby, that their Servitude seemed a freedom, and Loyalty to be their duty; and in case any were so sturdy and stupid, as not to be won by such gentle applications and allurements; yet then the thoughts of having Children within the power of the *Inca*, were considerations sufficient to take them off from courtes ruinous to their own Blood.

With these and the like arts of Providence and Industry, accompanied with rectitude of Justice, the *Inca*-Empire was supported, and secured in such peace, that in all the ages which the *Incas* reigned, there was scarce heard the least noise or rumour of Rebellion or Mutiny. *Joseph de Acosta* speaking in the 12th Chap.

of his 6th Book concerning this Government, saith, "That such was the Fidelity and loyal Affection which these people bore towards their Princes, that there never was mention of any Plot or Treason contrived against their Persons; for though with rigour and severity they required Obedience to their Laws, yet such was the Rectitude of their Justice, and Impartiality in the Execution, that none could complain of the least violence or oppression: And such order was observed in the subordinate Magistrates, who so exactly regarded the most minute Irregularities in their Lives, that none could be drunk, or steal a bunch of Mayz from his Neighbour without punishment. Thus far are the Words of *Acosta*.

C H A P. III.

Of the Language used at the Court.

Las Valera, in the 9th Chapter of his 2d Book, treating of the general Language of *Peru*, speaks of the usefulness and facility of that Tongue, as it is to be found amongst his loose Papers.

"Now as to the common Language spoken by the Natives of *Peru*, the truth is, every Province used a peculiar Tongue proper to itself, but during the Reign of the *Inca*-Kings the Language of *Cuzco* was of greatest extent, reaching from *Quito* to the Kingdoms of *Chili* and *Tumac*, and which is now in use amongst the *Caciques*, and great Men, and such Officers as the *Spaniards* employ in their Service and Affairs. When the *Incas* subdued any Country, their first business was to enjoin the Inhabitants to learn the Tongue and Custome of *Cuzco*, and to teach them to their Children; for better effecting of which they gave them Masters and Teachers to instruct them; and for encouragement of such Masters, they gave them Lands and Inheritances amongst the Natives, that so they and their Children living and growing up with that people might continue a perpetual succession of Masters and Teachers of that people; and for their better encouragement the Governours of Provinces did always prefer such Teachers unto Offices before any others, for they were happy instruments of Quietness to the *Incas*, and of Peace and mutual Affection to the people. The Race and Offspring of those Teachers who anciently came from *Cuzco*, live still dispersed in those Countries, which were assigned for Habitations to their Parents, who having now lost that Authority which their Ancestours enjoyed, are not able to teach the *Indians*, nor compell them to receive their Language. Whence it is that many Provinces which were skillful in the *Cuzco*-Tongue, when the first *Spaniards* entered into *Castamarca*, have now wholly lost and forgotten it; for the Empire of the *Incas* being overthrown, all their Statutes, Laws and Orders perished with them; and indeed the Civil Wars which arose between the *Spaniards* themselves together with the malice of the Devil, might all contribute to this confusion, and to interrupt the propagation of the Gospel, which might have been much advanced, had the Apostolical Preachers of it had only one single Tongue to have learned: Whereas now all the Confines and Dependencies about the City of *Trujillo*, and other Provinces belonging to the Jurisdiction of *Quito*, are not able to speak or understand one word of the common Language of the *Collas* and *Puquinas*, relapsing again into their Mothers Gibberish, know no occasion or need for the *Cuzco*-Dialect, which also is at present so corrupted, that it seems quite another Speech to what it formerly was; and more diversity of Tongues are of late sprung up, than were known in the time of *Huayna Capac*, the last Emperour. Hence it is, that that Concord

"cord and reconcilement of Affections, which one common Speech had produced in the World, was lost, so that Men were become perfidious and hateful to each other, having no common tie of Words or Customs to unite and cement them in the bonds of Amity. The which inconvenience not being well observed by the Vice-Kings, who promiscuously reduced greater and lesser Nations to their Obedience, not regarding the use of a common Language, whereby the Gospel might have had entrance to them, did thereby greatly obstruct the progress of the Christian Faith, unless the Preachers had been endowed with an universal gift of Tongues, and learned all the different Dialects of those People, which was impossible without the Miracle of Divine Inspiration. Some are of opinion, that the *Indians* ought to have been obliged to learn the *Spanish* Tongue, so as to have taken off that difficult Task from the Priests, and imposed it on the *Indians*; but this project would not easily take; for if the *Indians* were so dull, and stupid, that the *Coccan* Language, which admits little difference from their own, was learned with much difficulty by them; how can we expect that they should ever attain to the *Castilian* Tongue, which in every word is strange, and without any affinity with their own. Were it not rather more feasible for the *Spaniards*, who are Men of quick Wits, and refined Understandings, to learn the general Speech of *Cocco*, than to put such poor sottish Wretches, who have no help of Letters, to the difficult labour of learning the *Castilian* Tongue; and who shall put their Masters to more labour in teaching them one Speech, than a quick witted Priest shall have in learning ten? Wherefore it were a more expedite way to oblige them to the knowledge of the *Coccan* Tongue, which differs little from their own; and in this Speech preach the Catholic Faith to them: In order unto which if the Vice-kings and Governors would be pleased to renew the Commands and Rules given in this case by the ancient *Incas*, obliging the Sons descended from the Line of the old Masters, to reassume the Authority formerly given them for teaching and propagating this general Tongue, they would easily reduce them to a knowledge thereof. I remember a Priest and Doctor of the Canon-law, a person very pious, and truly desirous to do good to the Souls of the *Indians*, did with great Diligence and Industry learn himself the *Coccan* Tongue, which having attained, he became very importunate with the *Indians* to learn it also; in compliance with whose desires many of them applying themselves thereunto, did in little more time than a year become perfect Masters of it, and to speak it as readily as their Mother-Tongue; whereby this Priest found so facile an introduction into the Ears of this people, that he easily filled the Fundamentals and Principles of the Christian Faith into their Minds and Hearts; and if one single person was able by his sole diligence and endeavours to incline the minds of this people to a compliance with his desires, how much more might the authority of the Bishops and Vice-Kings be prevalent and successful amongst them; and how easily might these *Indians*, by the help of this general Tongue, be taught and governed with much gentleness and lenity, from the utmost parts of *Quit*, to the Country of the *Chichis*? to evince which more clearly, it is observable, that the *Incas* dispatched all their judicial Acts by the help of a few Judges, whereas now in the very same Countries three hundred *Spaniards*, who are Corregidores, are not able to pass and perform the Causes relating to private Justice; all which difficulty is caused by the loss of the common Language, the which is much to be lamented, considering it is a Tongue easily obtained, as may appear by the many Priests, who in a short time have made themselves Masters of it. In *Chuquibamb*, as I have been informed, there was a certain Priest, Doctor in Divinity, who had so great a detestation of this Tongue, that he had no patience to hear it spoken, being of opinion, that it was so difficult, as not to be attained by the greatest Industry. It happened that before the time that a College of Jesuits was erected in that Country, a certain Priest came thither with intention to reside there for some days, to preach unto the *Indians* publicly in the general Language. The Priest, who so much nauseated that Tongue, resolved notwithstanding for curiosity sake to be present at the Sermon, and having observed that he quoted many places of Scripture, and that the *Indians* heard him with great attention, took some kind of liking to the Tongue; so that presently after the Sermon, he asked the Priest how it was possible for such divine and mysterious sayings to be expressed in words so barbarous as those; to which the Priest

"Priest answered, that the thing was very possible, for that the Language was so copious and easy to be learned, that if he would apply his Mind to it, he might in the space of four or five months attain to a perfect knowledge of it; by which being encouraged and moved with a desire of doing good to the Souls of the poor *Indians*, he promised all diligence and application of Mind in the study of that Tongue; in which, after the labour of six months, he became so great a proficient, that he was able to hear the Confessions of the *Indians*, and to preach to them to his own great comfort, and their advantage.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Usefulness of this Language.

HAVING thus made appear the facility of this Language, and how easily our *Spaniards*, who go from hence, attain unto it, with how much more readiness must the native *Indians* of *Peru* arrive at the knowledge of it; for though the people be of different Nations, yet their Language hath some affinity and similitude together, differing only in some Words, Dialects and Accents; so that we see how the common *Indians*, who frequent the City of *los Reyes*, and of *Cocco*, the City of *la Plata*, and the Mines of *Potosi*, being forced to gain their Bread and Clothing with the sweat of their Brows, only by Conversation and Commerce with the other *Indians*, without any rules or precepts given to them, have in a few months been perfect Masters of the *Coccan* Language; to which they have added this farther advantage, that when they have returned to their own Countries again, they have seemed more polished, refined and accomplished beyond the rank of the other *Indians*; and for that reason were greatly esteemed and admired by Neighbours; which when the Jesuits had observed, who lived amongst the People of *Sullis*, (whose Inhabitants are all *Aymaraes*, or Philosophers,) they concluded that the learning of this Language was of a particular advantage to the *Indians*, and an improvement equal with that which the learning of Latin is to us; the which also is confirmed by the opinion of Priests, Judges and Officers, who have had or entertained any converse or Communication with this people; for they have found them more just and honest in their dealings, more docile in spiritual matters, more acute and intelligent in their understandings; and in short, more civil and less barbarous, and more like Men and Citizens than the others; witness the *Indians* of *Puquina*, *Collas*, *Urus*, *Tuncas*, and other Nations, who with the change of their Language, have put off all their turpitude of Manners, and elevated their Souls to more sublime thoughts, which before were immersed in sense, and reached no farther than the mere sagacity of Brutes: But the aptitude and disposition which the *Indians* gain thereby, towards the receiving the Doctrine of the Catholic Faith, is a consideration above all others; for it is certain that this Speech of *Cocco* is so copious, and full of words fit to express the Mysteries of divine things, that the Preachers are pleased to expatiate in their Discourses with excellent Flowers of Rhetorick and Elegancies, which are made intelligible to the *Indians* by the knowledge of this Tongue, which hath opened a door for entrance of the Gospel with great benefit and efficacy. And though the Miracles of Divine Grace have evidenced themselves by other means amongst the rude *Indians* of *Uriguillas*, and the fierce and barbarous *Chiriguanas*; yet God, who is most commonly pleased to work by ordinary means, hath generally made use of this Tongue to convey the knowledge and instructions of the Gospel; for as the *Incan*-Kings, by the help of this common Language, which they

"they with great care and diligence instilled into the Minds of their people, did
 "propagate the Law, which the light of Nature taught them; so also ought
 "we with the same care and diligence endeavour to continue this excellent meth-
 "od, as the most expedite means to inculcate the mysteries of the Gospel; and
 "therefore it is great pity, and much to be lamented, that our Christian Gover-
 "nours, who omit no ways or contrivances to subjugate that people to the bon-
 "dage of their secular power, should be more remiss in those Courses, which
 "tend to the advancement of the Catholick Faith, than the Gentiles were
 "of their Idolatrous Worship. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*, which
 because they tend to the advancement of Christianity, I have thought fit to insert
 here; and then afterwards, like a learned man, and one skilfull in Tongues, he
 proceeds to compare the Language of *Peru* with the Latin, and Greek, and He-
 brew; and then proceeds to confute the Opinion of those who fantasie, that these
Indians of the new World were descended from the Jews, and for proof thereof
 they produce some Hebrew words which have a similitude with the general Lan-
 guage of *Peru*, though they are not alike in signification, but onely in the sound
 or accent. And on this occasion, amongst many other Curiosities and Idioms be-
 longing to this general Tongue, he observes that *son, b, d, f, g, i, and x*, are all
 wanting in the *Peruvian* Speech, and for that reason, had they been Jews, who
 are so affectionate to their Father *Abraham*, that his Name is never out of their
 mouths, they could never have wanted that letter (*b*) which is necessary to express
 a true sound of that beloved Name: To which we may farther add, that in all
 their Language they have no word with two Consonants together, such as *bra*,
cra, *cro*, *pla*, *pri*, and the like; so that they do not onely want the Letter (*b*)
 but also the syllable *bra*, which are necessary for Jews to express the Name of
 their beloved Patriarch; and though it may be objected, that this Language of
Peru hath many syllables with two Consonants coming together, such as *Pappi*,
Huacra, *Rocro*, *Pocra*, *Chacra*, *Llaclla*, *Chocello*, and the like, yet it is to be under-
 stood, that these Consonants are disjoined in their pronunciation; as for exam-
 ple, *Pap-ri*, *Huac-ra*, *Roc-ro*, *Llac-lla*, and the like, besides which, for want of a
 true observation, the *Spaniards* have many corruptions amongst them; as for
Pampa, they say *bamba*, for *Inca Inga*, for *Roc-ro Loc-ro*, and the like; as we shall
 hereafter make appear, as these words do occasionally occur; and so we shall
 recur again unto our History.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Third Festival, dedicated to the Sun.

THE *Incas* celebrated four Festivals every Year in their Court; the principal
 and most solemn was the Feast of the Sun, called *Raymi*, of which we have
 formerly given a relation at large. The second was the Institution of the Order
 of Cavaliers, of which also we have already discoursed. We come now to the
 two last, with which we shall end, and conclude all the particulars relating to
 their Festivals; for as to their other more ordinary Feasts, which were performed
 every Moon; and such Feasts as were kept in honour of Victories and Triumphs,
 we shall not farther enlarge upon, lest they should seem tedious to the Reader,
 onely we shall say in general, That these Feasts were held in the Temple of the
 Sun, without Processions into the open and publick places. And so we proceed
 to the third Festival, which they call *Cusquieraymi*, which they celebrated about
 the time that their Seed and Mayz was sprung up, and first appeared out of the
 ground; then they sacrificed to the Sun many Lambs, barren Ewes, and male
 Sheep, praying to him that he would be pleased not to suffer the Frost to destroy
 their Wheat; by reason that the Vallies of *Cozco*, and *Sacabuanana*, and the Coun-
 tries thereabout, are subject to mighty Frosts, as are likewise all other parts under
 the same Climate, which is so very cold, that it freezes there almost the whole year,
 and more particularly at our Midsummer, which is the depth of their Winter, at
 which time the Nights are commonly clear, but very sharp and freezing; which
 so soon as the *Indians* observe, they put fire to their Dunghills, to make a smoke
 and a smother; being of opinion that the ground under that thick covert gains
 some warmth; and thereby the sharp keenness of the Frost is much abated. I re-
 member to have seen this in *Cozco*; but did not much examine, whether it did
 any good or not; for being then a Youth, I was not so inquisitive into the causes
 and effects of things, as I was into the matter which was done.
 And now considering that the Mayz was a sort of grane, which was the chief
 nutriment of the *Indians*, and which was most damaged by the Frosts, they there-
 fore, to divert that Judgment offered to the Sun many Sacrifices, with Dances
 and Drink-offerings, supplicating him that he would be pleased to shroud their
 Plantations from the damage of the Frosts. The Flesh of the Beasts slain at these
 Sacrifices was distributed amongst those people who came to the Festival; for
 besides the Lamb which was offered, and entirely burnt to the Sun, together with
 the Bloud and Entrails of all the other Beasts; the Flesh was distributed amongst
 the people, after the manner used at the Feast of *Raymi*.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Fourth Festival, and their preparations to it by Fasting, and cleansing themselves.

THE fourth and ultimate Feast celebrated in the Court of the *Incas* was called *Citu*, which was performed with great joy, in regard it was by way of Thanksgiving, when sickness and diseases, or any other Judgments were removed from the City, and resembled the ancient Lustrations, or Purifications, after the foulness and contagion of distempers was removed. The preparation to this Feast was made by Fasting, and forbearing the company of their Wives; being held on the first day of the Moon, after the Equinoctial in the Month of September, they observed two sorts of Fasts, one more rigorous than the other; the most severe was kept by eating a small quantity of raw Mayz, and drinking Water, which was not to continue above three days; those that observed the other, were permitted to eat their Mayz parched together with raw Herbs and Roots, such as Lettice, and Radishes, &c. as also Red Pepper, which they call *Uchu*, and Salt, and to drink their usual liquour, but Flesh, and Fish, and boiled Herbs were forbidden; during which Fast called *Caci*, they might eat but once a day, and their most severe Fast was called *Hann-caci*.

Men and Women in general having made this preparation, and their Children also obliged to one day after the severe manner, they kneaded their Bread called *Cancu*, which on the Evening of the Vigil they made up in Balls, and put them into a dry pot without liquour to bake, for as yet they knew not the use of Ovens; and being half baked, they took them out. They made two sorts of Bread, one sort they moistened with the blood of Children, from five to ten years of Age, which they drew from the veins of their Armes, or between their Eyebrows or Noses; in such manner as when they let blood on occasion of distempers. I have seen them make both sorts of Bread; when they made that which was mixed with blood, they first assembled together according to their respective Lineages, at a certain place, from whence they went to the House of the Elder Brother, there to perform this ceremony; and in case they had no Brother, then it was done at the House of the nearest relation, who was Head of the family.

In the night, when this Bread was made, some hours before day, all those who had thus prepared themselves by fasting, arose from their beds, and washed their bodies; and then taking a lump of this ill-baked Bread mixed with blood, they applied it to their head, mouth, breast, shoulders, armes and legs, as if they had purified themselves with it, and cleansed their bodies of all infirmities. This being done, the Master of the family, who was chief of the Lineage, affixed some of this paste on the lintels of the door next the street; in token, that those of that House had performed the ceremony of Purification. The like ceremony the High Priest solemnized in the House and Temple of the Sun, enjoying the other Priests to perform the like in the House of the Wives dedicated to the Sun, and in *Huacacauri*, which was a Temple about a League distant from the City, being a place highly esteemed, and held in great devotion by them, because that *Ataco Capac* made a short abode there, when he first came to the City of *Cusco*, as we have formerly related. On the like errand they sent other Priests to all places, which were accounted hallowed and sacred, such as those, where the Devil spoke to them, and made himself to be adored as God. In the King's Court the ceremony was performed by the Eldest Uncle of the King, who was to be an *Inca* of legitimate descent.

So soon as the Sun arose, having performed their Acts of Adoration towards him, they prayed unto him, that he would vouchsafe to deliver their City from outward calamities, and inward diseases; and then they broke their fast by eating of that Bread which was made without blood. Having thus eaten their Bread,

and

and adored the Sun, which was performed at a certain hour, that so the Adoration might be general at the same instant of time; a certain *Inca* of the Bloud-Royal sallied out of the Fortres, richly attired like a Messenger of the Sun, having his Garments girt about his waist, bearing a Lance in his hand, garnished with a plume of Feathers of divers colours, which hanged dangling down from the point to the end of the Staff; the length of which was of about three quarters of a Yard, studded with golden Nails; and which in War served for an Ensign: With this Lance he issued from the Fort rather than from the Temple, being esteemed a Messenger of War, and not of Peace; for the Fort, as well as the Temple, was Dedicated to the Sun, being the place where matters of War were treated, as the other was, where peace and friendship were entertained. This Officer came running in this manner downwards from the Hill called *Sacsabumam*, flourishing his Lance until he came to the Market-place of the City, where four other *Incas* of the Bloud, each carrying a Dart in his hand, met him; having likewise their Garments close girt, after the manner of the *Indians*, when they put themselves in a posture of exercise, or labour: This Messenger meeting the four *Incas*, touched the head of their Lances with his, and then told them, that the Sun commanded them as his Officers, that they should purify and cleanse the City of all infirmities and diseases; and that he gave them full power to perform it.

With this commission the four *Incas* departed, running through the four great Streets of the City, which led towards the four quarters of the World, called by them *Taventinsyu*; in their way as they ran, Men and Women, young and old, all came to the Doors of their Houses, with great cries and acclamations, shaking their cloths, and the garments on their bodies, as if they would beat out the Dust from them; and then stroking their hands over their heads and mouths, armes and legs, and other parts of their bodies, in manner, as if they were washing of them; and as if they would throw out all the sickness and illness of their Houses, to be expelled the City by the power and virtue of those Messengers of the Sun. Nor was this onely done in the Streets, through which these four Messengers passed, but likewise in all the other Streets; these four *Incas* having run about a quarter of a League without the City, were met by four other *Incas* of the privilege, who taking their Lances, ran with them a quarter of a League farther, and at the like distance were met by others, until they came five or six Leagues remote from the City; where having fixed their Lances, and driven them into the Earth, they made that the place of banishment to all their Evils; that so being bounded by those Confines, they should not be able to approach nearer to the City.

C H A P. VII.

*Of their Nocturnal Feast celebrated at Night for purifying
their City from sicknesses, and other calamities.*

THE Night following they lighted great Torches of Straw, so close and hard twisted together, that they were long in burning, and were not unlike our Wifps of oiled Straw; only they were made round, and about the bigness of a Foot-ball, called by them *Pancuncu*; to each end of these, they tied a cord of about a Yard in length, with which they ran through the Streets, casting them round untill they came without the City, supposing that by help of these fires, they expelled the nocturnal evils from their City: For as the evils of the day were driven out by the Lances, so the evils of the night were carried out by the Torches; which being quenched without the City in a brook or current of water into which they were thrown, were believed to carry with them down their streams all the sicknesses and evils of their City; so that if at any time an *Indian*, of what Age soever, should happen to see one of these wifps of Straw, lodged by any accident or stoppage on the banks of the River, he presently fled from it, fearing to be seized by some of those evils, which were newly expelled and banished the City.

The Wars being ended, and the City cleansed and purified of all its evils and diseases, great joy and mirth was heard in all their dwellings, not onely in publick, but in every private family, which continued for the first quarter of the Moon; during which time, they returned thanks to the Sun for cleansing and freeing them from all their evils; and in demonstration of such thankfulness, they sacrificed Lambs and Sheep to him; the blood and entrails of which they burnt in the fire; but the flesh they roasted in the common Market-place, and shared it amongst those who were present at the Festival.

I remember, when I was young, that I saw some part of these ceremonies performed; and that a certain *Inca* fell out with his Lance, not from the Castle, for that was then destroyed, but from a House belonging to one of the *Incas*, which was situated on the side of that Hill, where the Castle was formerly built, called *Colcampata*: I saw also the four *Indians* run with their Lances, and the common people shake their Cloaths, with all the other vile and foolish practices, as eating their Bread called *Cancu*, and burning the Torches called *Pancuncu*: For my part, I had not the curiosity to sit up so late at night, as to be present at their nocturnal Festival: Howsoever, I remember, that I saw one of their *Pancuncus* lodged in the stream which runs through the Market-place, and near to the House of my School-fellow *John de Cellorico*, I remember to have seen many *Indian* Boys to have run from it; but I being a Child of six or seven years old, and not catechized in their Religion, nor knowing the cause, remained unconcerned at the bundle of Straw, not thinking it so terrible as did the *Indians*.

This Torch we now speak of, was thrown into the stream which runs through the City, and carried abroad according to the ancient institution; for the Feast was not now observed with that strictness and veneration, as it was in the times of their Kings; for beginning now to become obsolete, it was rather performed in remembrance of their ancient customs, than out of an opinion of any effect or virtue of such a practice; for there remained still some old superstitious fellows, who refused Baptism, and obstinately adhered to their ancient Gentilism. In times of the *Incas* the Torches were carried out of the City, and there cast into the River: the water with which they washed their bodies, though it were brought from other streams, was yet to be poured into the River which runs from the City, that to the evils which it washed, might be carried far distant, and by force of the current be lodged in the Sea. As we have before mentioned.

There

There was another Feast, not publicly celebrated, but kept in every private family; and that began about the time after they had ended their Harvest, and lodged their Fruits in their Store-houses, called *Pirua*. Their custom was to burn a small quantity of Tallow, or Fat, near the places where they had lodged their Stores, as a sacrifice to the Sun: the Nobles, and rich people, offered tame Conies, which they call *Coi*, giving thanks for the provisions of bread with which they were supplied for the sustenance of the whole year, and praying, that he would be pleased to bestow this blessing on those conservatories of their bread, that they might keep them well and safe for the support and maintenance of humane life.

There were other Feasts which the Priests celebrated within the Temple of the Sun, without any publick processions, being the monthly sacrifices offered to the Sun; but these were not to be compared with the solemnity of the other four principal Feasts, which were like our Grand Festivals of *Easter* and *Christmas*, and the like.

C H A P. VIII.

The Description of the Imperial City of Cozco.

THE *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, was Founder of this City of *Cozco*, which the *Spaniards* have honoured with the continuance of its Name and Title, calling it the great City of *Cozco*, and Metropolis of all the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Peru*. And though they once called it the New *Toledo*, yet the impropriety of it soon caused that Name to be disused. For *Cozco* is not encompassed by a River, as is *Toledo*, nor like it in the situation; the Houses being placed one above the other, on the side of a Hill so high, that it surveys from all parts a large and spacious Plain beneath it: the Streets are very long and wide, and the publick Markets, and other Writers style it by no other Name than by its ancient Title; for *Cozco* being like another *Rome*, the Imperial Head of many Kingdoms and Provinces, may equally deserve a title agreeable to its noble and generous Achievements, and likewise in some things be compared with *Rome*. As first, in that it was originally founded by its Kings. Secondly, in that it was the Head and Chief City of many Nations, subjected to its Empire. Thirdly, in the Excellencies of its Laws, which were many, and wise, and rarely tempered for the government of its people. Fourthly, in the qualities of the Men who were educated in Civil and Military Discipline, and were civilized and freed from all barbarity in their manners. Howsoever we may say, that *Rome* had this advantage of *Cozco*, that the knowledge of Letters had eternized the fame and honour of *Rome*, and that its people were not more celebrated for the success of their Arms, than they were illustrious and renowned for their Arts and Sciences; when Poor *Cozco* hath had nothing but Memory and Tradition to deliver its great Actions, and feats of Arms to posterity. But *Rome* had the help of Historians to record its famous Deeds, and was as much beholding to the Pen, as to its Arms; it being doubtful whether great Heroes are more obliged to Writers, who have transmitted the fame of their mighty Actions to all posterity; or Writers are to the Noble Heroes, for opening unto them so large a field of great and various Achievements. But this was not the fortune of our poor Countrey, which though abounding with Men famous in Arms, and in Intellectuals, and capable of Sciences; did yet for want of knowledge in Letters, leave no other Monuments of their past actions, but what Tradition hath conserved and transmitted in some few abrupt and scattered sentences from Fathers to their Children; which also are in a great measure lost by the entrance

trance or Invasion of a new people; for where an Empire or Government hath had its period, being overwhelmed by the power of a stronger Nation, there also by natural consequence must the memory of Acts and Customs perish, which have not been recorded by a skillfulness in Letters.

For my own part, being moved with a warm desire and affection to conserve the poor remains of Antiquity in my own native Countrey, I have adventured on this laborious Design of Discovery, and of tracing the Footsteps of the lost reliques of its forgotten Customs and Manners; and therefore that this City of *Cusco*, which was once the Metropolis of many Kingdoms and Nations may be revived, and yet live in its ancient Fame, I have resolved in this Chapter to make some Description of it, as I have received it by Tradition, and also as a true born and faithfull Son of that City, to declare what I have seen of it with my own Eyes, and in what state and condition it was in the Year 1570. when I departed thence, specifying what ancient Names were still in use belonging to places and divisions of the City, with what alterations were at that time made in the names of Parochial Churches, and Streets which the *Spaniards* have built since their coming thither.

The King *Manco Capac* having considered all the conveniencies of *Cusco*, that it was situated in a pleasant Valley, in the midst of a Plain, encompassed on all sides with high Mountains, through which ran four delightfull streams, which though they yielded not great plenty of Water, yet were sufficient to refresh and make all those Lands fruitful. In the middle of this plain was a Fountain of brackish Water, out of which they made quantities of Salt; the Soil was fruitful and the Air wholesome: with which advantages the first *Inca* took a resolution of laying the Foundation of his City, and, as the *Indians* say, by Order and Appointment of his Father the Sun, signified by the discovery of a Wedge of Gold, which was the mark and signal of that place, where the Head and Seat of his Empire was to be founded. The Climate is rather cold than hot, but yet not in that extreme, as to require Fires to keep them warm; the Chambers, or close Rooms, are sufficient to defend the Inhabitants from the rigour of the Weather, yet a pan of Coals may sometimes be useful; the Air is not so sharp, but that the thin and lighter Clothing of the Summer may be sufficient, nor so hot as to be inconvenient with the Winter-garments; the like may be said of the bedding; for one Blanket may be a sufficient covering, and if there were three, 'twere not cumbersome; for so constant and equal is the Weather, that there is little difference between the Winter and Summer, being here as in all other temperate Climates, the same moderation in all seasons of the Year. The Air of *Cusco* being rather cold and dry, than hot and moist, is not subject to corruption; so that Flesh being hanged up in a Room where the Windows are open on all sides, will keep eight, or fifteen, or thirty, nay to a hundred days without being mortified, until it is become dried like Mummy. This I have seen my self tried and experimented with the Flesh of Cattel of that Countrey; I know not whether the Flesh of Mutton, brought from *Spain*, will endure in the like manner; for there was no experiment made thereof in my time, by reason that the stock of the *Spanish* Sheep were not killed in my time, but rather suffered to increase and breed. The Climate of *Cusco* being in this manner inclining to cold, breeds very few Flies, and for biting and stinging Gnats there are none, nor any other Insect that is troublesome, or vexatious to the people of the City. The first Houses and Habitations were built on the side of the Hill, called *Sacahuamam*, which lies on the North-east side of the City, on the top of which the Successors of this *Inca* erected the stately Fortrefs, which the *Spaniards* so little esteemed, nay so much scorned, that they demolished it in a few days after they became Masters of the City. This City was divided into two parts, *Hanan-Cusco*, and *Hurin-Cusco*, which is the Upper and the Lower Town. The Way or Road to *Antisuyu*, which leads to the Eastward, divided these two parts of *Hanan-Cusco*, which lies to the North, and *Hurin* which points to the South. The first and principal Street was called *Collecampata*, *Colcam* is a word of no signification with the *Indians*, but *Para* is as much as the degree or step of a Ladder, or a Bench whereon to sit. On the rising or turning of this Hill the *Inca Manco Capac* erected his Palace, which afterwards was the possession of *Paulu* the Son of *Huayna Capac*. I remember in my time to have seen a large and spacious Hall belonging to this House, which still remained

ned, designed in former days, for a place wherein to celebrate their principal Festivals in rainy Weather. That Hall only remained in being when I departed from *Cusco*, but all the other Rooms, which were conformable to the greatness of these, were suffered to decay, and fall into ruins, without any repair. Next in order we come to another Street, called *Canturpata*, which looks to the Eastward, which signifies as much as the Gilliflower-walk; for *Cantur* is a Flower not unlike our Gilliflower, but of a different sort; for before the *Spaniards* came into this Countrey, there were no Gilliflowers; only this *Cantur* resembled very much the Brambles of *Andalesia*, both in the Stalk, Leaf and Shortness, for the Thorns of it are very prickly, which because they did much abound in that Walk, they gave it the name of the *Cantur*-Walk. Next we come to the Street called *Pumacurcon*, or the Lion's Post, because in that place many posts or stakes were driven into the Earth, whereunto they tied their Lions which they presented to the *Inca*, until they had made them tame and gentle. The next great Street was called *Toco-cachi*, but I know not any reason for the composition of this word, *Toco* signifying a Window; and *cachi* Salt, which are words ill conjoined together, unless they have some other signification, of which I am ignorant; in this Street the first Convent, dedicated to St. Francis, was built: Turning a little from hence to the Southward, you come to the Street called *Munayceca*, *Muna* signifies to love, and *ceca* the Nose or Nostrils; I know not the reason or sense for this name, but there must certainly be some superstitious meaning or occasion for it. Hence proceeding on the same course, we come to the Street called *Rimac-pampa*, or place of Proclamation, because that there all the Laws and Ordinances were published and proclaimed, and thereunto the multitude flocked from all parts and places to hear and understand the Laws which were promulged. Hence we come into the great Road which leads to *Collasuyu*, and crosses Southward on the Street of *Pumapachutan*, which signifies the Lion's Tail, because that Street is very strait and narrow towards the end, being bound in by two Streams, which there fall into one, and which being the most remote part of the Town, was called the Lion's Tail, perhaps because they kept their Lions, and other fierce Creatures, at that place. To the Westward, being about a mile from the farthestmost Houses of the Town, there was a Village, containing about three hundred Souls, which in the Year 1560. was thus far distant, but now in this Year 1602. the Buildings are so increased, that they reach up and join to this Village. About a mile farther to the Westward there is another Street, called *Chaquillibaca*, the signification of which is improper; by which the great Road passes to *Cuntisuyu*, and near whereunto are two pipes of excellent Water, which pass under ground; but by whom they were laid or brought thither, is unknown to the *Indians*, for want of Writings or Records to transmit the memory of them to posterity. Those pipes of Water were called *Colquemachabunay*, or the Silver Snakes, because the whiteness of the Water resembled Silver, and Windings and the Meanders of the pipe were like the coils and turnings of Serpents; and they report also, that the Streets of the City are extended as far as to *Chaquillibaca*. Passing hence to the Northward, there is another Street called *Pichu*, which also was without the City; and another beyond that, called *Quillipata*, and another great Street called *Carmena*, which is a proper Name without any signification; and here passes the great Road to *Chinchasuyu*, to the Eastward, where the Street is that is called *Huacapunen*, or the Door of the Sanctuary, because that *Huaca*, amongst the many other significations which it hath, signifies a Sanctuary; *Punchu* is a Gate, because that a stream of Water enters through that Street, as by a gate, to the chief Market-place of *Cusco*; for though all the Streets and Lanes of the City were dedicated to the Use and Service of the Temple of the Sun, and of the Select Virgins; yet this passage, or channel, by which this Water entered, was in a particular manner esteemed sacred; as also the place at which it ran out, was called the Lion's Tail, signifying, that this City, as it was holy in its Laws and Religion, so it resembled a Lion in its valour, and martial Exercises. This Street of *Huaca-punchu* came at length to join with *Collecampata*; so that we are now come to the place where we first began, having finished the rounds of the City.

CHAP. IX.

That the City contained the Description of all the Empire.

These four great Streets did correspond with the four Quarters of the Empire called *Tabuantiñsiyu*, ordained by *Manco Capac*, the first *Incan-King*, who intending to reduce those savage, and barbarous Nations under his Sovereignty, did command them to inhabit those Quarters, which lay towards the places from whence they came, so those who came from the East, planted themselves on the East side of the Town, those that came from the West, on the West side, so that at length they all feated themselves within the circle and compass designed for the City in their different Ranks and Situations. The *Curacas* built their Houses as they found room, when they first came to the Court; for when one had finished his House, another built close by him, every one keeping the order and situation of his Province; for if his Province lay to the Right-hand of his Neighbour's Province, then he built to the Right, if to the Left, then to the Left; if the Province lay to the backside of his Neighbour's dwelling, then he raised his House there, fronting towards his own Countrey; so that taking a view of all the People and Nations inhabiting that City, with their several Ranks and Situations, it seemed like a survey of all the Empire, or a Map comprehending in a plain Cosmographical Description all the circumference of *Peru*. *Pedro de Cieza* writing of the situation of *Cusco*, speaks almost to the same purpose, in the 93d Chapter of his Book in these words. "And whereas this City contained many Nations of divers Provinces, and strange Countries, such as the *Indians of Chile, Pacho, Camarques, Chachapoyas, Guanacas, Collas*, and many other people before mentioned; they were all disposed within the precincts of this City, in their respective Quarters, as they were assigned unto them by the order of their Governours; having liberty to observe the Manners and Customs of their Fathers, and the habit of their Countrey, so that if a hundred thousand Men of these were assembled together, every one would be distinguished by the attire of his Head, and his Countrey, and Lineage known to which he belonged. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieza*."

This Distinction was made by the different attire on their Heads, either of Feathers, or Saltes wound about their Temples, which every Province framed to its self, and not by contrivance, or order of the *Incas*; only their Kings commanded them to continue their Fashions, to avoid confusion amongst the Nations which reach from *Pasfo to Chile*, which, as our Author afore said alledges, was above one thousand three hundred Leagues. In which manner all the Streets of this City were the Habitations of the Subjects onely assembled thither from all parts of the Empire; and not of the *Incas*, or those of the Bloud Royal; who lived in the Suburbs of the City, the which we shall lay down, and describe in such manner, as they were situated from North to South, with all their Streets and vacant places, and Palaces of their Kings; and how, and in what manner they were afterwards bestowed, when they came to be divided by lot amongst the *Spaniards*. From the Hill *Sacahuamam* there runs a shallow stream of Water from North to South, to the farther part of *Pimachupari*, where the City is divided from the Suburbs. But more within the City there is a Street which lies North and South, which is now called *St. Austins*, descending from the Houses of the first *Inca, Alonco Capac*, to the open square of *Rimac-pampu*; there are three or four other Streets which cross from East to West, through the large space which is between the Street and River, where the *Incas* of the Bloud feated themselves according to their several *Ayllus*, or Lineages; for though they were all of the same Family, and lineally descended from *Manco Capac*. Howsoever being branched into several Lines, they derived their Pedigrees from divers Kings, saying,

that

that these descended from such an *Inca*, those from another *Inca*, and so of the rest; of which the *Spanish* Historians not having conceived a true Notion, delivered to us for a truth, that such a Lineage was derived from such an *Inca*, and that Lineage from another, as if they had been of different Stocks and Families, whereas in reality they all proceeded from the same original Being, honoured with the Title of *Capac Ayllu*, or the illustrious or august Lineage of the Bloud Royal.

The Men of that Family were called by the name of *Inca*, and the Women of *Palla*, which implied a descendency from the bloud Royal. In my time those quarters, descending from the upper part of the Street, were inhabited by *Rodrigo de Pineda, Joan de Saavedra, Diego Ortiz de Guzman, Peter de los Rios*, with his Brother *Diego de los Rios, Geronimo Cofillas, Gaspar Tura*; but now these Houses are turned into the Convent of *St. Austins*, as also the Habitations of *Michel Sanchez, John de Santa Cruz, Alonso de Soto, Gabriel Carrera, and Diego de Trujillo*, who was one of the first Adventurers, and one of those thirteen Companions, who adhered to *Don Francisco Pizarro*, as we shall relate in its due place. Moreover there were *Anton Ruiz de Guevara, John de Salas*, who was Brother to the Archbishop of *Sevil*, together with *Valdes de Salas*, who was Inquisitor-General, besides others, which I cannot call to mind, all which being great Commanders over the *Indians*, had their shares and lots divided to them amongst those who were the second Adventurers in the conquest of *Peru*. Besides these there lived many *Spaniards* in this quarter, who had no power over the *Indians*. One of which Houses, after my call those the first Conquerours, who were of the number of those one hundred and sixty, that were Assistants of *Don Francisco de Pizarro* in the imprisonment of *Atahualpa*: And those which we call the second Adventurers in this Conquest, were those who came in with *Don Diego de Almagro, and Don Pedro de Alvarado*, both which parties were called Conquerours of *Peru*, and no others; and the second party did much honour to the first, though they were fewer in number, and of a meaner quality, yet being the first and most forward in their enterprises, and now returning by the upper part of the Street of *St. Austins*, to enter (as we have said) into the City; where upon the top of all stands the Convent of *St. Clare*, formerly the Dwelling of *Alonso Dias*, who married the Daughter of the Governour *Pedro Arias de Avila*, on the Right-hand of this Convent were many houses inhabited by *Spaniards*; and amongst the rest *Francisco de Barrientos* had possessions, which were afterwards alienated to *John Alvarez Maldonado*. On the Right-hand lived *Hernando Bachicao*, and after him *John Alonso Palomino*, over against which, to the South side, was the Episcopal Palace, formerly the House of *John Balsa*, and after him of *Francisco de Villacastin*; where now the Cathedral Church is situated, having been once a wide and stately Hall, which served for a Theatre in rainy Weather, where Shows at their chief Festivals were represented: It was anciently a part of the Palace belonging to the *Inca Piracocha*, the Eighth King; in my time there was no more remaining of it than this wide Hall, which was so large, that when the *Spaniards* first entered into the City, they all lodged therein, so as to be near and ready to afford assistance to each other in case of danger. I remember that I once saw it, when it was covered with Thatch, though now changed into Tile. On the North side of this great Church there is a Street with many Houses fronting towards the Market-place, in which are Shops for Artificers; and on the South side, are Shops and Ware-houses belonging to the most rich and principal Merchants of the Town.

Behind the Church were the Houses of *John de Berrio*, and of others, whose Names I cannot remember: Behind the chief Shops were the Houses of *Diego Maldonado* furnished the rich, because he was the most wealthy Person in all *Peru*, being one of the first Conquerours of it. In the time of the *Incas* that place was called *Huancancha*, which signified the great or high Street, having been anciently the Habitation of *Inca Tupanqui*. On the South side of these Buildings of *Diego Maldonado* were the Houses of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, before which to the Southward also were the Houses of *Antonio Altamirano* one of the first Conquerours; *bastian de Caçalla*; the which quarter of the Town was called *Puca marca*, or the coloured Street, anciently the Houses of the King *Tupac Tupanqui*. There is another Street beyond this to the South side, very long and wide, the name of which

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C H A P. IX.

That the City contained the Description of all the Empire.

THESE four great Streets did correspond with the four Quarters of the Empire called *Tahuantinsuyu*, ordained by *Manco Capac*, the first *Inca*-King, who intending to reduce those savage, and barbarous Nations under his Sovereignty, did command them to inhabit those Quarters, which lay towards the places from whence they came, so those who came from the East, planted themselves on the East side of the Town, those that came from the West, on the West side, so that at length they all seated themselves within the circle and compass designed for the City in their different Ranks and Situations. The *Caracas* built their Houses as they found room, when they first came to the Court; for when one had finished his House, another built close by him, every one keeping the order and situation of his Province; for if his Province lay to the Right-hand of his Neighbour's Province, then he built to the Right, if to the Left, then to the Left, if the Province lay to the backside of his Neighbour's dwelling, then he raised his House there, fronting towards his own Country; so that taking a view of all the People and Nations inhabiting that City, with their several Ranks and Situations, it seemed like a survey of all the Empire, or a Map comprehending in a plain Cosmographical Description all the circumference of *Peru*. *Pedro de Cieza* writing of the situation of *Cuzco*, speaks almost to the same purpose, in the 93d Chapter of his Book in these words. "And whereas this City contained many Nations of divers Provinces, and strange Countries, such as the *Indians of Chile*, *Pasli*, *Cannares*, *Chachapoyas*, *Guanacas*, *Collas*, and many other people before mentioned, they were all disposed within the precincts of this City, in their respective Quarters, as they were assigned unto them by the order of their Governours; having liberty to observe the Manners and Customs of their Fathers, and the habit of their Country, so that if a hundred thousand Men of these were assembled together, every one would be distinguished by the attire of his Head, and his Countrey, and Lineage known to which he belonged. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieza*.

This Distinction was made by the different attire on their Heads, either of Feathers, or *Sashes* wound about their Temples, which every Province framed to its self, and not by contrivance, or order of the *Incas*; only their Kings commanded them to continue their Fashions, to avoid confusion amongst the Nations which reach from *Pasli* to *Chile*, which, as our Authour aforesaid alledges, was above one thousand three hundred Leagues. In which manner all the Streets of this City were the Habitations of the Subjects onely assembled thither from all parts of the Empire; and not of the *Incas*, or those of the Bloud Royal; who lived in the Suburbs of the City, the which we shall lay down, and describe in such manner, as they were situated from North to South, with all their Streets and vacant places, and Palaces of their Kings; and how, and in what manner they were afterwards bestowed, when they came to be divided by lot amongst the *Spaniards*. From the Hill *Sacahuaman* there runs a shallow stream of Water from North to South, to the farther part of *Pumapichuan*, where the City is divided from the Suburbs. But more within the City there is a Street which lies North and South, which is now called *St. Austins*, descending from the Houses of the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, to the open square of *Rimac-pampu*; there are three or four other Streets which cross from East to West, through the large space which is between the Street and River, where the *Incas* of the Bloud seated themselves according to their several *Ayllus*, or Lineages; for though they were all of the same Family, and lineally descended from *Manco Capac*. Howsoever being branched into several Lines, they derived their Pedigrees from divers Kings, saying, that

that these descended from such an *Inca*, those from another *Inca*, and so of the rest; of which the *Spanish* Historians not having conceived a true Notion, delivered to us for a truth, that such a Lineage was derived from such an *Inca*, and that Lineage from another, as if they had been of different Stocks and Families; when as in reality they all proceeded from the same original Being, honoured with the Title of *Capac Ayllu*, or the illustrious or august Lineage of the Bloud Royal.

The Men of that Family were called by the name of *Inca*, and the Women of *Palla*, which implied a descendancy from the bloud Royal. In my time those quarters, descending from the upper part of the Street, were inhabited by *Rodrigo de Pineda*, *Joan de Saavedra*, *Diego Ortiz de Guzman*, *Peter de los Rios*, with his Brother *Diego de los Rios*, *Geronimo Cysillas*, *Gaspár Jura*; but now these Houses are turned into the Convent of *St. Austins*, as also the Habitations of *Michel Sanchez*, *John de Santa Cruz*, *Alonso de Soto*, *Gabriel Carrera*, and *Diego de Trujillo*, who was one of the first Adventurers, and one of those thirteen Companions, who adhered to *Don Francisco Pizarro*, as we shall relate in its due place. Moreover there were *Anton Ruiz de Guevara*, *John de Salas*, who was Brother to the Archbishop of *Sevil*, together with *Valdes de Salas*, who was Inquisitor-General, besides others, which I cannot call to mind, all which being great Commanders over the *Indians*, had their shares and lots divided to them amongst those who were the second Adventurers in the conquest of *Peru*. Besides these there lived many *Spaniards* in this quarter, who had no power over the *Indians*. One of which Houses, after my departure from *Cuzco*, was converted into a Monastery of *Augustine Friars*. We call those the first Conquerours, who were of the number of those one hundred and sixty, that were Assistants of *Don Francisco de Pizarro* in the imprisonment of *Atahualpa*: And those which we call the second Adventurers in this Conquest, were those who came in with *Don Diego de Almagro*, and *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, both which parties were called Conquerours of *Peru*, and no others; and the second party did much honour to the first, though they were fewer in number, and of a meaner quality, yet being the first and most forward in this adventurous Achievement, were honoured and esteemed by them as Partners in their Enterprises. And now returning by the upper part of the Street of *St. Austins*, to enter (as we have said) into the City, where upon the top of all stands the Convent of *St. Clare*, formerly the Dwelling of *Alonso Dias*, who married the Daughter of the Governour *Pedro Arias de Avila*, on the Right-hand of this Convent were many houses inhabited by *Spaniards*; and amongst the rest *Francisco de Barrientos* had possessions, which were afterwards alienated to *John Alvarez Maldonado*. On the Right-hand lived *Hernando Bachicao*, and after him *John Alonso Palomino*, over against which, to the South side, was the Episcopal Palace, formerly the House of *John Balza*, and after him of *Francisco de Villacastin*; where now the Cathedral Church is situated, having been once a wide and stately Hall, which served for a Theatre in rainy Weather, where Shows at their chief Festivals were represented: It was anciently a part of the Palace belonging to the *Inca Viracocha*, the Eighth King; in my time there was no more remaining of it than this wide Hall, which was so large, that when the *Spaniards* first entered into the City, they all lodged therein, so as to be near and ready to afford assistance to each other in case of danger. I remember that I once saw it, when it was covered with Thatch, though now changed into Tile. On the North side of this great Church there is a Street with many Houses fronting towards the Market-place, in which are Shops for Artificers; and on the South side, are Shops and Ware-houses belonging to the most rich and principal Merchants of the Town.

Behind the Church were the Houses of *John de Berrio*, and of others, whose Names I cannot remember: Behind the chief Shops were the Houses of *Diego Maldonado* surnamed the rich, because he was the most wealthy Person in all *Peru*, being one of the first Conquerours of it. In the time of the *Incas* that place was called *Huancancha*, which signified the great or high Street, having been anciently the Habitation of *Inca Tupanqui*. On the South side of these Buildings of *Diego Maldonado* were the Houses of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*; before which to the Southward also were the Houses of *Antonio Alcamirano* one of the first Conquerours, joining whereunto on the backside were the Houses of *Francisco de Frias*, and *Sebastian de Caçalla*; the which quarter of the Town was called *Puca marca*, or the coloured Street, anciently the Houses of the King *Tupac Tupanqui*. There is another Street beyond this to the South side, very long and wide, the name of

which I cannot call to mind, where lived *Alonso de Loaysa*, *Martin de Adeneser*, *John de Figueroa*, *D. Pedro Puerto Carrero*, *Garcia de Melo*, *Francisco Delgado*, besides many other Lords and Persons of Quality, whose Names I do not remember. Beyond this place, to the Southward, is the Square of *Tutipampa*, or the Square of the Sun, because it lies just before the Temple, where those who were not of the degree of an *Inca*, came to offer their Sacrifices, being not lawful for persons of less quality to enter within the Walls of the Temple; there the Priests met and received them, and presented them before the Image of the Sun, whom they adored for God. That quarter wherein the Temple of the Sun was situated, was called *Coricancha*, or the Street of Gold, Silver and precious Stones; of which there was great abundance, (as we have before declared) within the Temple. What now remains to speak of, is the Suburbs of the City, called *Pumapichuan*.

CHAP. X.

Of the Situation of the Schools, of the three Royal Palaces, with the House of the Select Virgins.

NOW to finish our Discourse of the several Streets of the City, we must return again to *Huacapuncu*, or the Gate of the Sanctuary, which lies North from the great Market-place; from whence likewise issues another Street, the name of which I cannot tell, but may properly call it the Schools, because that the King *Inca Roca* founded certain Schools in that place, as we have already mentioned in his Life: In the Indian Language they are called *Taca Huasi*, or the House of Learning, where their Scholars, or learned Men, called *Amanas*, or Philosophers, and *Haravees*, which are Poets, had their place of abode, being very much esteemed, and had in honour by the People, because they were Instructors and Teachers of youth, and Tutors to those of the Royal Blood. Proceeding from these Schools to the Southward, there are two other Streets which lead to the great Market-place, where are two Royal Palaces, of so great a compass, that they took up all the one side of the Square. One of these places which lies to the Eastward of the other, was called *Coracora*; which is as much as a large Court; the which is confirmed by *Pedro de Cieza*, who in the 92d Chapter of his Book, saith, That the King *Roca* ordered his Palace to be built there, for the better convenience of the Schools, whereto he often resorted, to hear the Lectures of the Philosophers. I have not observed any thing to remain of the *Coracora*, it being all ruined and demolished in my time; though when the City was first divided into shares amongst the Conquerors of it, the *Coracora* was the Lot of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Brother of the Marquis *Francisco Pizarro*, with whom I was well acquainted at *Cusco*, after the Battel of *Huarina*, and before that of *Sacsabumana*, he was very kind and obliging to me; for being but a Child of eight or nine years of age, he treated me as if I had been his Son. The other Palace to the Eastward of *Coracora*, was called *Cassana*, or a thing of admiration; as if it had been such a stupendous work, that every one upon the sight of it must be transported with wonder and astonishment; it had been the Habitation of the *Inca Pachacutec*, great Grandson to the *Inca Roca*, who in favour, and for ornament to the Schools, ordered his Palaces to be adjoining thereunto; for the Schools were on the back-side of those Palaces, and were contiguous, or joining one to the other, without any other space or division between them. The principal Gates and Front of the Schools opened to the Street and River; but the *Incas* passed thither by the back way, being delighted to hear the Philosophical Lectures; and sometimes the *Inca Pachacutec* would be Reader himself, and with the same occasion, declare and publish

lish the Laws and Statutes which he had made, being a great Legislator: In my time the *Spaniards* opened a way between the Schools, and the Palace *Cassana*, of which I have seen a great part of the Walls remaining; being made of excellent polished Stone, which appeared to have been part of the Royal Lodgings, together with a magnificent Hall, being so spacious, as in the time of rain and wet weather served for a Theatre, and place wherein to celebrate their Feasts and Dancings; and which was so large, that sixty Men might Exercise themselves on Horse-back in it with their Darts and Lances. This vast Hall reached as far as to the Convent of *St. Francis*, which because it was something remote from those quarters where the *Spaniards* inhabited, they passed a nearer way to it by the Street *Tococachi*. A great part of this Hall, or Gallery, was taken up for a Church, and divided from the rest, wherein were Cells or Dormitories refectory, and other Offices for the Convent; and the open places belonging to it served for the Cloisters. *John de Pancorvo*, one of the first Conquerors, gave this Hall, and the Ground about it to the Friars, it being his lot when a division of Houses was to every Man according to his proportion: And though several others had part of this place with him, yet he bought them out at a certain price, which in those days was purchased at an easie rate. Some few years afterwards this Monastery was transferred to the place, where it now remains, as we shall mention in its due place, when we come to speak of the Charities which the Citizens made to the Friars for bying in the Ground, and building the Church. So that in my time I have seen this great Hall, or Gallery, demolished; and the Shops built in the Street of *Cassana*, which serve for Merchants and Artificers to dwell in.

Before these Royal Houses was a great and open Court, being the chief place of the City, called *Huacapata*, where the great entertainments and rejoicings at the chief Festivals were held: the length of it, North and South, was about 200 paces, or 400 foot; and the breadth, East and West, about 150 paces, reaching as far as to the stream of water which runs through the City: At the end of this open Court, to the Southward, were two other Royal Palaces, situated near the stream, and to the Street called *Amarucancha*, or the quarter of the great Serpents, fronting to the Street *Cassana*, anciently the Houses of *Huayna Capac*, but now converted into a College for the Jesuits. One great Hall, or Gallery, of these Houses, remained in my time, but not so spacious as that of *Cassana*; as also a handsome round Tower standing in the middle of the Court before the House: But of this Tower, we shall speak more at large hereafter; for that having been the first quarters which the *Spaniards* took up in this City, they conserved it in good repair, being also a rare sumptuous Building; no other reliques of these Buildings remained in my time, having been all demolished, and suffered to decay without repairs. When the first division of this City was made amongst the Conquerors, the principal quarter of this Royal Palace, being that which fronted towards the Market-place, fell to the lot of *Hernando Pizarro*, the Brother of the Marquis *Francisco Pizarro*, one of the first Conquerors of that City. In the year 1562, I saw this Gentleman at the Court of *Madrid*: Another part of this House was the share of *Mancio Serra de Leguizamo*, another was given to *Antonio Altamirano*, which he having divided into two Houses, I was to have bought one of them: Another part hereof was set out by the *Spaniards* for a Prison, and another was given to *Alonso Macnela*, one of the first Conquerors, and after him to *Martin Delmos*; to whom the remaining parts were allotted, I do not well remember. To the East of *Amarucancha*, which is the Street of the Sun; there is another Lane called *Ac-Uhuinci*, or the Convent of the Virgins dedicated to the Sun, which we have already mentioned; and of which we have nothing farther to say, than that one part of it was the portion of *Francisco Mexia*, having its Wall adjoining to the great Market-place, and now filled with the Shops of Merchants.

All the places which have been hitherto mentioned, whether common Streets, or Royal Palaces, were all to the Eastward of the River which runs through the Market-place: Whence we may observe, that the *Incas* raised those three great Halls, or Galleries, at the front, and on each side of the Market-place for celebrating their Festivals with greater convenience, in case it should prove rainy weather at such certain times of the two Solstices, and at the beginning of such and such Moons. When the *Indians* made a general insurrection against the *Spaniards*, they burnt all the City, excepting only those three Galleries of the four

which we have already mentioned, viz. *Colcampata*, *Cassina* and *Amarcancha*: but the fourth, which was the Head-quarter of the *Spaniards*, where now is the Cathedral Church, they shot an innumerable number of Arrows into it, and set fire to it, with Straw, in above twenty places: Notwithstanding all which, the fire was quenched, God not suffering it to be burnt that night, as we shall hereafter declare; and though they attempted it many days and nights afterwards, yet God who designed to introduce the Catholic Faith into those Countries, did by a strange and wonderfull Providence prevent that destruction, that the *Spaniards* by his mercy might have the greater cause of Triumph. In like manner they preserved the Temple of the Sun, and the House of the Select Virgins; but all the rest was destroyed by fire, supposing therewith to turn the *Spaniards* into Ashes.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Streets and Houses on the West-side of the River.

Hitherto we have described the Palaces and Buildings which are to the East-side of the River, which passes through the middle of the City. On the West-side is that wide and open place called *Cusipata*, which is a very pleasant and cheerful situation. In the time of the *Incas* this *Cusipata* was all one place with that on the other side of the water, for then they covered the River over with great beams, and floored it with planks, for the more commodious receiving the great Numbers of principal Lords, and multitudes of Strangers which crowded to the great Festivals of the Sun: This Bridge which the *Indians* made of planks, because they had not the Art of Building an Arch, was ruined by the *Spaniards*, who in the place thereof erected four Bridges at a convenient distance one from the other, which were likewise of Timber, and remaining in my time; and afterwards built three other Bridges with Arches, which were standing when I departed. Those two open places were not divided in my time, nor were there Houses on both sides of the water, as now they are. In the year 1555, when my Lord *Garcilasso de la Vega* was Governour, those Houses were then in building, and were appointed for Dwellings for the Natives of the City; for at that time the sad disconsolate Widow, though she had been Empress of that great Empire, had not one farthing of Rent assigned to her; what she may have had since, I cannot tell. The *Incas* had never built any thing on the West-side of the River, unless it were that circle of Houses which we have already mentioned; because they would keep a space of ground for succeeding Kings to erect and enlarge their Palaces on, as their fancies and greatness should direct; for every King would have a Palace of his own building for conservation of his Name and Memory; which seems a piece of state and grandeur peculiar to these Kings. The *Spaniards* afterwards built their Houses in the same row, which we shall now describe, taking them from North to South, as we pass along, with the Names of the persons who dwelt in them at the time that I departed from that place.

For descending with the River from the Gate *Avacapunen*, the first Houses belonged to *Pedro de Orue*, next whereunto were those of *Juan Páncorvo*, with whom lived *Alonso de Marchena*, such being the ancient friendship between them; for though *Alonso* kept *Indian* Servants, yet *Páncorvo* would not suffer him to live separate from him. Proceeding forwards, we come about the middle of the Street, to the Houses of the Valiant *Hernán de Laguna*, which were formerly the possessions of *Antonio Navarro*, and *Lope Martín*, both of the first Conquerours: the Houses adjoining hereunto belonged to *Spaniards*, who not being Lords over the *Indians*, we pass them by, as we do several other Streets, to avoid tediousness to the Reader. Next to the Houses of *Hernán the Brave*, were the Houses of *Alonso Hingola*,

Hingola, which afterwards were the Possessions of Doctor *Carvajal*, Brother to the Factor, or Procurator, for *Then-Suárez Carvajal*, of whom the Histories of Peru make mention.

And now we come again to *Cusipata*, called Our Lady of *Merced*, where the poor *Indian* Men and Women relieved their miseries by bartering and exchanging of one thing for another; for at that time Money was not as yet current amongst them, nor was it coined in twenty years after; but here they kept their Market, or Fair, called by the *Indians* *Cata*. Passing hence to the Southward, you come to the Convent of the *Merced*, which takes up the whole compass of four Streets. Behind this Monastery was another Neighbourhood, who were Masters of *Indians*; which I pass by, because I am not particularly acquainted with their Names: beyond this, there are no farther Inhabitants.

But returning to the quarter called *Carmenca*, and passing into another Street of Houses; we take notice, that the nearest Dwellings to *Carmenca*, were those of *Diego de Silva*, the Son of the famous *Feliciano de Silva*, who was my Godfather, when I was confirmed: To the Southward of these, in the middle of a Street, were the Houses of *Pedro Lopes de Caçalla*, Secretary to the President *Gasca*, and of *Juan Benanzas*, with many others on one side, and the other the Masters, which not being Lords of *Indians*, I was not acquainted particularly with. Passing forward into another Street, are the Houses of *Alonso de Mesa*, one of the first Conquerours, which reach to the Square of Our Lady; adjoining unto which, on each side, and also behind, are many Houses; of which I shall not particularly make mention. The Houses to the Southward of those belonging to *Alonso de Mesa*, were the Possessions of my Master *Garcilasso de la Vega*, over the principal Gate, of which was a long and narrow Gallery, or rather Balcony, where the principal Gentlemen of the City came often to take their seats, and see the running at the Ring, the Feast of Bulls, (which is a sort of Baiting of them on Horseback used in Spain) as also the Daring of Canes, and other sports and exercises performed in the open place before the Gate: Before my Father's time these Houses belonged to a certain Noble Person, who was one of the first Conquerours, called *Francisco d'Onate*, who was slain in the Batel of *Chupas*: From this Balcony, or Gallery, as also from several other parts of the City, a point of the snowy Mountain, in form of a Pyramid, appeared; for though it was 25 Leagues distant, and many other Hills in the way, yet so high was this pique, that it fairly shewed it self to the City with a white covering of Snow, which always remained, and never thawed: they called it *Villcanuta*, or some sacred, wonderfull thing, for this word *Villcanuta* was attributed to matters of great admiration; for indeed the form of this Pyramid is rare and curious, beyond any description we can make of it; and for confirmation of this truth, I refer my self to those who have seen it. To the West-side of my Father's Houses, were those of *Vasco de Guevara*, one of the Conquerours of the second expedition, and were afterwards given to *Coya Beatrice*, the Daughter of *Huayna Capac*; on the South-side of these were the Dwellings of *Antonio de Quinones*, which also fronted with the Great Place of our Lady; and farther to the Southward of these were the Houses of *Thomas Vazquez*, one of the first Conquerours, formerly possessed by *Alonso de Toro*, Lieutenant-General of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whom *Diego González* his Son-in-law killed, out of a fear and jealousy he had of him, arising from some domestic quarrels between them. To the West-side of *Thomas Vazquez* his Buildings were the Houses of *D. Pedro Luis de Cabrera*, afterwards in the possession of *Rodrigo de Elguivel*. On the South-side of *Thomas Vazquez* his Houses, were those of *Antonio Pereira*, Son of *Lope Martín* or *Portugal*; next unto which adjoined the dwelling of *Pedro Alonso Carasco*, one of the first Conquerours; to the South-side of which were others of less consideration, and the last of that quarter, which in the years 1557, and 58, began to be peopled. And now turning on the foot of the Hill *Carmenca*, to the West-side of the Houses of *Diego de Silva*, we come to the Dwellings of *Francisco de Villa*, a Valiant Man, one of the first Conquerours, and one of the thirteen Companions of *D. Francisco Pizarro*. To the Southward of these on the other side of the Street, was a long and narrow Lane without Houses: Southward from which, was a very pleasant Walk, where now is the Convent of *St. Francis*, before which is a very wide and large place; and likewise more Southward from hence on the other side of the Street are the Houses of *Juan Julio de Hojeda*, one of the first Conquerours, the Father of *Dun Gomez de Tordoya*, who is still living. To the

the Westward of these Houses of *D. Gomez*, were those of *Martin de Arbieta*, beyond which, in the year 1560, were no farther Buildings; for to the Westward of them was a great Plain in my time, convenient for running and breathing of Horses, and at the end of it was erected that rich and famous Hospital of the *Indians* founded in the year 1555, and 56. Thus far the Buildings reached in those days, what enlargements were made, were added since. The Gentlemen which we have named in this Treatise, were all Persons of Quality, and of Noble Blood, and famous for their Arms, having vanquished and won that most rich Empire, the greatest part of which I knew, and of all those which I have named, there were not ten with whom I had not a personal acquaintance.

CHAP. XII.

Of the two Gifts which the City contributed for Charitable Uses.

BEFORE I treat of the Foundation of that Hospital, and the Contributions given to it; I shall first mention the charitable Gifts which the Citizens made to the Friars of *St. Francis*, for buying the ground and body of the Church, which they found already built to their hands, when my Lord *Garcilasso de la Vega* was Governour of *Cusco*: the matter was this: These Friars (as we have said) having their Convent in *Cassana*, made a demand (I know not for what reason) upon *Juan Rodriguez de Villa Lobos*, for this Ground and Church; in pursuance of which, they preferred a Bill in the Chancery, desiring that they might have possession of this Ground and Church, paying unto this *Juan Rodriguez* so much Money as the Church and the Land about it should be valued or esteemed at, being 22200 Ducats: The Prior of their *Franciscans* was then *F. Juan Gallegos*, a holy Man, and one of a most Exemplary life and conversation; by whose means payment was made of this Money in the House of my Father, who gave possession thereof to the Friars, delivering the price in Bars of Silver. At which the standers-by much admiring, being astonished to see so great a sum paid so readily and punctually at the time by such poor Friars; the Prior made them this answer, that they should not wonder at these Works of Heaven, being produced by the mere charity of this City, whose hearts God had touched, and moved with such pious Zeal, that I can assure you (said he) that on *Monday* of this Week we had not above 300 Ducats of this sum towards our payment; and now we are but on *Thursday* morning, when I am present before you with this great sum, raised by the pious contributions of the Inhabitants of this City, as well Gentlemen Soldiers, as Lords of the *Indians*, who for these two last nights came knocking at our Gates with Alms in their hands, which they desired to bestow secretly, with such frequent and continued course of pious Benefactors, who called to the Porter to receive their Alms and Charity, that we have not been able to take our rest or repose; all which I heard that good Man speak in commendation of the liberality and charity of the City. And now to speak farther of the Foundation of this Hospital, we must know, that this Godly Prior dying, another succeeded in his place, called *Antonio de St. Michel*, a Person of a Noble Family, (of which Name also there was a great Divine in *Salamanca*) who for his holy life and doctrine being a true Son, and faithful Follower of *St. Francis*, was made Bishop of *Chili*, where he lived with exemplary piety and godliness, as the Kingdoms of *Chili* and *Peru* can testify. This holy Man, in the second year of the three in which he lived a Bishop, preaching every *Sunday*, *Wednesday* and *Friday* in *Lent*, according to his usual custom in the Cathedral Church of *Cusco*, did upon a certain *Sunday* propose, that an Hospital should be erected in that City for the *Indians*; and that a Frater-

a Fraternity of *Indians*, should be Super-intendents, or Supervisors over it, as the *Spaniards* were over theirs; assuring them, that the *Spaniards* had obligations towards the *Indians* in some manner, which no Man could acquit himself of, whether he were a Conquerour of them, or not, but by some such satisfaction for their debt: And pursuing this discourse with most persuasive Arguments in all the Sermons of that Week, on the *Sunday* he concluded after such a preparation made; That the Governour, and he, would try what operation his Sermons had effected on them, to which end they would go personally from house to house to demand their charitable contributions towards this pious Work; admonishing them to shew themselves as large and open-hearted therein, as they had been valiant and covetous to obtain the Empire. Accordingly the Governour and the Prior took their Walk from house to house to gather the charitable Aims of the City, coming at first to the Dwellings of those only who were Masters of the *Indians*: And at night, when my Father *Garcilasso* returned home, he commanded me to sum up the account of all the Collections; which when I had done, I found it to amount unto 28500 Pieces of Eight, which makes 34200 Ducats: the least that was given by any particular person was 500 Pieces of Eight, which makes 600 Ducats; there were some who gave a 1000 Pieces of Eight, which makes the Collection made in one Evening, and in the space of five hours only; other days they took to go from neighbour to neighbour, every one giving so freely, that in a few months the sum amounted to above a hundred thousand Ducats: the which report being noised about in the Country, and that an Hospital was therewith to be founded for the Natives, many other contributions were added in the space of that year, some being given by Last Will and Testament, and some by devout and charitable persons in the time of their Life and Health, so that the Work was cheerfully begun, the Native *Indians*, within the Jurisdiction of the City, concurring thereunto with all ready assistance, being assured that the use and benefit thereof was intentionally designed for themselves.

Under the first Stone of the Foundation, which was laid by my Father *Garcilasso*, he put a * Doblón of Gold, being one of those with two Faces, of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, the King and Queen of *Spain*: That sort of coin was rare in those days, and especially in that Country, and at that time, where, and when no Money either in Gold or other Metal was stamped; for the *Spanish* Merchants did then bring their Commodities, which they bartered or exchanged for Wares of the Country, or sold for Silver or Gold, but brought no Money coined into those parts. I believe that the Doblón was brought thither for a curiosity, and presented to my Father as a Medal; and of the same opinion were all those who saw it; for it passing from one to another, the whole Corporation of the City, then present at this Solemnity of laying the Foundation, did all esteem it for a great curiosity, being the first coined Money that had been seen in that Country; and for that reason was worthily employed in that charitable Work. *Diego Maldonado*, a Native of *Salamanca*, firnamed the Rich, for the great Wealth that he had attained, having formerly been Governour of the City, laid under one of the Stones a Plate of Silver with his Arms engraven upon it; and on this poor Foundation was erected this rich Edifice; which was afterwards endowed with many Indulgences and Pardons from the Popes, for all those who should dye in it: the which being made known to a certain *Indian* Woman of the Blood-Royal, with whom I was acquainted; she finding her self sick, desired to be carried into the Hospital, to which her Friends not agreeing in consideration of the abilities she had to maintain her self; howsoever she still persisted in her desires, saying, that it was not the cure of her Body that she designed, but to enjoy and partake of those Indulgences which the Princes of the Church had given unto those who should dye in that Hospital; for which reason she being carried thither, refused to have her Bed laid in the Chambers of the sick, but in a corner of the Church; where she desired, that her Grave might be opened near to her Bed, which she covered with the Habit of *St. Francis*, and desired to be buried in it; then she called for the Wax-candles, which she intended to have burnt at her Burial, that they might be in a readiness: And having received the Holy Sacrament and extreme Unction, she lay four days after calling upon God and the Blessed Virgin, and all the Celestial Court of Angels, and then expired. This godly end which this poor *Indian* Woman had made, being generally known and talked of; the two Corporations of the City, both Spiritual and Temporal, agreed to honour her Obsequies and

Entertainment with their preference; the which being observed by other *Indians*, (who esteemed all their Nation and Lineage much favoured therein.) it was hoped that this might be a means to animate and encourage them to embrace at their Death the same advantages which the Christian Religion produces. With which we shall conclude this discourse, and pass on to the Life and Actions of this tenth King, in whose Reign we have many particulars of great admiration.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the New Conquest which the Inca Yupanqui designed to make.

THE good *Inca Yupanqui* having bound his Temples with the coloured wreath, and performed the Funeral Rites due to his Father; the first thing he designed was to render himself pleasing and grateful to his people, by visiting the several Provinces and Kingdoms of his Empire; which (as we have said) was esteemed by the *Indians* for the greatest grace and favour which the *Inca* could testify towards his Subjects: For being possessed with an opinion, that the *Incas* were not of humane race, but descended as Gods from their Father the Sun; they could not but conceive and fancy great blessings to accompany so gracious a presence; and we may believe, that the *Inca* departing with these intentions, was received in all parts by his Subjects with great joy and adoration. The *Inca* having passed three years in this progress and visitation, returned afterwards to the City; where having consulted with his Council, he resolved to undertake a brave and hazardous War towards the *Antis* on the East-side of *Cusco*; for as yet the Confines of the Empire were bounded by a long ridge of Hills, by which the snowy Mountain extended it self; but being desirous to pass it, and discover what People or Nation inhabited on the other side, the way to pass was contrived by following the current of Waters, which run through those Hills from West to East, for that the tops and precipices of those Mountains, by reason of the Snows, were esteemed impassable.

The pretence for this War was grounded on the common and plausible colour of Religion; the design of withdrawing them from their unhumane and barbarous customs, and instructing them in the knowledge and religion which the Sun their Father had delivered, and all Nations had received, were always forcible arguments, and infallible grounds for making their War just.

This desire, and motives of seeing this Country were increased by an ancient relation which the Ancestors of this *Inca* had received, that the Nations on the other side of this Mountain were populous, and the Lands fruitful; but that part thereof was inhabitable, being nothing but Mountains, Lakes, Bogs and Marshy Grounds.

And as a farther encouragement to this design, there was a report, that amongst those populous Nations, the greatest and most considerable of them was called *Musú*, and since by the *Spaniards* *Mazú*; to which there is a passage by a great River, which about the *Antis* to the East of the City is divided into many rivulets, being five in number, every one having its proper Name; but afterwards on the other side of the *Antis*, they meet together, and falling into one stream, make a great River, called *Amarumayu*. Where this River empties it self Northward into the Sea, is not discovered; it is probable, that running Eastward, and joining with many other Rivers, it comes at length to fall into that River which we call the River of *Plate*; for the *Spaniards*, when they first discovered that Country demanded of the Natives, whether there was Silver in those parts? they answered

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that in that Country there was none, but that at the Head of that River was great abundance; from whence the *Spaniards* give the Name of *Plate* to that River, though there be no Silver Mines arising in that Country; towards the mouth of that River which is esteemed so famous, that it hath gained the renown of the second great River in the World after the *Orrellana*.

The River of *Plate* is called in the *Indian* Tongue *Parabunay*, though the great River above (if that be it which joins with the River of *Plate*) is named *Amarumayu*, all the other five Streams losing their proper Names, when they join with this. *Mayu* signifies a River, and *Amaru* are those great Serpents which are nourished in those Countries, of such bigness as we have before described, forasmuch as these Serpents being compared with lesser Snakes, do much exceed them, so doth that River surpass the Brooks and lesser Streams.

CHAP. XIV.

The Successes of the Expedition into Musú, untill the end of it.

IT being impossible to find a way into *Musú*, over the inaccessible Mountains, and through the Lakes and Bogs, the King *Yupanqui* resolved to follow the course of the River, though as yet not known, or discovered; in pursuance of which, Order was given to cut down Timber, and make Boats, or Floats, for transporting ten thousand Men, with Provision sufficient for them, the which were two years in preparing; all which being built, and made ready, and the Soldiers raised and armed, and the Victuals and Ammunition provided, and the General and Officers named, all which were *Incas* of the Royal Blood, they embarked in their Boats, made capable to carry thirty, or forty, or fifty Men a piece. Their Provisions they laid in the middle of the Boats, raised about half a yard from the bottom, to keep them from wet. With this force and preparations they sculled down the Stream, and in their passage had many difficult Encounters, and Battails with the Natives of *Chunchu*, who inhabit on the Banks on one side, and the other of that River, assembled in great numbers both upon the Water, and on the Land, to interrupt their passage. The offensive Arms used by that People of *Antis*, were Bows and Arrows: Their Faces, and Arms, and Legs were painted over red, and their Bodies with various colours, for the Country being hot, they went always naked, with a clout onely before their Privities, with Caps on their Heads, made up with the Feathers of Parrots, and *Guacamayas*.

In conclusion, after many Skirmishes and Treaties between one and the other Party, the several Nations and Inhabitants on the Banks of this River, were all reduced to the Obedience and Service of the *Incas*; and in acknowledgment of such submission and Vassalage, sent Presents to the King *Yupanqui* of Parrots, Monkeys, Drills, Honey, Wax, and other Fruits which their Country yielded. These Presents were constantly made untill the death of *Tupac Amaru*, who was the last of the *Incas*, his Head being cut off by *Francisco de Toledo*, Vice-king of the *Indies*, as we shall hereafter more largely declare in the Lives and Successions of those Kings. Many of those *Indians* who were ordered to bring their Presents to the *Incas*, did afterwards, by concession from them, plant themselves near unto *Tono*, a place about twenty six Leagues distant from *Cusco*, where their Generation hath remained to this day. The Natives on the side of the River, commonly called *Chunchu*, being thus reduced to the service of the *Incas*, they proceeded forwards to other Countries and Nations untill they came to the Province of *Musú*, inhabited by a numerous and warlike Nation, having all things plentiful of their own product, and distant about two hundred Leagues from the City of *Cusco*.

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The *Incas* report, that when they came into that Country by reason of the many Skirmishes they had passed, and the Difficulties they had encountered, their Army was reduced to a very small number; howsoever they attempted to persuade the *Musku* to submit unto the *Inca*, to whom the Sun was Father, and who had sent him from Heaven to teach Men the way of a rational and moral Life; that being Men, they should not appear like Beasts, but adoring the Sun for God, they should forsake the Worship of Stocks and Stones, and other vile and inanimate Creatures. The *Incas* observing that the *Musku* gave attention to them, were encouraged to make known their Laws and Customs to them, and recount the great Achievements and Conquests, which their Kings had made, with what Provinces had voluntarily, and of their own accord, offered themselves to the Obedience and Service of the *Inca*, desiring him to take them under his protection, as his People and Worshippers of his Deity. It is moreover reported, that the *Incas* particularly declared to them the Dream of *Viracocha*, and his great Actions. At the hearing of all which, it is said that the *Musku* were so astonished, that they readily accepted the friendship of the *Incas*, and embraced their Religion, Laws and Statutes with great Devotion, promising to be governed by them, and to acknowledge no other than the Sun for their principal God. Howsoever they refused to be esteemed for Vassals of the *Inca*, having not been conquered by him; but were proud to be accounted his Allies, Friends and Confederates. Under pretext of which Friendship, the *Musku* gave leave to the *Incas* to live and inhabit in their Country; for there not remaining above a thousand of them, they did not apprehend any danger of being subdued or enslaved by them, and therefore freely gave them liberty to take their Daughters and Kindred for their Wives, and having a great Veneration and Esteem for their Persons and Wisdom, they committed the government of all things into their hands, both of War and Peace. Upon the Foundation of this new Alliance, and at their persuasion, they sent Ambassadors to *Cusco*, to adore the *Inca* as the Off-spring of the Sun, and to confirm that Friendship and Alliance which they had contracted with his Subjects; taking a great compass in their way thither, to avoid the high Mountains, marshy grounds and bogs, which were not passible in the direct line. These Ambassadors being arrived at *Cusco*, were received by the *Inca* with all imaginable kindness and favour; commanding that care should be taken to inform and instruct them in the manner of his Courts, his Laws, Statutes and Religion; with which the *Musku* receiving great satisfaction, returned again to their own Country, with resolution to maintain this Friendship and Confederacy so happily begun, which continued until the time that the *Spaniards* invaded and overcame their Country. Particularly it is reported of these *Incas*, who planted themselves in the Country of the *Musku*; that the Children descended from them, desiring to return to *Cusco* in the time of *Huayna Capac*, for that finding all things quiet in the Country of *Musku*, and no danger of any revolt, the natural desire of visiting the Country of their Fore-fathers, invited them to carry their Wives and Children unto *Cusco*; but in their way thither receiving news that *Huayna Capac* was dead; and that the *Spaniards* possessed the Land, having subverted and utterly destroyed the Empire of the *Incas*; they altered their design, resolving to return again to the *Musku*, where they were ever afterwards highly esteemed, and held in Veneration, and all matters both of War and Peace committed to their management. It is said that the River in those parts is six Leagues broad, and that their Canoes are two days in passing over it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Remains which are still apparent of that Expedition.

THE particulars of this Conquest and Discovery made by the *Inca Tupanqui*, which we have recounted in brief, were afterwards more at large related by the *Indians*, boasting much of the mighty Acts and Valour of their Ancestours; telling us of Battels which they fought upon the Water, and on the Banks of the River, and of the many Provinces they subdued, and many other Enterprises, which seem incredible to have been performed by a handful of Men; and because that hitherto the *Spaniards* have not been able to make themselves Masters of the people about the *Antis*, how much less can it be pointed out to us, the way and means that these few *Incas* took to subdue and reduce these sturdy Nations; and therefore since these things seem incredible, we that design to write a true History, have not thought fit to mix Fables with our true Relations, especially of things which being acted in remote and unknown parts, could not come so distinctly to our cognizance, as those which were acted in the Precincts of our own Country. Though the truth is, the *Spaniards* have in our time found many Evidences and Remains of those matters, as we shall see more distinctly hereafter.

In the Year 1564. a certain *Spaniard*, called *Diego Aleman*, born in the Town of *St. John* in the County of *Niebla*, Inhabitant of the City of *Paez*, otherwise called the New Plantation; being made Lord over a few *Indians*, was persuaded by a *Curaca* of that place, to take twelve *Spaniards* more into his company, and with them to make a journey into the Province of *Musku*, where he assured them was much Gold, offering himself to be their guide; the journey they undertook was a foot, both for privacy, the better to surprize the Natives, and because the way was mountainous, and not passible on horseback; their Design was for that present only upon discovery, to see and observe how the Land lay, to know the ways, and afterwards return with greater force, to make their Conquest; they entered by *Cochapampa*, which borders upon *Moxa*.

They travelled twenty eight days through Mountains and Thickets, and unfrequented places, and at length came to a view of the first Province of that people. The *Cacique* gave them a caution to proceed silently, and enquire of matters from some *Indian* before they discovered themselves; but the *Spaniards* not hearkning to the caution he gave, on the close of the Evening, with more boldness than prudence entered the Province, making a noise, as if their numbers had been great, or as if the sound of the *Spanish* Tongue only, had been sufficient to affright them. But matters succeeded quite otherwise, for the *Indians* taking the alarm, and by the shout they made, concluding them to be few in number, took courage, and falling upon them, killed ten, and took *Aleman* captive; the other two, by the darkness of the night escaped, and returned to the place where their Guide promised to expect them, being not pleased with the rashness of their Counsel. One of the two which escaped was called *Francisco Moreno*, the Son of a *Spaniard*, by an *Indian* Woman, born at *Cochapampa*; this Man got a Cloth made of Cotton, which was hanged in the air for a Hamock or Cradle, to lay a Child in it, having six Bells of Gold tied to the ends of it, woven with several Works in divers colours. So soon as it was day the two *Spaniards* and the *Curaca* could from the top of the Hill discover a great number of *Indians*, with Lances, and Pikes, and Breast-plates, which glittered against the Sun, all which, as the Guide assured them, were made of Gold; and that they had no Silver in their Country, but that only which they procured from *Peru* in exchange for their Gold. And to describe the greatness of that Country, he told them, that as the List was to that

Mantle, so was all *Peru* in comparison of that Countrey; but to let pass his Cogmography, there is no doubt but that this Province was both wide and long.

Afterwards these *Indians* having every Evening converse and society with those of *Peru*, had understood from them, that this *Diego Aleman* had been the Leader and Chief of those few, who attempted this bold and rash Design; on reputation of which, they so highly esteemed and honoured him, that they chose him the Captain of their Army in that War which they made against their Neighbours on the other side of the River of *Amarumayu*; judging themselves extremely honoured, and secure under the conduct of so renowned a General of the Spanish Nation. But *Francisco Moreno*, his Companion in these Travails, being overworn in his Journeys and Labours, so soon as he arrived in his own Countrey, dyed, having put himself into a Fever in his Travails over the Mountains and Marishes, which were not to be passed on Horse-back, but on Foot only: This *Moreno* recounted many things at large relating to this Discovery, which moved and persuaded many to undertake this Design; the chief whereof was *Gomez de Tordoya*, a young and brisk Gentleman, to whom the Count *Nicua*, Vice-king of *Peru* communicated all the particulars of *Moreno's* Journal at large: But in regard great number of people came in to offer their service, and list themselves in this Expedition; the Vice-king fearing a Mutiny, or some Consultation, gave out that the Design was laid aside, and that they would disband the Souldiers which they had already raised.

CHAP. XVI.

Of other unhappy Successes which befell the Spaniards in that Province.

TWO Years after, *Castro*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, Governour of *Peru*, gave a like Commission to another Gentleman, an Inhabitant of *Cusco*, called *Gaspar de Sotelo*, who fitted and prepared himself with a brave and stout company of Souldiers, who freely and voluntarily offered themselves to accompany him in this Expedition: But that which gave most hope and advantage to this Design was a secret Correspondence between him and the *Inca Tupac Amaru*, who was retired into *Vilcapampa*; they both having agreed to join their Forces together for this Conquest, and that *Tupac* was to furnish him with flat bottomed Boats to pass the River of *Vilcapampa*, which lies to the Northeast of *Cusco*. But as in the like occasions there never want malicious Spirits, who, envious of the Enterprises of generous Men, do always endeavour to doe ill Offices; so in this also there appeared those, who derogating from the worth and ability of *Gaspar de Sotelo*, persuaded the Governour to take away his Commission, and confer it upon *Juan Alvarez Maldonado*; which being done, he raised two hundred and fifty Foot, and one hundred Horse, and embarked them on great flat bottomed Boats, built on the River *Amarumayu*, which lies East from *Cusco*. *Gomez de Tordoya* observing that this Conquest which he designed to himself, was by Commission given to *Gaspar de Sotelo*, and afterwards to *Juan Alvarez Maldonado*, in preparing for which, he had engaged his Friends, and spent his own Estate, he so highly resented, that he would not be diverted, but published abroad, that he also intended to proceed on that Design; for though they had revoked his Authority, yet he still kept his Commission, by virtue of which he went on in raising his Souldiers; and though few appeared, and that his numbers did not amount to above sixty Men in all, because the Governour had declared his sense and pleasure against it; yet in despite of all opposition resolving to proceed, he entred by the Province of *Cumata*, which is Southeast of *Cusco*, and having passed insuperable Moun-

Mountains, and difficult marish and boggy Grounds; he arrived at length at the River *Amarumayu*, where receiving advice, that *Juan Alvarez* was not yet passed, he entrenched himself on the banks of the River, with design to hinder his passage, and to treat him as an Enemy; and though he had but a small number which adhered to him, yet being all choice Men, and faithful to him, every one carrying two Carbines well fixed and charged, he promised to himself success and advantage.

Juan Alvarez soon following after, descended by the stream untill he came to the place, where *Gomez Tordoya* expected his coming; they being both emulous each of other, and exasperated with equal gall and anger, without any other treaty or prologue, came to blows. *Juan Alvarez Maldonado* confiding in his Numbers, was the first Aggressor; *Gomez* trusting in the courage of his Men, and their double Arms would not give ground, but received his charge with great constancy, so that they fought that whole day, as also the second and third, with that spirit and rage, and with such little consideration, that they were almost all killed; and such as did escape with their lives, were yet so wounded, that they were disabled, and unfit for service. The *Indians*, who were Natives of that Province of *Chunchu*, having observed this advantage, fell in upon those that remained alive, and utterly destroyed them; amongst which *Gomez de Tordoya* was also slain. I knew all these three Gentlemen, and left them in *Cusco*, when I departed thence. The *Indians* took three Spaniards alive, that is, this *Maldonado*, *Diego Martin* a Portuguese Friar, and a certain Gun-smith called *Simon Lopez*; *Maldonado* being known by the *Indians* to have been the Commander in chief of one of those parties, was treated by them with all courtesy and respect; and considering that he was wounded, and a Man in years, they gave him liberty to return unto his *Indians* in *Cusco*, giving him convoy to as far as the Province of *Callavaya*, where the finest Gold is extracted in pieces of four or five Caracts in weight: but the Friar and the Gun-smith they kept above two years afterwards; during which time, they employed the Gun-smith solely in making them Hatchets and Pick-axes of Copper; and the Friar they held in great veneration, because he was a Priest, and a Servant of the God of the Christians: And when at length they gave them liberty to return to *Peru*, they entreated the Friar to stay amongst them, and teach them the Doctrine of Christianity, but he refused to dwell with them. This and many such occasions have been lost, whereby the Gospel might have been propagated by Preaching, without the force and compulsion of Arms.

Two years afterwards the *Chunchus* gave licence to these two Spaniards to return unto *Peru*, guiding and conducting them untill they came to the Valley of *Callavaya*, so that they told their own Story of this unhappy expedition. They also gave an account of all the Actions and Exploits which the *Incas* had performed at the lower parts of this River; and how they dwelt and inhabited amongst the *Musiu*; and that after that time they acknowledged the *Inca* for their Lord and Sovereign, and that every year they carried him presents of such Fruits as their soil produced; the which presents were continued untill the Death of the *Inca Tupac Amaru*, which was some few years after this unfortunate action and fight between *Juan Alvarez Maldonado*, and *Gomez de Tordoya*. The which Story we have fore-told and related out of its due place, thereby to attest, and prove the Conquest which the *Inca Tupanqui* made along the great River *Amarumayu*; and that the *Incas* who designed to make a Conquest of the *Musiu*, did afterwards plait themselves, and inhabit amongst them. All which the Friar *Diego Martin*, and the Gun-smith *Simon* did particularly relate and confirm: And the Friar as to himself did say, that nothing did trouble him so much in his life, as that he did not continue his abode amongst the *Indian Chunchus*, as they desired of him; but that not having the conveniences there of saying Mass, was a great inducement to recall him thence, for otherwise he would never have removed from thence. He farther said, that he often purposed to return thither again, being troubled in his conscience for not having satisfied the importunity of those poor *Indians*, who made that reasonable request to him, which he by his vow and profession was obliged to grant: And farther that Friar alledged, that those *Incas* who were planted amongst the *Musiu*, might be of great use to the Spaniards in the Conquest which they designed to make of that Countrey. And so let us return again to the Acts and Monuments of the good *Inca Tupanqui*; the chief and greatest of which, was the Conquest of *Chili*.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Nation of Chirihuana; of their customs and manner of living.

AS covetousness and ambition of government is natural to all Men, so these *Incas* transported with a desire of new Kingdoms and Conquests, made it their chief business and glory to enlarge their Empire. In pursuance of which, four years after that *Tupanqui* had sent his Army down the River, he designed another Conquest over the great Province of *Chirihuana*, which is seated in the *Amis* to the Eastward of the *Charcas*. But in regard the Countrey was unknown, and the ways undiscovered, it was thought fit and convenient to send spies first into those parts, who might see and discover the Situation and Nature of the Countrey, and Manners of the People. The Spies being dispatched, as was resolved, they returned at a certain time, bringing a report, that the Countrey was bad, full of high and barren Mountains, Bogs, Lakes, and Marshy Grounds; that the Natives were absolutely brutes, and worse than beasts, having no Religion, or Worship of any thing, but lived without law or good manners, wandering in the Mountains and Woods, not associated in any community or political government; unless it were, when they joined their Forces together to infect their Neighbours, with intention to eat the flesh of those which they took in War, without respect either of Sex or Age, and that nothing should be lost of all their spoils, they drank the blood when they cut their throats. Nor did they only eat the flesh of their Enemies, but of their own people, when they died; onely they lamented over their bones; which when they had laid, and disposed orderly according to their joints, they buried them in rocks, or caves, and the hollow of trees. They went naked, and promiscuously used coition without regard either to Sisters, Daughters or Mothers. And this was the common way of living practised by the Nation of *Chirihuana*.

The good *Inca Tupanqui* (for so was he styled commonly by his own people, as also by *Pedro de Cieza*) having heard this report, turned to his relations and kindred, who were then present, and told them, that now he esteemed it a duty and obligation incumbent on him to reduce the people of *Chirihuana*, that so he might withdraw them from the turpitude of their manners, and from that bestial life which they did lead, it being the grand design for which his Father the Sun had sent him into the World. Having said these Words, he appointed ten thousand Men to be raised, and made ready, under the Command of Colonels and Captains of the *Incan* Family, Men experienced both in War and Peace, and instructed in their duty, and the business that they were to perform. This Army being provided, marched into the Province of *Chirihuana*, where they soon found the want and misery of the Countrey; to supply which, they gave notice to the *Inca*, who speedily furnished them with all things necessary. But such were the difficulties of that Countrey, being nothing but Mountains, and Bogs, and Pans, that after the labour of two years, they were not able to effect any matter considerable therein; which being advised to the *Inca*, he ordered their return, designing after some time of repose to employ them on some more grateful, and more pleasing Conquests.

The Vice-King *D. Francisco de Toledo*, who governed those Kingdoms in the year 1572, resolved to conquer those *Chirihuanas*, as *Acosta* in the 28th Chapter of his 4th Book doth relate at large; and in order thereunto having appointed a considerable force of *Spaniards*, provided with all necessities to undertake that enterprize, he entered into that Province, carrying with him great numbers of Horses and Cows to breed and increase; but he had not marched far before he experienced the insuperable difficulties of that undertaking, which he not believing by any former report, nor yet admonished by the ineffectual attempts which the *Incas* made

made upon it, was forced at length to abandon his Design, and fly shamefully out of the Countrey. The ways were so bad, that the Mules were not able to pass with his Litter, so that he was carried on the Shoulders of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; whilst the *Chirihuanas* cried after them with Curfes and Reproaches, saying, *Throw down that Old Woman from her Basket, that we may eat her alive.*

For the *Chirihuanas* (as we have said) are a sort of people greedy and ravenous after Flesh, because they have none in their own Countrey, either of tame or wild Cattel, the Soil not producing Herbage, or other nourishment for them being over-run with Briars and Bushes, and not cultivated with the least Art or Industry. Had they conserved the Cattel which the Vice-king left them, ordering Cow-keepers or Herdsmen to attend them, as was practised in the Islands of *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, they might have had an increase sufficient to have stocked their Countrey. Howsoever that barbarous people, even from that little Conversation and Learning which they had from the *Spaniards*, during their short abode in their Countrey, reaped some benefit as to their manners; for they did never afterward eat the Flesh of their own dead; onely they were thirsty after the Blood of their Neighbours, and so raving for the Flesh of their Enemies, that they despised their own Lives to gain theirs, being insensible of all Dangers at the sight of their Prey; and so much did they long for humane Flesh, that when they surprised at any time Shepherds keeping their flocks of Sheep, or Herdsmen watching their Cattel, they would forsake and neglect the Herds and Drovers, to take and devour the Flesh of the Shepherds. This inhumane barbarity was so dreadful to all sorts of people, and their Neighbours round about, that ten *Chirihuanas* would chase a thousand others, to whom they were so terrible, that they affrighted their Children with their very Name. The *Chirihuanas* also learned from this short visit of the *Spaniards* to make Houses not for private Dwellings, but for the publick reception of all comers; the Fashion of which was one wide Gallery, divided into as many Apartments as there were Persons; the Room being no bigger than what was capable to receive one single person, for they had no Household-stuff, nor Garments to cover them, going always naked. And thus much shall serve for what we have to say of the condition and brutish Life of the *Chirihuanas*, who are so bestial, and inhumane, that nothing less than a Miracle can reclaim them from this gross and irrational course of Life.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Preparations which were made for the Conquest of Chili.

Though the good King *Tupanqui* had had but ill success against the *Chirihuanas*, yet it did not discourage his Design for the Conquest of *Chili*, or for Achievements of a more noble Nature: For in regard the great Maxime of the *Inca* State was the increase of their Empire, they were ever attempting and designing some thing towards the enlargement of it; and indeed such was the Constitution of it in those days, that they could not well subsist without War, their people being numerous, and without Employment, and the Stores of Arms, Cloths and Shoes, which were the Tribute of the Provinces, yearly increasing, there would have been no consumption of them without a War, but would have decayed and perished in the Magazines, or Store-houses, without use; for as to Gold and Silver, (as we have said) none was exacted, nor were they in use as current Coin, but only were the voluntary Presents which the Vassals gave for adornment of the Royal Palaces, and Temples belonging to the Sun; for these Reasons, and for the Love and Obedience which his Subjects bore towards him, the King *Tupanqui* accounted himself to be in a proper and able condition for making a War upon the Kingdom of *Chili*, to which end having advised with his Council concerning the way and manner of carrying on the War, and having constituted and ordained Officers for administration of common Justice, during his absence; he proceeded on his way to *Chili*, as far as *Atacama*, which was the most remote Province that was peopled on that side, between which and *Chili* were great Deserts, without People or Provisions; and there he intended to pitch his Camp, to give heat and life to the design.

From *Atacama* the *Inca* sent his Spies, and a party like a Forlorn-hope, to discover and observe the ways and Difficulties of the passage; and because the care was great, and the true Discovery of vast importance, the charge of it was committed to *Incas* only; the Kings not being willing to entrust the common safety to the faithfulness of any, but such as were of the Royal Lineage. These *Incas* took with them certain *Indians* from *Atacama* and *Tucma* for their Guides, for (as we have said before) these had some knowledge of the way; for the better assurance of which it was ordered, that from two Leagues to two Leagues the Guides should go, and return with a report of the way, and difficulties which they encountered in it; and should by such Advices accordingly contrive with most advantage to lodge, and lay their Provisions for the Army in the most commodious places. With this labour and diligence they penetrated eighty Leagues through this desert Country, which is as far as from *Atacama* to *Copayapu*, which is a little but a well peopled Province, environed round with long and wide Deserts, for to pass forward, as far as to *Cuzquimpu*, are other eighty Leagues of desert Country.

The Spies having made a Discovery as far as *Copayapu*, and taken as much notice of every thing, as could be done by a survey of their Eyes, they returned with all diligence to render an account to the *Inca* of what they had seen and observed. The *Inca* having received their Information, ordered ten thousand Men to be made ready, under the Command of General *Sinchi-ruca*, and two other Major Generals, whose Names are not known, the which being dispatched, marched in the best order that the way would permit, having their Provisions carried on the backs of Sheep, whose Flesh also served for Victuals.

This Army being dispeised away, the *Inca Tupanqui* commanded that they should be followed by ten thousand more, for the succour and reinforcement of their Companions, which marched before, the which added to the greater terror and affrightment of the Enemy. The first Army being arrived near to *Copayapu*,
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sent their accustomed Summons to the people, requiring them to render and submit themselves to a Child of the Sun, who was sent from his Father to give them a new Religion, and Laws, and Customs, that so they might live like Men, and not like Beasts; nor would it avail them to fly unto their Arms for succour or defence, for that either by foul means or fair, they must obey the *Inca*, who was Sovereign Monarch of the four parts of the World. The Natives of *Copayapu*, being affrighted at these Summons, betook themselves immediately to their Arms, being resolved to defend the Confines of their Countrey; where at first they had some light Skirmishes and Encounters, both parties trying and proving the Courage and force of each other. The *Incas*, in compliance with the command of their King, faintly managed their Arms, being unwilling to use Fire, and Sword, and other Extremities of War, but rather by dallying with them sometimes in Words, and again with Blows, induce them to a submission. The Enemy on the other side remained in great perplexities and doubts what to do; the terror and dread which they apprehended in opposing the Deity of the Sun, made them fear that some great Curse or Malediction would be the effect of their Rebellion, yet the desire they had to maintain their Liberty, and the ancient Worship of their Gods, was a most prevalent Argument against all Innovations.

C H A P. XIX.

The Incas possess themselves of the Valley which they call Chili; and of other Summons sent to divers new Nations, with their Answers thereunto.

IN this doubtfull condition and suspense were the people of *Copayapu*, when the second Army came to the Succour and Reinforcement of the former; with the sight of which, being now totally discouraged, and out of all hopes of making resistance, they came to a treaty, and accepted all the conditions both of civil manners, and religious Worship, which the power of a prevailing Enemy was pleased to impose upon them. All which being advised to the *Inca*, he was greatly pleased with the success, conceiving that he had now an open and plain Field before him to the Conquest of *Chili*, which until now he very much doubted, apprehending that the distance and difficulties of the way would render the Enterprize almost insuperable. The Province of *Copayapu* having submitted on composition, rather than subdued by force, the *Inca* followed the course of his good Fortune; commanding ten thousand Men more to be raised, and furnished with Arms and necessary Provisions for their March, and therewith to be dispatched away with all Expedition, for reinforcement of the former Army; which being thus strongly recruited, they marched eighty Leagues farther into the Countrey, where, after many difficulties, and much labour, they arrived at length at another Province, or Valley, called *Cuzquimpu*, which they subdued. What particulars occurred in this Enterprize, what Battels were fought, or what Treaties passed, is not certain, for that being a Countrey very remote, the *Indians* of *Peru* were not able to render any perfect account of particular matters, more than in general, that the Valley of *Cuzquimpu* was added to the Dominions of the Empire. Thence they proceeded forwards, conquering all the Nations before them, as far as to the Valley of *Chili*, from whence that Kingdom takes its denomination. During all the time of this War, which (as some say) lasted six years, the *Inca* with great care reinforced his Armies from time to time, furnishing them with Arms, Cloths, Shoes, and all provisions and necessaries required; for it concerned great-
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ly the Dignity and Honour of his Majesty, that his Souldiers should not lose ground, or retreat one step from the Possessions they had gained; so that at length *Chili* being made the seat of War, was invaded by the *Inca* with fifty thousand Men, provided with as much convenience and plenty, as if they had been quartered within the City of *Cusco*.

Of all matters that succeeded, intelligence was given to the *Inca* from time to time, and having made necessary provisions for securing the late Conquests, they continued their march to the Southward, subduing all the Nations before them to the River of *Maulli*, which is almost fifty Leagues distant from the Valley of *Chili*. What Battels or Skirmishes passed here is not particularly known, and therefore it is probable that matters were ended by way of Friendship, or Composition; it being always the first Trial which the *Incas* made at the beginning, before they put matters to the extremities of a War. The *Incas* had now enlarged their Empire above two hundred and sixty Leagues in length, the distance being so great from *Atacama* to the River *Maulli*, counting the Deserts as well as the inhabited places; for from *Atacama* to *Copayapu* are eighty Leagues, from *Copayapu* to *Cuquimpu* are eighty more, from *Cuquimpu* to *Chili* are fifty five, and then from *Chili* to the River *Maulli* are almost fifty more; all which was not as yet sufficient to satisfy the Avarice and Ambition of the *Incas*: For having given out the necessary orders for Government, and securing the late Conquests, and made provision against all accidents and contingencies which might happen in War, they proceeded farther, passing the River *Maulli* with twenty thousand Men; where, according to their custome, they in the first place sent their Summons to the Province of *Purumancas*, (called by the *Spaniards* *Promaucaes*) requiring them either to accept the *Inca* for their King and Lord, or otherwise provide to defend themselves by Arms. The *Purumancas* having received intelligence of the approach of the *Incas*, had put themselves into a posture of Defence, and having made an Alliance with their Neighbours of *Amalli*, *Pincu*, and *Cauqui*, resolved to dye, rather than lose their ancient Liberty; and on this confidence gave for Answer, That the Conquerours should be Lords over the conquered, and that the *Incas* should soon understand in what manner the *Purumancas* were used to obey.

Three or four days after this Answer the *Purumancas* having joined with their Allies, appeared in a Body, to the number of 18 or 20 thousand Men, pitching their Camp in sight of the *Incas*, who still continued to repeat their instant solicitations for Peace and Concord, protesting to them, and calling the Sun and Moon to witness, that they came not to deprive or despoil them of their Lands and Estates; but only with an intention to reduce them to a manner of rational living like Men, and impose nothing more upon them, than the Worship and Adoration of the Sun, whom they required them to accept for their God, and the *Inca* for their King and Sovereign. The *Purumancas* replied, That they would not spend their time in parlying, or vain Disputes, but would refer the Controversie to be decided by the Sword, and that the *Incas* should accordingly provide the next day for a Trial, they being resolved neither to send other Proposals, nor receive them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

*Of the cruel Battel between the Incas and other Nations;
and of the first Spaniard who discovered Chili.*

THE day following, both Armies raising their Camps, put themselves in order of Battel, and began the Fight with great Courage and Resolution, which continued that whole day with such equality of Fortune, that it could not be discerned to which part the Victory most inclined; many were slain and wounded on both sides, untill the night divided them, and caused them to retreat to their several Quarters. The second and third days were alike bloody, one party contending for Liberty, and the other for Honour. The fourth day both sides were drawn up in their Camp, expecting which should make the attempt; and in this order they continued for the space of two days after, and then they both drew off, each side suspecting that the other had sent for more Succours, requiring speedy Retreat. The *Purumancas*, and their Allies, thought that they had gained Credit enough, in being able to withstand the invincible Power of the *Incas*, and with this Reputation they returned to their own Countries, proclaiming Victory and Triumph in all parts where they passed.

The *Incas*, after due and mature consideration, thought it not convenient to pursue after the Enemy, but rather give way to their bestial Fury for a time; howsoever the Debates hereupon were divers, some were for pursuing the Enemy, untill they had entirely subdued them; but others of a more moderate temper, were for following the mild and gentle Principles of the *Incas*, not being over forward in the utter destruction of their Enemies. At length it was agreed and concluded, that they should preserve that which they had already gained, making the River *Maulli* the utmost limit and bound of their Frontiers, untill such time as they should receive new Orders and Instructions from the *Inca*. Of all which the King *Yupanqui* being advised, gave directions, that they should give a stop to the farther progression of their Conquests, and attend to the improvement and cultivating of the Lands and Possessions they had gained, with particular respect to the ease and benefit of the new Subjects; that so the neighbouring people being allured by this good treatment might offer themselves to become Vassals to the *Inca*; and in case the Nature of this people should be so dull and stupid, as not to observe and distinguish between the happiness of an improved Life, and their own Bestialities, that then the loss would be theirs, and redound more to their own hurt, than to the prejudice of the *Incas*. In compliance with this Command from the King, they desisted from farther prosecution of their Conquests in *Chili*, making the River *Maulli* the ultimate bounds of their Empire, which they fortified with Castles, and strong Garisons; so that now their business was to administer Justice, and improve the Incomes of the Sun; all which was performed with great respect to the benefit of the Subjects, who finding themselves obliged by such kind treatment, did with great Zeal and Affection embrace the Government of the *Incas*, and comply with their Laws, Rites and Religion, continuing constant in them, untill such time as the *Spaniards* became Masters of their Country.

The first *Spaniard* that discovered *Chili*, was *Don Diego de Almagro*; but he did but just see it, and afterwards return to *Pern*, having sustained innumerable labours, and endured great fatigues both in his journey thither, and in his return; the which enterprise was the cause of the general Revolt of all *Pern*, and the original of that Discord and civil Dissention which happened afterwards between those two Governours, and of the Death of the said *Almagro*, being taken Prisoner at the Battel of *Salinas*; and also of the Death of the Marquis *D. Francisco de Pizarro*, and of *D. Diego de Almagro*, who was born of *Spanish* and *Indian* Blood, and who commanded in the Fight, called the Battel of *Chupas*. Of all which we shall

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Preparations which were made for the Conquest of Chili.

Though the good King *Tupangu* had but ill success against the *Chirihuanas*, yet it did not discourage his Design for the Conquest of *Chili*, or for Achievements of a more noble Nature: For in regard the great Maxime of the *Inca* State was the increase of their Empire, they were ever attempting and designing some thing towards the enlargement of it; and indeed such was the Constitution of it in those days, that they could not well subsist without War, their people being numerous, and without Employment, and the Stores of Arms, Cloths and Shoes, which were the Tribute of the Provinces, yearly increasing, there would have been no consumption of them without a War, but would have decayed and perished in the Magazines, or Store-houses, without use; for as to Gold and Silver, (as we have said) none was exacted, nor were they in use as current Coin, but only were the voluntary Presents which the Vassals gave for adornment of the Royal Palaces, and Temples belonging to the Sun; for these Reasons, and for the Love and Obedience which his Subjects bore towards him, the King *Tupangu* accounted himself to be in a proper and able condition for making a War upon the Kingdom of *Chili*, to which end having advised with his Council concerning the way and manner of carrying on the War, and having constituted and ordained Officers for administration of common Justice, during his absence; he proceeded on his way to *Chili*, as far as *Atacama*, which was the most remote Province that was peopled on that side, between which and *Chili* were great Deserts, without People or Provisions; and there he intended to pitch his Camp, to give heat and life to the design.

From *Atacama* the *Inca* sent his Spies, and a party like a Forlorn-hope, to discover and observe the ways and Difficulties of the passage; and because the care was great, and the true Discovery of vast importance, the charge of it was committed to *Incas* only; the Kings not being willing to entrust the common safety to the faithfulness of any, but such as were of the Royal Lineage. These *Inca* took with them certain *Indians* from *Atacama* and *Tucuma* for their Guides, for (as we have said before) these had some knowledge of the way; for the better assistance of which it was ordered, that from two Leagues to two Leagues the Guides should go, and return with a report of the way, and difficulties which they encountered in it; and should by such Advices accordingly contrive with most advantage to lodge, and lay their Provisions for the Army in the most commodious places. With this labour and diligence they penetrated eighty Leagues through this desert Country, which is as far as from *Atacama* to *Copacabana*, which is a little but a well peopled Province, environed round with long and wide Deserts, for to pass forward, as far as to *Cuzquimpu*, are other eighty Leagues of desert Country.

The Spies having made a Discovery as far as *Copacabana*, and taken as much notice of every thing, as could be done by a survey of their Eyes, they returned with all diligence to render an account to the *Inca* of what they had seen and observed. The *Inca* having received their Information, ordered ten thousand Men to be made ready, under the Command of General *Sinchiruca*, and two other Major Generals, whose Names are not known, the which being dispatched, marched in the best order that the way would permit, having their Provisions carried on the backs of Sheep, whose Flesh also served for Victuals.

This Army being dispeeded away, the *Inca Tupangu* commanded that they should be followed by ten thousand more, for the succour and reinforcement of their Companions, which marched before, the which added to the greater terror and affrightment of the Enemy. The first Army being arrived near to *Copacabana*,
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C H A P. XIX.

The Incas possess themselves of the Valley which they call Chili; and of other Summons sent to divers new Nations, with their Answers thereunto.

IN this doubtful condition and suspense were the people of *Copacabana*, when the second Army came to the Succour and Reinforcement of the former; with the sight of which, being now totally discouraged, and 'out of' all hopes of making resistance, they came to a treaty, and accepted all the conditions both of civil manners, and religious Worship, which the power of a prevailing Enemy was pleased to impose upon them. All which being advised to the *Inca*, he was greatly pleased with the success, conceiving that he had now an open and plain Field before him to the Conquest of *Chili*, which until now he very much doubted, apprehending that the distance and difficulties of the way would render the Enterprize almost insuperable. The Province of *Copacabana* having submitted on composition, rather than subdued by force, the *Inca* followed the course of his good Fortune; commanding ten thousand Men more to be raised, and furnished with Arms and necessary Provisions for their March, and therewith to be dispatched away with all Expedition, for reinforcement of the former Army; which being thus strongly recruited, they marched eighty Leagues farther into the Country, where, after many difficulties, and much labour, they arrived at length at another Province, or Valley, called *Cuzquimpu*, which they subdued. What particulars occurred in this Enterprize, what Battels were fought, or what Treaties passed, is not certain, for that being a Country very remote, the *Indians* of *Peru* were not able to render any perfect account of particular matters, more than in general, that the Valley of *Cuzquimpu* was added to the Dominions of the Empire. Thence they proceeded forwards, conquering all the Nations before them, as far as to the Valley of *Chili*, from whence that Kingdom takes its denomination. During all the time of this War, which (as some say) lasted six years, the *Inca* with great care reinforced his Armies from time to time, furnishing them with Arms, Cloths, Shoes, and all provisions and necessaries required; for it concerned great-
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ly the Dignity and Honour of his Majesty, that his Souldiers should not lose ground, or retreat one step from the Possessions they had gained; so that at length *Chili* being made the seat of War, was invaded by the *Inca* with fifty thousand Men, provided with as much convenience and plenty, as if they had been quartered within the City of *Cusco*.

Of all matters that succeeded, intelligence was given to the *Inca* from time to time, and having made necessary provisions for securing the late Conquests, they continued their march to the Southward, subduing all the Nations before them to the River of *Maulli*, which is almost fifty Leagues distant from the Valley of *Chili*. What Battels or Skirmishes passed here is not particularly known, and therefore it is probable that matters were ended by way of Friendship, or Composition; it being always the first Trial which the *Incas* made at the beginning, before they put matters to the extremities of a War. The *Inca* had now enlarged their Empire above two hundred and sixty Leagues in length, the distance being so great from *Atacama* to the River *Maulli*, counting the Deserts as well as the inhabited places; for from *Atacama* to *Copayari* are eighty Leagues, from *Copayari* to *Cuchimpu* are eighty more, from *Cuchimpu* to *Chili* are fifty five, and then from *Chili* to the River *Maulli* are almost fifty more; all which was not as yet sufficient to satisfy the Avarice and Ambition of the *Incas*: For having given out the necessary orders for Government, and securing the late Conquests, and made provision against all accidents and contingencies which might happen in War, they proceeded farther, passing the River *Maulli* with twenty thousand Men; where, according to their custom, they in the first place sent their Summons to the Province of *Purumancas*, (called by the *Spaniards* *Promancas*) requiring them either to accept the *Inca* for their King and Lord, or otherwise provide to defend themselves by Arms. The *Purumancas* having received intelligence of the approach of the *Incas*, had put themselves into a posture of Defence, and having made an Alliance with their Neighbours of *Antali*, *Pincu*, and *Canguis*, resolved to dye, rather than lose their ancient Liberty; and on this confidence gave for Answer, That the Conquerours should be Lords over the conquered, and that the *Incas* should soon understand in what manner the *Purumancas* were used to obey.

Three or four days after this Answer the *Purumancas* having joined with their Allies, appeared in a Body, to the number of 18 or 20 thousand Men, pitching their Camp in sight of the *Incas*, who still continued to repeat their instant solicitations for Peace and Concord, protesting to them, and calling the Sun and Moon to witness, that they came not to deprive or despoil them of their Lands and Estates; but onely with an intention to reduce them to a manner of rational living like Men, and impose nothing more upon them, than the Worship and Adoration of the Sun, whom they required them to accept for their God, and the *Inca* for their King and Sovereign. The *Purumancas* replied, That they would not spend their time in parlying, or vain Disputes, but would refer the Controversie to be decided by the Sword, and that the *Incas* should accordingly provide the next day for a Trial, they being resolved neither to send other Proposals, nor receive them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of the cruel Battel between the Incas and other Nations; and of the first Spaniard who discovered Chili.

THE day following, both Armies raising their Camps, put themselves in order of Battel, and began the Fight with great Courage and Resolution, which continued that whole day with such equality of Fortune, that it could not be discerned to which part the Victory most inclined; many were slain and wounded on both sides, untill the night divided them, and caused them to retreat to their several Quarters. The second and third days were alike bloody, one party contending for Liberty, and the other for Honour. The fourth day both sides were drawn up in their Camp, expecting which should make the attempt; and in this order they continued for the space of two days after, and then they both drew off, each side suspecting that the other had sent for more Succours, requiring speedy Recruits. The *Purumancas*, and their Allies, thought that they had gained Credit enough, in being able to withstand the invincible Power of the *Incas*, and with this Reputation they returned to their own Countries, proclaiming Victory and Triumph in all parts where they passed.

The *Incas*, after due and mature consideration, thought it not convenient to pursue after the Enemy, but rather give way to their bestial Fury for a time; howsoever the Debates hereupon were divers, some were for pursuing the Enemy, untill they had entirely subdued them; but others of a more moderate temper, were for following the mild and gentle Principles of the *Incas*, not being ever forward in the utter destruction of their Enemies. At length it was agreed and concluded, that they should preserve that which they had already gained, making the River *Maulli* the utmost limit and bound of their Frontiers, untill such time as they should receive new Orders and Instructions from the *Inca*. Of all which the King *Yupangui* being advised, gave directions, that they should give a stop to the farther progression of their Conquests, and attend to the improvement and cultivating of the Lands and Possessions they had gained, with particular respect to the ease and benefit of the new Subjects; that so the neighbouring people being allured by this good treatment might offer themselves to become Vassals to the *Inca*; and in case the Nature of this people should be so dull and stupid, as not to observe and distinguish between the happiness of an improved Life, and their own Bestialities, that then the loss would be theirs, and rebound more to their own hurt, than to the prejudice of the *Incas*. In compliance with this Command from the King, they desisted from farther prosecution of their Conquests in *Chili*, making the River *Maulli* the ultimate bounds of their Empire, which they fortified with Castles, and strong Garisons; so that now their business was to administer Justice, and improve the Incomes of the Sun; all which was performed with great respect to the benefit of the Subjects, who finding themselves obliged by such kind treatment, did with great Zeal and Affection embrace the Government of the *Incas*, and comply with their Laws, Rites and Religion, continuing constant in them, untill such time as the *Spaniards* became Masters of their Country.

The first *Spaniard* that discovered *Chili*, was *Don Diego de Almagro*, but he did but just see it, and afterwards return to *Pernu*, having sustained innumerable labours, and endured great fatigues both in his journey thither, and in his return; the which enterprise was the cause of the general Revolt of all *Pernu*, and the original of that Discord and civil Dissension which happened afterwards between those two Governours, and of the Death of the said *Almagro*, being taken Prisoner at the Battel of *Salinas*; and also of the Death of the Marquis *D. Francisco de Pizarro*, and of *D. Diego de Almagro*, who was born of *Spanish* and *Indian* Blood, and who commanded in the Fight, called the Battel of *Chupas*. Of all which we

shall (God willing) treat more at large in its due place. The second person that entred into the Kingdom of *Chili* was the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, who with a strong party both of Horse and Foot, marched beyond the Dominions of the *Incas*, making conquest of all before him; the Colonies which he planted were thriving and prosperous, though he himself unhappily fell by the hands of his own Subjects of the Province of *Arauco*, which he having subdued, made choice of for himself, when the Lands were divided amongst the Conquerours. This worthy person planted many Colonies, and founded Cities with *Spanish* Inhabitants; and amongst the rest, that which after his own Name was called *Valdivia*; in the Conquest of this Province he performed many and noble Exploits, and afterwards governed it with great prudence and justice, and had not onely been happy in himself, but fortunate also to his people, had not the boldness of an *Indian*, who adventured to cut the thread of his life, given a period to the expectation of many other blessings, which his Wisdom and Conduct might have produced to his Subjects. And in regard the Death of this Governour and General was in a manner without Example, and that which was never practised by the *Indians* either before or since the Entrance of the *Spaniards* into that Countrey; and what turned to their greater mischief, I have thought fit to relate it in this place, that so the Reader may be clearly informed of the particulars of that unhappy battle, according to the first report which came of it to *Pern*, soon after the Fight was ended, and likewise what intelligence the second report gave of it; for better understanding of which, it will be necessary to begin from the original and cause of this whole matter.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Rebellion of Chili against the Governour Valdivia.

THE possession and inheritance of the Kingdom of *Chili* falling to the share and lot of this Gentleman, who was worthy of an Empire, his fortune was to be Master also of that part, which yielded him a yearly Tribute of a hundred thousand pieces of Gold: But in regard the thirst of Gold encreases with the gains of it, and that there is no end propoed to Wealth and Riches; so the more this Governour amassed, the more labour and hard usage he imposed on the *Indians*, forcing them beyond their strength and abilities, to which they had not been accustomed to labour, and dig in the Mines to satiate that Avarice of his, which was never to be satisfied: The people of *Arauco* (which were the Subjects of *Valdivia*) not being able to support this Yoke of bondage and servitude, joined themselves with others in confederacy, and put themselves into open rebellion, committing all the outrages and infolencies they were able upon the *Spaniards*. The Governour *Valdivia* having intelligence hereof, marched out with a hundred and fifty Horse, despising the *Indians*, as the *Spaniards* have always done, on occasion of such-like revolts and mutinies of that people: But this contempt of an enemy cost dear, having been the ruine and destruction of *Valdivia*, and of those who were with him, who all perished by the hands of those whom before they had despised.

The first news which came of this disaster, was brought to the City of *la Plata*, which is in *Pern*, by the hand of an *Indian* wrote in a scrip of Paper, without form or date either of time or place, in a few words, that *Pedro de Valdivia*, with 150 Lancers, were swallowed up by the Earth. This report coming in a scroll of Paper, and by an *Indian* Messenger soon gained belief, being quickly spread through all *Pern*, to the great amazement of the *Spaniards*, who could not understand what those Words should mean, of being swallowed up by the Earth; for they could not think it possible for 150 *Spanish* Horse to be overthrown by the *Indians*; and there-

therefore they were more inclinable to believe, that in regard that Countrey is like *Pern*, mountainous, and full of precipices and hollow places, and subject to Earthquakes, that the *Spaniards* were unadvisedly fallen, and perished in some unstable, and false grounds and caves, rather than by the force and courage of the *Indians*, whom after many years of experience, they concluded unable to destroy such a number of *Spaniards* in battel. Whilst they of *Pern* remained in this doubtful belief of matters, after 60 days time a more particular and certain relation came of the Death of *Valdivia*, and all his Souldiers, with all the circumstances of the late battel, which the *Indians* fought with him: the which I shall relate according to that account which was given of it from *Chili*; the which having in the first place specified the Insurrection of the *Indians*, and the many infolencies and outrages they had committed, proceeded to tell us; That when *Valdivia* came to the place where these Rebels of *Arauco* were assembled, he found 13 or 14000 of them in Arms; which he suddenly assailing with his Horse, did in many and divers Skirmishes always beat them, and put them to flight; so that the *Indians* were so terrified with fear, and dread of the fury of the *Spanish* Horse, that they would never adventure into the open Plains; for that ten *Spaniards* were able to beat a thousand *Indians*, but kept themselves lurking in the Woods and Mountains, where the *Spanish* Horse could not come at them; and from thence they often sallied out, doing all the spoils and mischiefs that they were able to the *Spaniards*, from whom they would receive no Articles or Proposals of Accommodation, being more willing to dye, than obey, and serve them longer.

Thus the War was continued and carried on for many days, during which time the report was spread in all parts of the Countrey of the *Araucans*; and coming to the Ears of an old Captain of theirs, who had been famous in War, and of long experience; being one day in his House, he began to consider the reason, how it could be possible for so small a number as 150 *Spaniards* to subdue and enslave 12 or 13000 *Indians*; for that either they must be Devils, or otherwise immortal Men, as once the *Indians* did at the beginning believe them to be. To discover this mystery, and the reason of this great disproportion in War; he one day ascended to the top of a Hill, from whence he could see and survey the two Armies encamped; that of the *Indians* was large, and far extended with great numbers of Men, that of the *Spaniards* was little, and contracted within a small compass of ground: Considering awhile hereupon, and of the situation of the two Camps, and wondering how it was possible for so small a number to be always victorious over a greater; he departed, and went from thence to the *Indian* Camp, where having called a Council, and made a long and rational discourse upon this subject; he at last made these Queries and Demands in the case:

Whether the *Spaniards* were mortal Men, like them, or whether they were immortal and incorruptible bodies, like those of the Sun and Moon? Whether they were insensible of hunger and thirst, and stood in need of sleep or repose after toil and labour? and in short, whether they were made of flesh and bones, or of steel and iron? The like Queries he also made concerning their Horses: To all which answer being made, that they were Men like them, and of the same composition and nature; Then, said he, go your ways, and take your repose, and to morrow you shall see who are most Men, they, or we. With this the Assembly being dissolved; in the morning, by break of day, they founded to Arms, the *Indians* giving louder shouts, and making greater noise with their Trumpets and Drums, and such-like instruments, than they had formerly done; and in a short time the Old Captain had divided his Army into thirteen several Squadrons, each consisting of a thousand Men, keeping them still in reserves one after the other.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the New Method and Way of Fighting, contrived by an Old Indian Captain.

THE *Spaniards* being allarm'd with the noise and shouts of the *Indians*, fallied forth in their bright and glittering Arms, with long Plumes on their Helms, and Feathers on the heads of their Horses; and seeing the many Divisions and Squadrons of the Enemy, they imagined that they were more able to break the smaller Battalions, than if they were united into one body. So soon as the *Indian Captain* saw the *Spaniards* appear, he encouraged the first Squadron to fight with them, exhorting them to doe their best; not (said he) that I expect you should overcome them, but that you should perform what you are able in favour and defence of your Countrey; and when you are worsted, and can perform no more, that then you save your selves by flight, taking care in your retreat, that you break not into the other bodies, so as to disorder them, but that you fly behind all the rest, and there rally, and make up your body again; the like advice and order he gave to all the other Squadrons. With this design and resolution the *Indians* engaged with the *Spaniards*, with whom having fought awhile, and performed what they were able; being routed, they retired into the Rere of the Army, the second, third, fourth and fifth, were easily broken, and routed by the *Spaniards*, but yet not without some loss on the *Spanish* side both of Men and Horse.

Thus as the first Squadrons were overthrown, still new reserves came up, who all fought in their orders one after the other. In the Rere of all was another Captain, who governed in the orderly rallying of the Squadrons, which he caused to eat, and drink, and repose themselves, whilst the others continued the fight, that so they might be refreshed, when their turn came for the next engagement. The *Spaniards* having already routed five Squadrons of the Enemy, and seeing still ten or twelve more before them coming on; and having fought three long hours, yet encouraging one the other, they assaulted the sixth Squadron, which came in relief of the fifth, which they overthrew, as also the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth Division. But now having fought seven long hours without intermission, both the Men and Horses began to fail, not being able to charge with that mettle and vigour as they did in the beginning; which the *Indians* observing, would not permit them one moment of repose, but still plied them with new and fresh Squadrons, and after all the *Spaniards* saw notwithstanding ten Divisions still to be fought with; and though the natural force both of Man and Horse began now to grow tired, and faint; yet they still roused their invincible spirits, not to shew or evidence any symptoms or appearances of failure to the *Indians*: Howsoever the *Indians* beginning sensibly to find the decay of the *Spanish* vigour and mettle, and that their force was not so impetuous and irresistible as it was at first, still continued to bring up their Squadrons, until two a clock in the afternoon; which the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia* observing, and that there were eight or nine Squadrons still to be overcome; and that when those were routed, they were always rallied, and made up; which new way and method of Fighting having well considered; and that it being now late towards the Evening, it was probable the Enemy would afford them as little repose in the Night, as they had given them respite in the Day; he resolved to retreat before their Horses were wholly spent, and disabled of farther service: According to his Command his Souldiers retreated towards a narrow pass, which if they could reach, being about a League and a half from the place where the Fight was, they imagined themselves secure from any attack of the Enemy; for that two *Spaniards* on foot were able to defend it from all the Army of the *Indians*. Having taken this resolution, though late, he

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C H A P. XXIII.

The Indians overcome the Spaniards by the Treachery of an Indian.

A Certain *Indian*, who from a Boy had been bred up in the Family of the Governour *Valdivia*, whose Christian Name was *Philip*, but by the *Indians* called *Lautaru*, being the Son of a *Cacique*: This Fellow being more biassed by the natural affection which he bore to his Countrey, than by his love to God, or fidelity to his Master; so soon as he heard the word given to the *Spaniards* to retreat, he instantly reported it to the *Indians*, having the knowledge of both Languages, and called out to them not to content themselves with this flight and advantage, in letting them go free, but to run and possess the narrow passage, and prevent their entrance into it, in the which they did now place all the hopes of their security and protection; wherefore cried he still out, *Make use of this advantage, which is now given you for the liberty of your Countrey, and rescue it from destruction by the blood of these Thieves and Traytors.* And having said these words, that he might encourage them by his Example, he took up a Lance from the ground, and placed himself in the front of them to fight against the *Spaniards*.

The Old Captain, who was the first Projector of this way of Fighting, observing the way which the *Spaniards* took, soon apprehended their design by the hint which *Lautaru* had given them; to circumvent which, he dispeised away two fresh Squadrons of those which had not as yet fought, to hasten with the best order they were able to the narrow pass, and there, at the entrance of it, to keep their station firm until the rest came up; which having done, he pursued the *Spaniards* with the other Squadrons, still plying them with fresh bodies of Souldiers, so that they did not permit them one moment of respite, always killing and pursuing them, until they came to the very mouth and entrance of the narrow pass; where when they came, and that the *Spaniards* found it already possessed by the Enemy, they began to despair of all hopes to escape Death; which to avoid, no means appearing, they called on the Name of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, and of such Saints for which they had the greatest devotion.

The *Indians* perceiving that both the Men and Horses were wholly spent and tired, came in upon them in an entire body, and 15 or 20 of them together fell on one poor Horse, some catching him by the legs, some by the tail, others by the mane, whilst others with their great clubs knocked both Man and Horse down, killing them with the greatest cruelty and rage imaginable. The Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, and a Priest that was with him, they took alive, and tied them to trees, until they had dispatched all the rest, that they might in cool blood consider with what Death they might punish them. These particulars came by the second Advice from *Chili* to *Pern*, being sent by some *Indian* friends, who were present in the Battel, three of which made their escape, having by the darkness of the Night hid themselves in the Thickets of a Wood, until such time as the *Indians* retiring from that place to celebrate their Victory with joy and triumph, gave them opportunity to escape; who being Men well acquainted with the ways, and more faithfull to their Masters than *Lautaru*, returned again to the *Spaniards*, bringing the fatal news of the loss of *Pedro de Valdivia*, and all his companions.

C H A P. XXIV.

How they killed Valdivia, and maintained a War Fifty Years afterwards.

THE manner how they killed *Valdivia*, was after the coming of this second Advice related in different ways by these three *Indians*, because that none of them were present at his Death: One said, that *Lautaru* finding his Master tied to a Tree, reviling and reproaching him first, said, Why is this Traytor suffered to live? and with that killed him with his own hand: Another said, That *Valdivia*, before he died, desired first to speak with his Servant *Lautaru*, hoping by his means and intercession to save his life: But the most certain intelligence we have, is this, That an Old Captain beat his brains out with a club, perhaps it might be that Old Captain who managed all this affair; for it is said, that he killed him without any parly, left his people treating with him, and believing all the promises and vows which this unfortunate Governour might make whilst he was tied to a Tree, and in apprehensions of Death, when he might easily Article on the conditions of life to leave their Countrey, and depart thence with all his People, and Souldiers, and never to return again; not trusting, as I say, to the credulous humour of his people, whom he perceived hearkening to the promises and vows of *Valdivia*, he resolutely passed through the midst of them, and with a club dashed out his brains, putting an end to the parly which his Souldiers entertained with him; and therewith turned towards them, saying, Are ye so foolish and credulous as to trust to the words of a vanquished and captivated slave? What will not a Man in his condition promise, and how little will he perform after he hath obtained his liberty?

But the circumstances of his Death were reported in another manner by a *Spaniard*, who was a Native of *Truxillo*, called *Francisco de Rieros*, who was a Captain then in *Chili*, and Master of some *Indians* in that Kingdom; who coming to *Pern* sometime after that fatal disaster, reported, that the *Indians* passed the night after this Victory with Dances and Merriment; and at the end of every Dance they cut off a piece of the flesh of *Valdivia*, and another of the Priest's, (they being both tied together) which they broiled before their faces, and then eat it; during which time, *Valdivia* confessing his Sins to the Priest, they both expired in that condition. It is more probable, that after the Captain had killed him with his club, that the *Indians* might eat him, not that this sort of *Indians* delighted in humane flesh, but only to vent their rage and spleen on him, who had been the Author and Original of all the slavery and misery they had endured.

From that time the *Indians* took up a custom of fighting with the *Spaniards* in several Squadrons or Divisions, as *D. Alonso de Ercilla* in the first Cantó of his *Araucana* reports; and that after this rebellion, they maintained the War 49 years, untill the end of the year 1553; at which time *D. Sebastian de Castilla* began his rebellion in the *Villa de la Plata*, and *Potosi*, which are in the Kingdom of *Pern*, and *Francisco Hernandez Giron* began his in *Cusco*.

Thus have I, as clearly as I could, related the particulars of the Fight and Death of the Governour *D. Pedro de Valdivia*, as it was written and related in *Pern*, by those who lived in *Chili*; it being referred to every Man's judgment to believe that report which he esteems most probable: the which Story I have anticipated, and reported out of its due place and time, in regard it is the most memorable and notorious passage that ever happened in the *Indies*, which I would not omit to describe, lest I should have had no other occasion which might lead me to a farther discourse of *Chili*, or lest I might have had time or life to extend this History to that period of years in which the *Spaniards* became absolute Masters of that Kingdom.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of other unhappy Successes in the Kingdom of Chili.

THUS far had I writ when fresh Advices came of other fatal and unfortunate Successes in *Chili*, which happened there in the Year 1599. and in *Pern* in the Year 1600. Amongst other Calamities the Earthquake about *Arequipa* is recounted as one; which at length ended in such a terrible irruption of fire from a certain Hill, which for the space of twenty days continually threw up such quantities of Ashes and Sand, as in the parts round about covered the Earth two yards thick, and in places farther off at least a yard, and where least, a quarter of a yard deep, for the space of thirty or forty Leagues round in the Countrey of *Arequipa*; whereby all their Vines and Corn Lands were spoiled, their Trees and Fruits scorched and blasted, and all their Cattel perished for want of pasture. Their Cows and Oxen lay dead in Drowes of five hundred in a place, and their Flocks of Sheep, and Goats, and Hogs lay buried in these Ashes. Many Houses were overwhelmed with the weight of the Earth and Sand, which this irruption threw up, such as remained were preserved by the diligence of those Masters who always cleared and threw them off as they came; all which was accompanied with such dreadful Flashes of Lightning, and claps of Thunder, as were heard and seen at thirty Leagues distance from the Confines of *Arequipa*; and so thick were the Clouds of Sand and Ashes, which were thrown up, that for many days they so obscured the Sun, that they were forced to light Candles for performance of their necessary occasions. These and the like particulars were advised from that City, and the adjacent parts, the which we have succinctly touched, referring our selves for a more full Relation thereof to the Historians of those times, whose business it is to describe all the particulars hereof more at large.

Howsoever we shall relate the misfortunes of *Chili*, as they were advised in writing from thence, because they come pertinent to the foregoing story of the *Indians* of *Arauca*, and are consequences of the Insurrection begun in the Year 1553. and which continued untill the beginning of 1603. nor is it known when there will be an end thereof, in regard that after forty nine years since this Rebellion began, (during which time they have endured all the miseries of Fire and Sword,) yet still those troubles seem rather to increase than abate, as plainly appears by the intelligences which we have extracted from a Letter written from an Inhabitant of the City of *Santiago* in *Chili*, which came at the same time with the relation of the Calamities of *Arequipa*. These Advices were delivered to me by a Gentleman who was my Friend, and had lived in *Pern*, and served in quality of a Captain against the Rebels in the Kingdom of *Quinn*, when they mutined on occasion of the great Taxes which were laid upon them, his Name was *Martin Cuzco*, a person who hath done great Service to the Crown of *Spain*. The title of these misfortunes of *Chili* runs thus:

Advices from Chili: and presently adds, So soon as an end was put to the writing of the foregoing Intelligence of Arequipa, came other more dismal stories from Chili, full of sorrow, and greatly to be lamented. The particulars were related in the manner following.

A Relation of the Loss and Destruction of the City of Valdivia in Chili, which happened on Wednesday the 24th of November, 1599.

ABOUT break of day five thousand *Indians*, belonging to the parts adjacent, "and to the Divisions of the *Imperial*, *Pica* and *Purem*, whereof three thousand were *Horse*, and the rest *Foot*, having (as was said) seventy fire-Arms, and above two hundred Men armed with Coats of Male, assaulted the City, surprizing it without the least allarm, by the guidance of treacherous Spies belonging to the same place. They divided themselves into small Bodies of twenty four or twenty five in a Company, for they knew that the *Spaniards* lay secure, and sleeping in their Houses, and that their Corps of Guard were but four Centinels, and that two onely went the rounds: They considered also that the *Spaniards* were elevated with the success they had had in the two Incursions lately made, when in the space of twenty days they had the fortune to take and demolish a Fortress which the *Indians* had erected on the side of the marshy Grounds of *Paparon*, with so great a slaughter of them, that the *Spaniards* believed, that in the compass of eight Leagues round, there was not an *Indian* that could appear. Howsoever having bribed the Spies which the *Spaniards* entertained amongst them, they succeeded in the most notable Plot that ever was designed by silly Barbarians, for they with great quiet and silence encompassed every House with people sufficient to deal with those which were within, for they were well advised of the numbers which dwelt in it; and setting Guards at the entrance to every Street, they assailed the unhappy City, giving fire to the Houses, and having seized on the Gates, the Inhabitants could neither relieve one the other, nor yet make their escape by flight; so that in the space of two hours, they had destroyed all the people by Fire and Sword, and possessed themselves of the Fort, and Guns in it, there being no people within to defend it. Those that were killed and taken, were about four hundred *Spaniards*, of Men, Women and Children. They sacked and plundered to the value of three hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, nor did any thing remain which was not either burnt, or laid desolate. The Ships of *Valleno*, *Villarreal*, and of one *D. Diego de Rojas*, were let run a drift down the Stream, to which some people made their escape by the means of Canoes which lay by the water side, otherwise none had remained to have been the Messengers of this fatal News. The *Indians* had been provoked to this cruelty in revenge of those people whom the *Spaniards* had slain in two late Incursions; having sold their Wives and Children to Merchants, who transported them into foreign Countries; and so sensible were they of the slavery they had endured for fifty years past, that though they had been baptized, and entertained Priests to instruct them in the Christian Doctrine, yet the first thing they did was to burn their Temples; and with sacrilegious hands to throw the Images of Saints from the Altars.

Ten days after this unhappy fate the good Colonel *Francisco del Campo* arrived in the Port of this City with the succour of three hundred Men, which the Governour of *Peru* had sent thither, for the relief of that, and the other distressed Cities: It was his fortune to recover a Son and a Daughter of his which were both Children, which being committed to the charge of his Sister-in-law, had been taken, and carried away captives, when the City was sacked and laid desolate; the miserable State of which, when he saw, he with great Rage and Resolution landed his Men, marching with all expedition to relieve the Cities of *Oorno*, *Villarica*, and the unhappy *Imperial*, from which places they had received no news in the space of a whole year, but that they had endured a Siege of so long a time, and were almost all famished and dead, having no other sustenance than the Flesh of their dead Horses, and when those

failed

"failed of Cats, and Dogs, and the Skins of Beasts; and this was all the Intelligence they had, being brought to them by a Messenger who escaped down the River, representing with Sighs and Tears the miserable condition of their people. Wherefore the first thing that this Colonel designed after his landing, was to relieve the City of *Oorno*, for he was informed that the Enemy soon after the Destruction of *Valdivia*, were gone thither with the like intent; his success herein was accordingly prosperous, for he raised the Siege, and performed many other Actions of happy consequence.

"At the instant that I am writing this, news is come, that all the people in *Imperial* were starved with hunger after the Siege of a complete Year, excepting twenty Men, who, to avoid Famine, yielded themselves into the hands of the Enemy, and thereby endured a greater misery than Death itself. In *Angol* they killed four Souldiers, but who they were is not yet known. God Almighty have Mercy upon us.

From Santiago in Chili, in the month of March, 1600.

All which Relation came (as I have said) in several Letters from *Peru*, and the Kingdom of *Chili*, which was a great calamity to that Countrey. Moreover Father *Diego de Alcobaca*, whom I have formerly mentioned, in the Year 1601, amongst many other things relating to the Affairs of that Countrey, writes me these very words concerning the Kingdom of *Chili*.

"The condition of *Chili* is now become very unhappy, for there is not an *Indian* but who can mount his Horse, and dare encounter with his Lance the best *Spanish* Souldier that is; and though we send every year Souldiers thither; yet none of them return; they have destroyed two Plantations of the *Spaniards*; and having killed all the Men, and destroyed every thing of use, they carried their Wives and Children into Slavery; and lately they killed the Governour *Loyola* from an Ambuscade, who married the Daughter of *D. Diego Sayrripac*; who was an *Inca*, and was deposed from *Villcapampa*, before you left these parts. God in his mercy pardon the Sins of the dead, and put an end to these Afflictions of the living. Thus far are the words of *Alcobaca*, which he writes me with many other sad stories, which I purposely omit, because they contain nothing but what is tragical, and full of sorrow; amongst which recounting the afflicted Estate of *Arequipa*, he says that Wheat that Year was worth in that Countrey ten and eleven Ducats a Bushel, and Mayz thirteen.

Moreover, besides all that which we have already delivered concerning *Arequipa*, they wrote farther, that their calamities still continued, having to contend with the extremities of the four Elements, as appears at large by those Relations which the Jesuits have given to the General of their Order; concerning the most remarkable Occurrences of *Peru*, which happened in the Year 1602. And though those Letters say, that their misfortunes were not at an end, yet they farther add, that greater were the Afflictions of the Kingdom of *Chili*, which happened after the forementioned troubles; the particulars of which were given me by *Francisco de Castro*, who was born at *Granada*, and in this Year 1604. is Prefect of the Schools of the sacred University of *Corlova*, and Rhetorick Professor. The Title of which, together with the particulars, is *Verbaum* in these words.

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Of the Rebellion of the Araucans.

OF the thirteen Cities which were established in this Kingdom of *Chili*, the *Indians* have destroyed six, namely *Valdivia*, *Imperial*, *Angol*, *Santa Cruz*, *Chillan* and *Concepcion*. They overthrew, consumed and laid desolate their Houses and Habitations, dishonoured and profaned the Temples, obscured the brightness of that Faith and Devotion which shined in those parts, and what is worst this success hath encouraged, and raised the Spirits of the *Indians* in that manner, that they are grown bold and confident, omitting no opportunity or advantage which may offer to rob and destroy our Cities and Monasteries with Fire and Sword. They have learned also many Arts and Stratagems of War; for that when they besieged the City of *Oorno*, and compelled the *Spaniards* to retire within their works, they so straitened them, that they could receive no sustenance, unless it were some small quantities of the Seeds of Herbs, and Leaves of Turnips, which some few were fain to fight for, and gain with the point of the Lance. In one of these Sieges of this City they broke the Images of Christ and our Lady, and other Saints, to the great dishonour of God, which none but his infinite Mercy and Patience could have suffered. In the last Siege which the *Indians* laid to this place, they surprised the *Spaniards*, and killed the Centinels, and without any opposition entered and possessed themselves of the Town, exercising such cruelty as was agreeable to the barbarity of their Natures; for they butchered the Children, and chained the Women and Nuns, intending to carry them away into Slavery; but whilst they were thus busily employed in packing up, and disposing their Booty, and plundering every where without order; the *Spaniards* took courage, and with that opportunity fell upon them, and God assisting their endeavours, they rescued their Wives and Nuns from their violent hands, and with the loss of some few forced them to fly, and quit both their Prey and their City. The last Victory which the *Indians* obtained, was when they took *Pillarica*, with great effusion of *Spanish* blood; they set fire to the four Quarters of the Town and killed all the Friars of *St. Dominick*, *St. Francis*, and the *Merced*, with all the Clergy that were there, carrying all the Women away Captives, many of which were Ladies of Quality, and Condition. And this was the Fate of that City, which was once of Fame and great Renown, and illustrious amongst the neighbouring Cities of that new World. Thus far proceeds the Relation of *Chili* in the Year 1604. To all which nothing can be farther said, than that these were Judgments of God, which his secret Providence permits for the chastisement of Mankind. And herewith let us return to the good *Inca Tupanqui*, to conclude the remaining Actions of his Reign.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the quiet Life of the Inca Yupanqui, and of the Actions wherein he employed himself untill the time of his Death.

THE King *Tupanqui* having established and confirmed the Conquests which his Captains had made, under the security of good Laws, and settled Religion in all parts, having also made provision for his own Royal Revenue; and separated a maintenance for the Priesthood of the Sun, he determined to put an end to his farther Conquests, which are now far extended, reaching no less than a thousand Leagues in length; so that he resolved to spend the remainder of his Days in erecting Monuments and Trophies of his greatness, which might ever conserve his Memory in great Renown. To which end he built new Fortresses, and many Temples dedicated to the Sun, with Houses for the Select Virgins, Royal Palaces, and made many Aqueducts, Walks and Gardens. He also endowed the Temple of the Sun in *Cusco* with greater Riches, of which though it stood in no need, yet he thought it a duty to contribute some thing towards the glory of him whom he honoured, and esteemed for his Father; and more especially he busied himself in building and completing the Fortress at *Cusco*, for which his Father had made provision of all materials, and gathered great quantities of Stones and Rocks, of which we shall hereafter have occasion to discourse more at large. He also personally visited all the parts of his Empire, that so he might with his own Eyes see the State of things, hear the Complaints and Aggrievances of his people, and provide a Remedy and Relief for his Subjects; to all which he attended with so much care and compassion, that he worthily deserved to be surnamed *The Pious*. In these Employments this Prince with great Peace and Tranquillity spent his time for several Years, being greatly beloved and obeyed by his Subjects; at the end of which falling sick, and finding within himself his end to be near, he called the Prince, who was his Heir, and his other Sons together, recommending to them by way of Testament the strict observance of their Laws, and religious Rites of their Idolatrous Worship; and above all encharged them to perform and administer Justice, to their Subjects in the most equal balance, and therewith he gave them his Blessing of Peace, for that now his time was come to depart this Life, and rest with his Father the Sun, who called and summoned him to his Mansions of Felicity.

Thus dyed *Tupanqui* full of Glory and Triumph, having enlarged his Empire above five hundred Leagues in length to the Southward, being as far as from *Ancasco* to the River *Ataully*, and to the Northward one hundred and forty Leagues, along the Coast from *Chincha* to *Chimu*. He was lamented with great grief, and having ranked him in the tenth Order of their Gods, who were Children of the Sun, because he was the tenth King, they celebrated his Obsequies with great solemnity, which, according to their Custom, continued for the space of a whole Year, offering unto him many Sacrifices. He left *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* his Heir and eldest Son, which he begot of his Wife and Sister, called *Coya Chimpa Occhi*, to succeed him in all his Dominions. The proper Name of this Queen was *Chimpu*, but the word *Occhi* was a sacred Title amongst them, he left many legitimate Sons and Daughters of the true Blood; besides many other natural Children, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, which was no great matter amongst them, considering the many Women, which those Kings maintained in every Province of their Dominions. And because this *Inca* laid the Foundation of this great Work, it is requisite that we should treat of it immediately after the Life of its first Founder, because it is the most excellent Trophy of the *Inca* Magnificence, and that which may serve for a matter of Ostentation and Glory; not onely to the Author himself, and the preceding Kings, but sufficient to derive Honour to all their Posterity in future Ages.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXVII.

*Of the Fortrefs of Cozco, and the greatnefs of the Stones
with which it was built.*

THE *Incas*, who were Kings of *Peru*, erected many wonderfull and stately Edifices; their Castles, Temples, and Royal Palaces, their Gardens, Store-houses, and other Fabricks, were Buildings of great Magnificence, as is apparent by the ruines of them, though very obscure conjectures are to be gathered from such remains.

The work of greatest ostentation; and which evidences most the Power and Majesty of the *Incas*, was the Fortrefs of *Cozco*, whose greatnefs is incredible to any who hath not seen it, and such as have viewed it with great attention cannot but admire it, and believe that such a work was erected by Enchantment, or the help of Spirits, being that which surpasses the Art and power of Man. For the Stones are so many and so great, which were laid in the three fift rounds, being rather Rocks than Stones, as passes all understanding, how and in what manner they were hewn from the Quarry, or brought from thence, for they had no instruments of Iron or Steel, wherewith to cut or fashion them: Nor less wonderfull is it to think, how they could be carried to the Building; for they had neither Carts nor Oxen to draw them with; and if they had, the weight was so vast as no Cart could bear, or Oxen draw; then to think that they drew them with great Ropes, over Hills, and Dales, and difficult ways by the mere force of Mens Armes is alike incredible; for many of them were brought ten, twelve and fifteen Leagues off, particularly that Stone, or Rock rather, which the *Indians* call *Saycufsa*, which signifies tired or weary, because it lies in the way; having never been brought so far as to the Building; but it is certain that it came fifteen Leagues from the City, and was transported over the River of *Tucay*, which is almost as broad as the *Guadalquivir*, which runs by *Cordova*. The Stones brought from the nearest parts were from *Amyma*, which is five Leagues distant from *Cozco*: But to proceed farther in our imagination of this matter, and consider how it was possible for this people to fit and join such vast Machins of Stones together, and cement them so close, that the point of a Knife can scarce pass between them, is a thing above all admiration, and some of them are so artificially joined, that the crevices are scarce discernible between them: Then to consider that to square and fit these Stones one to the other, they were to be raised, and lifted up and removed often, untill they were brought to their just size and proportion; but how this was done by Men, who had no use of the Rule and Square, nor knew how to make Cranes, or Pullies, and Cramps, and other Enginies, to raise and lower them as they had occasion, is beyond our imagination, being of that bigness that *Joseph Acosta* saith was prodigious: For the bigness and compass of these Stones, I shall rather refer my self to the Authority of this *Acosta*, than to the report of my School-fellows, of whom I desiring to be informed of the just proportion of these Stones; they sent me the measures of them by Fathoms, and not by Yards and Inches; which account not being so exact as I desired, it seemed requisite in a work so wonderfull, and in which the vastness of the Stones is the greatest matter of Admiration, to take the more authentick testimony of Notaries. *Acosta* in the 14th Chapter of his 6th Book, saith, "That the Expences which the *Inca* made in building Forts, Temples, Houses of Pleasure, and other Edifices was very great, and the labour excessive, as the Ruins which remain make to appear, and are still to be seen in *Cozco*, *Tiaguanaco*, *Tambo*, and other places, where the Stones are of that vast proportion, as passes understanding how they were hewn, squared, and carried to the places where they are now fixed. It is certain, that for erecting those vast Buildings of Forts and Temples in *Cozco*, and other parts, by direction of the *Inca*, there was the assistance and concourse

"of great multitudes required from all Provinces, for the forwarding of these Works; the labour was certainly great, and the fashion admirable and unusual; for they used no Mortar, nor had they Iron or Steel to cut and polish the Stones, nor Instruments or Engines to carry and raise them, and yet they were so curiously joined and fitted, that the places where they joined were scarce discernible; and yet the Stones were of that vast bigness, as is incredible, unless it be to those who have seen them. In *Tiaguanaco* I measured one my self, which was thirty foot in length, and eighteen in breadth, and six foot in thickness. In the Wall of the Fortrefs built at *Cozco* there are Stones of a far greater bigness, which were laid by hand, and what is most admirable, is, that they were never cut by any Rule, being rough cast, and without equal proportion, and yet are fitted and joined one within the other without any Mortar or Cement, all which must be done by force of Men, and great toil and labour; for certainly to fit one Stone to the other, which were at first unequal, there must be often removes, which could not be performed easily but by force and strength of the Armes. All which are the Words of *Acosta*, extracted *verbatim*, whereby he manifests the difficulty of that labour to Men who had not the use of those Instruments and Engines which are common amongst us.

Perhaps the *Incas* in the height of their Glory were desirous to recommend the greatness of their power to the admiration of all Ages; as also to shew the Art and ingenuity of their Master-builders, not onely in polishing their freezed Stone, (which the *Spaniards* do much admire) but also in laying their rough Stones, (called by the *Italians* *a la ruffica*) in which they did as much excell as in the former; and herein they did not onely shew themselves Artists, but Souldiers also in the contrivances of their Fortresses, which they built in every advantageous Pass and place, where such a Bulwark might be of defence or bar against the Incursions of an Enemy.

This Castle or Fortrefs they erected on the top of a high Hill on the North-side of the City, called *Sacahuaman*, at the foot of which are the Dwelling-houses of *Cozco*, which extend themselves at a great distance on all quarters, the side of this Hill which is towards the City, is exactly perpendicular, so that it is impregnable, and cannot be stormed on that part, nor can it be battered with Cannon, by any level, or upper ground which commands it; though the *Indians* before the coming of the *Spaniards*, had no thoughts or imagination of Cannon, nor provided any other defence than a thick Wall of Stone, curiously polished on all quarters, being about two hundred fathom in compass; every row of Stones was of a different height, and yet laid exactly by the line, and so well fitted and encafed one within the other, that they needed no Lime, or other Mortar to cement them. The truth is, they used no Mortar mixed with Sand, because they knew not how to burn Lime; howsoever they had a kind of a red Earth, of a bituminous matter, which was very binding, and such as served to fill up holes and nicks in the Building. And in this first row they shewed both Industry and Art, for the Wall was thick, and the Workmanship rare on all sides.

CHAP.

in without a Guide, or direction of a twine of Thread, which being fastened at the entrance, directed their return through all the Turnings and Meanders of it. When I was a Boy I often went up to the Castle, with others of the same age with me; and then the upper Rooms were all ruined, and some of those which were under; into which we durst not adventure farther than we could see the light which shined in them, for the *Indians* told us, that if we adventured farther, we should lose our selves, and never find our way out again.

In making their Vaults they were ignorant of the way of arching, but instead thereof they laid Braggets or Corbels of Stone, which served in the place of Beams for support of the whole frame of Building, which being equally cut, and shaped at all ends reached from one Wall to the other. All the great Fabrick of this Fortrefs was made in part of polished, and part of rough Stone, richly embellished towards the best of their Art, whereby the *Incas* made ostentation both of their Skill and Grandeur, being desirous to advance the Excellency and Magnificence of this Work above any other; that so it might remain for a consummation of all their Trophies; and indeed so it proved, for the *Spaniards*, a few years after this was completed, invaded their Empire, and put a stop to the proceedings of several other great Works, which they designed to have finished.

There were four chief Undertakers in the Building of this Fortrefs; the principal Person, who drew the Draught, and designed the whole Plot, was *Hualpa Rimachi*, he was an *Inca*, and stiled *Apu*, which signifies Chief; the second to him was *Inca Maricanchi*, and the third *Atahuana Inca*, to whom they ascribe the chief contrivance of the Buildings at *Tiahuanacu*, which we have formerly mentioned. The fourth and last was *Calla Cunchu*, in whose time the great Stone which rested in the way was brought thither, and his Name engraved on it, as a monument to conserve his memory; the which Stone (or Rock rather) was of that vast proportion, and so exceeding all the others, that I would gladly insert here the true measure of its height and thickness, but in regard I have not procured an exact and certain account of it, I shall refer my self to the relation of those who have seen it. It remains in the Plain before the Fortrefs, to which, as the *Indians* say, it could never arrive, in regard it tired by the way, and wept blood, proceeding from the toil and fatigue it had endured in its motion. The stone is rough and unpolished, in the same manner as it was hewn from its Quarry, a great part of it is buried under ground, and they say, it is now sunk lower than when I saw it; for they fancied that there was great treasure hid under it, and for that reason they digged about it as deep as they were able, that so they might arrive at this imaginary Riches; but in regard that as they digged the Stone sunk lower, therefore the greatest part of it is now hidden under the Earth. According to my best remembrance it hath a hole or two upon the upper part of it, or such as passes from one side to the other; the *Indians* call these holes the Eyes of the Stone, out of which it wept blood; from the Dust which is lodged in those Holes, and the continual droppings of water upon them, it hath died the Stone in those parts with a reddish colour, because the soil thereabouts is of the same colour, and which the *Indians* say proceeded from the blood which issued with the tears of that Stone. This Fable is commonly reported amongst the *Indians*, and I have heard it often from them.

But the true Moral of this Fable, recounted by the *Inca's Amantus*, who were their Philosophers, and people of learning, was this: That this Stone, or Rock, was moved and drawn by twenty thousand *Indians*, who dragged and drew it with great Cables; the undertaking was great, for it was to pass through cragged, and uneven ways, and over Ascents and Descents; one half of the people drew before, the other half were on each side to poise the weight, and keep the Stone direct, lest it should fall into any precipice, or gravel it self in any place, from whence it could never be recovered. It is said, that for want of due care in those who had the poising of this weight, it happened to lean too much towards the descent of a hill, and being over-born by its great burthen, it tumbled down a bank, and killed three or four thousand of those *Indians* who were the guides to direct and support it; notwithstanding which misfortune they again took courage, and raised the Stone, carrying it to the Plain where it now rests. The Blood which it shed, and squeezed from the Veins of these poor Wretches, were the true tears which issued from the hollow orbs of its Eyes; and because the weight was too vast to be carried up to the place, unto which it was designed, they said, that it

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tired and fainted in its Journey, attributing all the feelings and passions of the Men to the inanimate and senseless Stone. This, and many such Fables, the *Indians* conferve amongst them, believing that such passages as these are best recommended to Posterity, and conferred under such wonderfull and improbable fictions.

The *Spaniards*, who in reason ought to maintain, and at their own cost to have kept this Fortrefs in repair, for the greater advancement of their own honour, that so they might give occasion to the World to admire their Achievements and great Prowels, in being able to subdue a people so potent, and which were able to erect such wonderfull and prodigious Fabricks; but on the contrary, as if they had been envious of the great Acts of those they had subdued, they have laid their own hands to the pulling down of this prodigious piece of Art and Industry; and with the Materials thereof have built the private Houses of some particular persons in *Cuzco*; for to avoid the cost, and time, and labour of the *Indians* in bringing Stones and Materials from distant parts, they have brought from the Walls of the Rampire, all the polished and wrought Stones; that there is scarce a House in all the Town, at least such as belongs to the *Spaniards*, but what is built out of the ruins of that Fortrefs.

The great Stones which were the supporters of the lower Buildings, were digged up, and brought away for Thresholds and Jambs of their Doors; the lesser Stones served for the Walls; and for Steps to their Stairs, they chose stones of such size as was convenient, which when they had found, and pitched upon, they cast down all the rows of Stones above them, to ten or twelve degrees above them, until they came to those which fitted their occasions. In this manner they wholly overturned and destroyed the Majesty of that noble and stately building, unworthy of such a Fate, and which will ever remain an object of great compassion to all Beholders, the *Spaniards* were so expedite in the destruction of it, that in my time there remained onely some few ruins which we have formerly mentioned. The three great Rampires of Rock are still remaining, because the Stones are so vast and weighty, as cannot be removed; howsoever they have disordered some of them, in hopes of finding that Chain or Cable of Gold, which *Huayna Capac* made, for they had some intimation that it was buried there.

The good King *Inca Tupangui*, who was the tenth of the *Incas*, was the first Founder of this abused and injured Fortrefs, though others will have it begun by his Father *Pachacutec*, because he had left the first draught and model of it, and had made Provisions of great quantities of Stone and Rocks for the Building, besides which there were no other Materials. The whole Work was fifty Years before it was completed, not being finished until the Reign of *Huayna Capac*, nor then neither, as the *Indians* report, for that the great Rock which rested in the way was designed for additional Buildings to it; but to this and many other Buildings in divers parts of the Empire, a stop and disappointment was given by the Civil Wars which arose not long after between the two Brothers, *Huascar Inca*, and *Atahualpa*, in whose time the *Spaniards* made their Invasion, and then those Destructions and Ruines followed, which are apparent at this Day.

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K V I I I.

C H A P. I.

The Conquest of the Province Huacrachutu, and whence that Name was derived.

THE Great *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* (whose Name of *Tupac* signifies Brightness and Splendour, and indeed the greatness of his Achievements deserve no less a Title) so soon as his Father was dead, took upon him the coloured Wreath, and having complied with the Obsequies, Rites, and Funeral Ceremonies and Sacrifices due to the memory of deceased Kings, in which he spent the first Year of his Reign, he took a Progress into the several Kingdoms and Provinces of his Empire; for it was the constant Custom of the young Heir, so soon as he came to his Sovereignty, to shew himself to his Subjects, that they might both know and love his Person, and that both the publick Counsellors in Provinces, and particular Persons might have opportunities to represent their Aggrievances personally to the King, whereby the Judges and Ministers of Justice might with more care perform their Duties, fearing to tyrannize and oppress the people.

Having in these Journeys and Visitations passed four long Years, with which his people remained highly satisfied and contented, he decreed that forty thousand Men should be raised, and put in Arms against the following Year, that so he might proceed forward in the Conquests and Designs which his Ancestours had projected. The great pretence on which the *Inca* did most avail themselves, and that which best covered the Ambition they conceived for enlargement of the Empire, was a Zeal towards the Welfare of the *Indians*, whose inhumane and bestial Customs they desired to reform, and improve to a more moral and political way of living, and to a knowledge and worship of his Father the Sun, whom they owned and proclaimed for their God.

The Army being raised, and all things put in order for this Design, and a Governor appointed for Rule of the City, the *Inca* took his march by way of *Cuzco*, intending to invade the Province of *Chachapoyas*, which as *Alas Yalpa* says, signifies the Counrey of four Men; it lies Eastward from *Cuzco*, the Men being very valiant, and the Women beautiful. These *Chachapoyas* adored Serpents, and worshipped the Bird *Cuman* for their principal God; on report of which the *Inca Tupac Yupanqui* was greatly moved to reduce this Province to his Empire, being famous in several respects, but the approach to it was difficult, the

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Royal Commentaries.

B O O K VIII.

C H A P. I.

The Conquest of the Province Huacrachucu; and whence that Name was derived.

THE Great *Tupac Inca Tupanqui* (whose Name of *Tupac* signifies Brightness and Splendour, and indeed the greatness of his Achievements deserve no less a Title) so soon as his Father was dead, took upon him the coloured Wreath, and having complied with the Obsequies, Rites, and Funeral Ceremonies and Sacrifices due to the memory of deceased Kings, in which he spent the first Year of his Reign, he took a Progress into the several Kingdoms and Provinces of his Empire; for it was the constant Custom of the young Heir, so soon as he came to his Sovereignty, to shew himself to his Subjects, that they might both know and love his Person, and that both the publick Counsellors in Provinces, and particular Persons might have opportunities to represent their Aggrievances personally to the King, whereby the Judges and Ministers of Justice might with more care perform their Duties, fearing to tyrannize and oppress the people.

Having in these Journies and Visitations passed four long years, with which his people remained highly satisfied and contented, he decreed that forty thousand Men should be raised, and put in Arms against the following Year, that so he might proceed forward in the Conquests and Designs which his Ancestours had projected. The great pretence on which the *Incas* did most avail themselves, and that which best covered the Ambition they conceived for enlargement of the Empire, was a Zeal towards the Welfare of the *Indians*, whose unhumane and bestial Customs they desired to reform, and improve to a more moral and political way of living, and to a knowledge and worship of his Father the Sun, whom they owned and proclaimed for their God.

The Army being raised, and all things put in order for this Design, and a Governor appointed for Rule of the City, the *Inca* took his march by way of *Cassamarca*, intending to invade the Province of *Chachapuya*, which, as *Blas Valera* says, signifies the Countrey of stout Men; it lies Eastward from *Cassamarca*, the Men being very valiant, and the Women beautiful. These *Chachapuyas* adored Serpens, and worshipped the Bird *Cuntur* for their principal God; on report of which the *Inca Tupac Tupanqui* was greatly moved to reduce this Province to his Empire, being famous in several respects, but the approach to it was difficult, the situation

situation being mountainous and craggy, and the people of it above forty thousand in number.

These *Chachapuyas* bound a Sling about their head for the dress and ornament of it, being thereby distinguished from other Nations; the manner and fashion of their Sling was different from other *Indians*, being the chief Arms which they used in the War, as they were of the Ancient *Peruvians*.

But before they came to the Province of *Chachapuya*, they were to pass through another, called *Huacachucun*, which is very large and great, but the situation mountainous, and the people fierce. They wear for a device and distinction on their heads, or rather did wear it (for now all those fancies are confounded) a black Binder of Wool, stitched with white flies; and instead of a Feather upon it, they carried the point of a Horn of a Deer, or Stag; whence they had the Name of *Huacachucun*, which is the horned Cap; for *Chucun* signifies the Sash about the head, and *Huaca* a Horn. This people, before they were subdued by the *Incas*, adored Serpents, and in their Temples and Houses set up their figures for Idols to be worshipped.

This Province offering it self in the way to *Chachapuya*, was first to be subdued, and accordingly orders were given to the Army to attack it: the Natives appeared in defence of their Country, supposing it impregnable, and not passable for an Army, and therefore at all the difficult passes opposed the Enemy, in which Skirmishes many were slain on both sides. Which being observed by the *Inca* and his Council, they considered, that in case they proceeded in that rigorous and forcible manner, the consequence would be of great damage to their own people, and the total ruine and extirpation of their Enemies: To prevent which, having gained some strong and fast places, they sent their Summons and Proposals of Peace and Friendship, as was the custom of the *Incas*; by which they made known to them, that the intention and design of the *Inca* was to doe them good (as had all his Ancestours done to the other Nations they had subdued) and not to tyrannize, but to bring them greater benefit than he could expect from them: That they would do well to cast their eyes for example on other Nations, whose Lands or Possessions they had not taken away, but improved by Aqueducts, and other benefits; That they had permitted the *Curacas* to enjoy the same Government which they formerly had, having no other design in all their Wars and Actions, than to force Men to Adore the Sun, and reform them from their inhumane and bestial customs. These Propositions afforded great matter of debate to this people; for though many were of opinion, that they ought to accept the terms of the *Inca*, and receive him for their Lord; yet the younger sort, who were more in numbers, and of less experience, opposed the agreement, and carried it in the Negative; and thereupon prosecuted the War with much fury and resolution; for having contradicted the more Aged Men in their opinion, they esteemed themselves engaged in point of reputation to overcome, or dye.

But that the Enemy might not think that the Conditions which the *Inca* had offered, did proceed from timorousness, or cowardice, but only from that piety, and compassionate disposition, which was inherent in him, and all his family; he commanded that the War should be renewed with heat and violence; and having made divers detachments of his Army, assailed them in several places at the same time; that so making a diversion of their Forces, he might abate the heat of their courage, and make them understand their own weakness. With this second attempt, they gained other places, and strong passes, and straitened the Enemy in that manner, that they had no other remedy, but to have recourse unto the mercy and clemency of the *Inca*, who, according to the accustomed goodness of those Kings, received them to pardon, giving order to his Officers and Ministers to treat the *Huacachucun*, as if they were Brethren and Allies, to cloath the *Curacas* with the finest sort of Garments called *Compi*, and the more ordinary people with the *Aucaca*, which is the more coarse. He also commanded, that they should be supplied with Provisions for their sustenance, for that a year of War had consumed all their Stores; which they took so kindly, that they esteemed it the greatest evidence they could receive of the favour and forgiveness of the *Inca*.

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Herewith an end was put to the War of this Campaign; for that the Conquest of a Province so inaccessible in its situation, and so well defended by its Natives, was a sufficient Work for one Summer. And because that Country was subject to much rain, he quartered his Army in the Frontiers of it, and recruited it with twenty thousand Men more, that he might make a more quick dispatch and riddance in his Conquests. But first he took order to have his new Subjects well instructed in the superstitious Rites of his Religion, and in the Laws and Moralities of his Empire: He appointed also, that designs should be laid for Aqueducts and Gardens, and for clearing those Grounds which were fruitfull, and of good Soil, of Bushes and Weeds, making them good and profitable manure, and fit to be sown; for want of which industry, and good husbandry, little or no benefit was made of their Lands: All which, when the *Indians* saw, they admired, and acknowledged the infinite goodness of the *Inca* to them.

CHAP. II.

Of the Conquest which the Incas made on the Borders of Chachapuya.

THE recruits being come, and the season of the year fit for action, the *Inca Tupac* commanded his Army out of their Winter-quarters to take the Field, and march towards the Province of *Chachapuya*; but in the first place he dispatched a Herald before to offer them terms of War, or Peace; but they slighted all terms of Accommodation, and resolutely answered, That they were ready with Arms in their hands to defend their Liberty, and that the *Inca* might doe his pleasure, for that they resolved never to be his Vassals. This Answer being given, both parties prepared for War, which was carried on with that resolution and fury, that many were killed and wounded on both sides: The *Incas* resolved never to retreat; and the *Chachas* (for they had that Name also) were obstinately determined rather to dye than yield. Both parties being thus resolved, the War became very bloody, by reason that the *Chachas*, whose Country may be styled a Kingdom, being 50 Leagues in length, and 20 in breadth, reaching to *Moyupampa*, which is 30 Leagues farther; foreseeing the intentions of the *Inca*, and growing jealous of his Power, had made provision for two years before against him, having fortified all their strong holds, the ruins of which remain to this day; and having barricadoed the narrow passes, which are rocky and mountainous, and so difficult to climb, that in many places the *Indians* have made eight or ten several Stories, with steps to descend; and besides these, there is no passage forwards by other ways. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the *Incas*, with loss of many of their Men, gained several of these strong Holds, which proved of great advantage to them: The first of these was situate on a Mountain, being two Leagues and a half high, called the Hill of *Pias*, because the people, who live on the other side, are so called, being the most considerable of that Province. And thus far the *Incas* having gained with great difficulty, they were now entered eight or ten Leagues within the Country, the people retreating before to other places of greater strength.

Howsoever the Old Men and Women, who were not able to climb the Mountains in company with the Young, were taken by the *Inca*, together with young Children, whom the Parents could not carry with them; all which the Great *Tupac* committed to the care and kind treatment of his Officers.

Having

Having passed this people of *Pias*, the Army proceeded in its march; and being come to a certain opening, or breach of the snowy Mountain, called *Chirmacassa*, which signifies the dangerous Gate, because it had been fatal to many people, who passed that way, the *Inca* made a detachment of 300 Men, which like a forlorn Hope, preceding the Army on design of discovery, were on a sudden overwhelmed with the fall of a Mountain of Snow, in which all perished, not one Man escaping. By reason of this misfortune, the *Inca* could not pass for several days, which gave occasion to the *Chachapuyas* to spread a report through all their Countrey, that the *Incas* terrified with the late unhappy accident, were retired, and fled to their own Countrey.

The Snows being in a manner thawed, the *Inca* pursued his Conquest, and with much difficulty gained step by step all the Countrey, as far as *Cuntur Marca*, which a considerable people inhabits; passing by others on each hand of the way, by reason that the passages to them were obstructed, and difficult, and the Natives not worth the labour and charge of a Conquest. But the people of *Cuntur Marca* made great resistance, fought valiantly, and continued the War for many days. But whereas the power of the *Inca* was at that time invincible, and that nothing could be opposed sufficient to withstand it, the *Chachas* being over-powered by the Numbers which assailed them, were forced to yield, and submit themselves at discretion to the *Inca*, who, according to his custome, received them to mercy and pardon; and that he might quiet and satisfy their minds with confidence of his Clemency, and might by their example invite and allure others to the like subjection, he treated them with kind entertainment, bestowing favours, and his beneficence upon them.

The *Inca* having settled his Ministers and Officers necessary for the Establishment of affairs, he proceeded forward, taking in all the Forts and strong places in the way before him, which now yielded without much blood or opposition, following the example of *Cuntur Marca*: Eight Leagues from which is another people called *Cassa Marquilla*, who defended themselves within their Rocks and Mountains: For these being naturally warlike and fierce, adventured to try the force of the *Incas* in many engagements; but at length these *Chachas* having proved their irresistible power, and considering that the greatest part of their Province had submitted to the *Inca*, they thought it best for them to follow the same example, and yield also.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Conquest of other People, and Barbarous Nations.

From *Cassamarquilla* the *Inca* proceeded to another People called *Papamarca*, from the *Papas* or Dewlaps, which are great bunches that hang from their throats; the which were subdued by the *Inca* in the same manner as the others: Thence he marched eight Leagues farther, conquering all before him, until he came to a considerable Plantation, called *Rymipampa*, which signifies the place of Festival, the principal Festival of the Sun being called *Rymy*; of which we have treated at large in a distinct Chapter. And it happening when this people was subdued, (whose Countrey was all a pleasant and even Plain,) that the grand Festival of *Rymy* was then come; wherefore the *Inca* appointed that place for the celebration of it; for, as we have said, it was not a material point in their Religion, where, or in what place that Feast was kept by the *Inca* himself, provided that the High Priest, and the other *Incas*, observed it at *Cocco*, with all the formalities and solemn rites of it.

From *Rymipampa* he marched three Leagues farther to *Suta*, which he subdued with like facility; for the Natives seeing the greatest part of their Countrey already in possession of the *Inca*, yielded themselves with all readiness into his power. From *Suta* the Army marched to a people called *Llavanta*, which was the most remote part of the Province of *Chachapuya*, which also yielded, despairing of power to make resistance against the *Inca*, who now was become absolute Master of the whole Province; the most considerable people of which, we have already mentioned, though besides these there were many little Plantations not worth the naming. The Conquest of this Province was very difficult and laborious, by reason of the Mountains and strong Passes, defended by a stout and fierce people.

From *Llavanta* the *Inca*, *Tupac Tupanqui*, made a detachment of his Army, to subdue the Province of *Muyupampa*; through which the Valiant *Ancohualla* took his March, when he cast off his subjection to the *Inca*, as we have related in the Life of *Viracocha*; this Province is situated within the *Antio*, and once acknowledged subjection to the *Chachas*, but whether it was by force, or by agreement of confederacy, or alliance, the *Indians* are ignorant; it lyes 30 Leagues Eastward from *Llavanta*.

The Natives of *Muyupampa* having received information, that the whole Province of *Chachapuya* had yielded to the *Inca*, did also with much readiness receive his Religion, Laws and Customs: the like also did the Province called *Cascaquina*, and divers others of less note within that Division; all which being received into favour of the *Inca*, he commanded, that they should be instructed in the Knowledge and Religion of the Sun, and all necessities provided for their better welfare and subsistence; to which end, he ordered Aqueducts to be made, their Lands to be plowed, and broken up, that so they might yield greater abundance, and increase; and that the *Curacas* should be vested with the finest *Campi*, which they esteemed as a high favour; and with these and other benefits the people remained abundantly satisfied. Herewith the Wars concluded for that year, the Army being drawn into Winter-quarters; and in the interim Orders were issued out for supplying the Souldiery, and the new Conquests with Provisions from the Neighbouring Countries; for the Wars had made destruction, and caused want and famine of all things necessary for the support of life. The Summer being come, the *Inca* *Tupac* took the Field with an Army of forty thousand Men, and marched to the Province of *Huancapampa*, which is a Countrey large and populous, but all of different Nations and Languages; every Nation or Lineage lived apart, or by it self, without friendship or alliance, but in a state of War, acknowledging no Lord, or Government, for their Superiour, but like brute beasts, preyed one upon the

the other: they had no employment or occupation to busie themselves in, for most of them went naked, without cloaths or covering; the prize and reward of their War, were the bodies of the Wives and Daughters of the conquered, of which they enjoyed as many as they could get; and for the Men, they eat and devoured one the other.

Their Religion was as bestial as their Morality; they adored many Gods, every Lineage, or Family, had one or more proper to it; some adored Animals, or living Creatures, others Birds, Herbs, Plants, Rivers, Fountains, nay any thing which they liked, or were pleased with; in which diversity of Gods, there often arose Disputes and Arguments concerning their Power and Goodness, which was most commonly decided by War. People living at this rate, without reason or politicks, were easily subdued; for they could never stand to make any defence, but, like wild beasts, were hunted in the Mountains, where in the Thickets, in Caves and Rocks they concealed themselves; but famine, and want of sustenance, forced many of them from their retirements, into the power and obedience of the *Inca*, though many of them, who were obstinate and surly, like brute beasts, perished in their places of concealment.

But the *Inca Tupac* used all diligence to catch, and tame them, committing them into the hands of Masters and Instructors, who might teach them to associate, and live in communities, how to cultivate the Grounds, and wear Cloathing, and make Garments of Wool and Cotton: they also shewed them how to bring channels of water for refreshing their Fields, and so learned them to manure their Lands, that it became the most fruitful soil of all *Peru*. In some time afterwards, for greater improvement of that Countrey, they ennobled it with a Temple of the Sun, and a House of Select Virgins, with many other Edifices of Honour and Renown. They commanded, that all their Gods should be thrown to the Earth, and that they should acknowledge and worship no other but only the Sun, who was the sole God of the Universe: that none should eat Man's flesh on pain of Death; and utter destruction of himself and family; and for other matters they gave them Priests and Men of learning to instruct them in their Laws and Customs: In all which they became so docible, and such proficients, that in a short time they lived orderly and sociably in civil communication, and the two Provinces of *Cajamarca*, and *Huancapampa* became the most knowing, and most orderly Citizens in all the Empire of the *Incas*.

CHAP. IV.

The Conquest of three Great and Warlike Provinces.

Huancapampa being conquered, the *Incas* proceeded to reduce three other great Provinces, containing many other Nations under their power; but how long this succeeded after the Conquest of *Huancapampa*, is not certain: But these people were of a different quality to those before mentioned; for they lived in a political manner, had their Towns, and Fortifications, and some manner of Government amongst them; they often assembled, and held Councils to consider of the publick good and welfare. No person pretended to a Right of Dominion over them, but by common consent they elected their Chief Governour in the time of Peace, and Captain in case of War, serving them with entire obedience, during the time of their Magistracy. These three Provinces were called *Casca*, *Ayahua*, and *Callao*. The *Inca*, so soon as he approached the Confines of these Countries, sent his Summons to the Inhabitants, requiring them to receive him for their Lord and Sovereign, or otherwise provide to defend themselves by force of Arms; for answer whereunto, they returned a short reply. That they were ready to dye in defence of their Liberties; for as they never had received any Lord that was imposed on them,

them, so now they could not incline their minds to any servile subjection. Here, with a cruel War began, for all the fair offers and pretences of the *Inca* could avail nothing; for their ancient liberty and freedom still presenting it self before them, stopped their Ears to all the gentle words of favour the *Inca* expressed, saying, That the greatest favour and grace he could doe them, was to leave them to their own liberty. All these three Provinces being associated together, unanimously contributed to the assistance of each other, and made stout opposition, having killed about 8000 *Incas*; with which slaughter the *Incas* being enraged, persecuted the Enemy with fire and sword, and all the miseries of War, which they supported with great patience and equality of mind in contemplation of their liberty, which they disputed and defended with great resolution; for no sooner were they forced from one strong Hold, but they posted to another, and thence to another, abandoning their Countrey, and Houses, without care of their Wives and Children, resolving to dye with Arms in their hands, rather than become the Slaves and Vassals of another.

The *Incas* still proceeded in the Conquest of this Countrey, until they had forced them into a corner of it; where having fortified themselves, they endured all extremities; and though reduced to the ultimate point of perishing by famine, yet still continued constant, and resolved not to be subject to the *Inca*: the which some of their more sober and intelligent Captains considering, and finding that upon these principles all of them must necessarily dye and perish, without knowing any cause or reason for it: And seeing that other Nations, as free as they, had submitted to the Dominion of the *Inca*, under whom their peace and plenty was augmented, rather than in the least abated or infringed. The Captains and Chiefs having this communication together, agreed to yield themselves and people to the *Inca*; the which was performed, though not without some mutiny and sedition amongst the Souldiery; howsoever the generality being led by the example and dictates of their Commanders, did all at last submit, and yield unto due obedience.

The *Inca Tupac* received them with all expressions of grace and favour, telling them, how much he pitied their folly, which had so unnecessarily betrayed them to the last extremities of want and famine; but now to relieve them in this condition, he ordered, that they should be entertained and treated like his own Children: And that whereas many of them perished in the late War, so that their Lands and Dwellings were void and depopulated; he ordered, that they should be again stocked and supplied by people transplanted from other Provinces. And thus the *Inca* having provided matters for due administration of that Government, and settled and established their Doctrine and Religion, he returned again to *Cusco*, being more troubled and uneasy for the loss and destruction of those poor *Indians*, than tired or wearied with the fatigues, and incommodioulness of the War; of which he was so sensible, that he would often say, that if he were assured that the other Nations, more remote, had taken example by the obstinacy of these; that he would defer the Conquest of them for the present, and until such a conjuncture of time, as might render them more pliable, and better disposed to receive the Government of the *Incas*.

Wherefore the Great *Tupac* refraining from War, spent several years in visiting his Kingdoms, adorning them with stately Edifices in every Province, and inhabited Countrey, such as Royal Palaces, Fortresses, and Houses for publick Stores, Aqueducts and Temples dedicated to the Sun, with Convents for the Select Virgins, besides many other publick Works, such as making High-ways and open Roads, of which we shall treat more at large in the Second Part; but more especially his care was, to finish the Fortress of *Cusco*, the Foundation of which was laid, and begun by his Father the *Inca Tupanqui*.

Having thus spent some years in the exercises and employments of Peace, the *Inca* re-assumed his thoughts of conquering the Provinces, which lye Northward, called *Chinchafuyu*: The first Quarter he came to, was *Huancu*, which contains many Nations, but all independent each of other, living scattered up and down the Fields, without government or communication, but in perpetual War and Fightings: they had some Fortresses and strong Holds on the tops of Mountains, to which at any time, when they were worsted, they fled for refuge; all which people, by fair terms, according to the customary clemency of the *Incas*, were with much facility reduced to their command; though at first the Natives of *Huancu* shewed

shewed themselves furly, obstinate and rude; with which the Officers of the *Incas* being highly provoked, put many of them to the Sword with great severity and cruelty; but the *Inca*, to appease and moderate their fury, put them in mind of the Original Law of the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, who commanded them to reduce the *Indians* to his subjection by gentle and fair terms, rather than by Arms, or effusion of Blood.

The *Indians* being on one side terrified with the fear of punishment, and allured on the other by the promises, and kind offers of the *Inca*, were reduced without much labour; so that they were persuaded to live in Societies, and receive the Idolatry and Government of the *Incas*, who, in a short time, so improved this pleasant Province of *Huannuch*, that by the fruitfulness of the Soil, and good temperature of the Climate, it became the Head and Chief of all the Neighbouring Countries. And here, as a principal mark of favour, they erected a Temple dedicated to the Sun, with a House for the Select Virgins: In the building of which, twenty thousand *Indians* were continually employed, and as some will have it thirty thousand; all which took their turns in the labour, which shews the great numbers of those Inhabitants. *Pedro de Ciega* in his 80th Chapter speaking of the *Huannuch*, hath these words, which I have extracted *Verbatim*. "In the Precincts of *Huannuch*, there was erected a Royal Edifice, rarely built of great Stones, and well polished. This Palace, or Royal Chamber, was the chief place where the Courts of Judicature were held for the Neighbouring Provinces, and for the *Andes*, adjoining whereunto was the Temple of the Sun, with many Virgins and Officers belonging to it; and was so considerable in the time of the *Incas*, that above 30000 *Indians* were always employed in the service of it. It belonged to the Stewards of the *Incas* to collect in the ordinary Tributes; and the Countrey people were obliged to afford their attendance and service at this Palace. Thus far are the words of *Ciega de Leon*.

The Conquest being made of *Huannuch*, as we have in short related; we shall now briefly touch on other matters, unless some remarkable passage occur, for I resolve to hasten to the end of those Conquests which were made by the *Incas*, that so I may treat of the Wars between *Huascar* and *Atahualpa*, who were Nephews of this *Tupac Yupanqui*. To proceed therefore, we say, that the *Inca Tupac* commanded an Army of forty thousand Men to be raised, and fitted for the year following, intending to conquer the great Province, called *Cannari*, which was the Chief over divers others, being very populous, and the Inhabitants valiant and warlike; for their distinction from others, they wore their Hair long, tying up their Locks on the top of their heads with a knot. The Nobles, and those who would be fine in their Drefs, wore a Cap on their heads of a thin woven thread, like a fine Sieve, scarce above three fingers high, through which some threads were drawn of divers colours; but the common sort, and such as were lazy, and ungentele, wore, in the place hereof, the shell of a Gourd, or Pumpkin, for their Cap; so that oftentimes in disgrace, the *Indians* would call this Nation of *Cannari*, by the Name of *Matinma*, or Pumpkin-pate. By this, and such-like devices on their heads, during all the Reign of the *Incas*, the *Indians* were distinguished, and known of what Countrey and Province they were; in my time also they carried these distinctions; but now, as I am informed, they are neglected, and every one wears what he pleases. These Natives of *Cannari*, before the times of the *Inca*, went almost naked, both Men and Women, wearing onely a loose Cloth to cover their privities: They had many Lords which ruled over them, some of which made an Alliance one with the other; but these were such as were of the meanest rank, who, to resist the power of the great ones, and their tyrannous oppression, joined together in confederacy and alliance.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

Of the Conquest of the Province of Cannari; of its Riches and Temple.

Tupac Yupanqui marched to the Province *Cannari*, and in his way conquered all that tract of ground which is named *Palta*, from whence, and from the low and warm Vallies, they carried unto *Cuzco* that pleasant Fruit which is called *Palta*; the which Countrey, though the people thereof were fierce and warlike, yet the *Incas* easily overcame, alluring them with fair words, and kind usage and treatment into a submission. The device, or distinction of this Nation, was a certain little Tablet; which so soon as a Child was born, they bound on his forehead, and another on the nape of his neck, which every day they bound harder and harder, keeping it on until he was three years of Age; by which time taking it off, it had brought the head into a most ugly and deformed shape; they always carried their Children at their backs; so that when they saw an *Indian* with a broader and flatter forehead than was usual, and the nape of his neck wide and broad, they would in derision call him *Palta Oma*, or *Palta Pate*. And here the *Inca* having settled and established all things necessary for the religious and secular Government, he proceeded with his Army to the borders of *Cannari*, from whence he dispatched his accoutumary Summons, that either they should submit, and yield, or prepare for War. These offers of Peace being tendered, occasioned some debates amongst the *Cannarians*; but at length, after variety of opinions in the case, it was generally, and by the major part agreed to submit, concluding themselves unable to make resistance, and thereupon full of joy and festival, they went to make tender of their service and obedience to the *Inca*; after whose example the *Curacas* came in, and with much readiness paid their homage and duty. The *Inca* received them with much commendation and praise, commanding that such Cloths and Vestments should be given them, as were necessary and convenient for them; and that some course should be taken to instruct them in the Doctrine and Religious Worship of the Sun, and in that Political way of Government by Laws, which was practised by the *Incas*: For before this time the *Cannarians* adored the Moon for their principal God, and after that Great Trees and Stones, which were rare, and not common, especially the *Jaspar*; but having received the Doctrine of the Sun, there was a Temple immediately built, and dedicated to him, and a House of Select Virgins, with many Palaces for the Kings. They erected also Houses to receive the Royal Stores, and the common Provisions of the people; they enlarged also their Arable Grounds and Pasturage, they made Aqueducts and Channels to convey their water; in short, they made the same improvements in this, as in all other Countries which were subdued by the *Inca*, and with better success, because the goodness of the Soil was such, as produced all manner of Fruit in great abundance; which the *Cannarians* observing, were much satisfied with the change of their condition and vassalage, proving ever afterwards very good Subjects, which they testified by their Loyalty in the time of the Civil Wars between *Huascar* and *Atahualpa*: Though afterwards, when the *Spaniards* came in, one of the *Cannarians* fled over to their side, after whose example all his Countrey men affected the *Spaniards*, and deserted the *Incas*, as we shall hereafter declare in its due place, it being the custom of the World to take part with the strongest side. The *Inca Tupac* having reduced the *Cannarians* to his Dominion, took especial care to satisfy and content the several People and Nations which were under that denomination; and to oblige them the more, he resolved to assist by himself in Person, in teaching and instructing them in the Doctrine of his Idolatry, and the Laws of his Government; in the inculcating of which, he spent much time and labour; so that at length they remained well established and settled in peace and quietness: Upon report of which, many other Provinces, not as yet subdued, took such a kindness to the Government of the *Inca*, that

that voluntarily, and of their own accord, they joyfully received him for their Lord and Master. Amongst these Nations, there is a sort of people called *Quillaes*, who are so miserable and mean-spirited, that they fear they shall want Earth, and Water, and Air. Whence the *Indians* had a Proverb amongst them, which the *Spaniards* afterwards allowed in their Language, calling a Man *Quillaes*, when they would denote a covetous person, or any of a vile and sordid nature; and these were those on whom the *Inca* imposed a Tax, or Tribute of Lice, that so they might oblige them thereby to pick and cleanse themselves, not suffering their bodies to be devoured alive by this vermine. *Tupac Yupanqui*, after him his Son *Huayna Capac* did greatly ennoble these Provinces of the *Cannarians*, and that also which is called *Tumipampa*, with these publick Edifices, and Royal Palaces, adorning the Walls of the Chambers with the Figures of Herbs and Plants, and all living creatures represented in Gold and Silver; the Doors of them were plated with Gold, and studded with Emeralds, Torquoise, and other pretious Stones; for those *Indians* made it their business to make themselves of things of great ostentation, and to please and flatter their humour, adorned their Temples and Palaces with all the Treasure they were able to procure.

Pedro de Cieza in the 44th Chapter of his Book, treating at large of the Riches wherewith their Temples and Royal Chambers were adorned in the Provinces belonging to the *Cannarians*, as far as *Tumipampa*, which the *Spaniards* miscall *Tome-bamba*, by a mistake of letters: he there says, That besides these Riches, there was an immense sum of Treasure laid up in Jars, and Pots, and other Utensils, together with rich Robes and Vestments of Silver, with curious fitches, of which he touches in many passages of his History; the which was so neat and curious, the Gold being fitched, or woven, in less pieces than Seed-pearl, and with such artificial work, that the best Silver-smiths in *Seville* have asked me the manner how they were woven, or fown so close, that the seam could not be discerned; a small piece of which work I brought into *Spain*, and it was highly prized and esteemed. *Pedro de Cieza* having discoursed at large of the Treasure of the *Cannarian* Provinces, hath these words. "In short, whatsoever I can utter or express of the Riches with which the *Incas* have adorned their Palaces, will fall short of the true value of it; and then speaking in particular of the Chambers and Temple of *Tumipampa*, he saith, "That the *Indians* report, that the greatest part of those Stones, of which those Chambers and Temple were built, were brought from the great City of *Cuzco* by command of the King *Huayna Capac*, and his Father *Tupac* the Great, by force of Men, who drew them with Cables; which if so, was very wonderful, considering the weight of the Stones, and the great number of them, and the distance of the way. These are the very words of that Historian, who, by reason of the difficulty of that work, seems to doubt the truth of that report which the *Indians* gave; but for my part, who am also an *Indian*, and acquainted with the humour of my Countrymen, I do declare my belief to be thus far of it; it being probable, that those *Inca* Kings, who were always desirous to shew favour to their Subjects, would also oblige them in the transportation of these Stones from *Cuzco*; which coming from thence, were esteemed Sacred: For if it were a favour to have a licence granted for building a Temple to the Sun in any principal Province, because thereby the Inhabitants became Citizens of *Cuzco*; much more must it be to have the very Materials of it brought from the City itself, by command of the *Inca*, without other charge or labour to the Natives; and not onely to have their Temple resemble that at *Cuzco*, but also to be the same with it in the substance. Now the *Indians*, to enjoy such a piece of grandeur, which they esteemed to be God-like, and Divine, would omit all other Works to employ themselves in the carriage of these Stones, over Rocks and craggy Mountains, and to such a far distance as it is from *Cuzco* to *Tumipampa*, which is no less than 400 Leagues, which none would believe, but those who were employed in the work: But as to the report which *Pedro de Cieza* received from the *Indians*, who averred, that the greatest part of those Stones, of which the Temple and Palaces of that Country were composed, were brought from *Cuzco*, was more to boast of the favour and honour which the *Inca* did them in giving out such a Command, than to raise the glory of such a Work by a belief, that the Stones were really brought from so far a distance. And so much shall serve for what we have to say concerning the Greatness and Riches of those Royal Palaces and Temples of the Sun, which were built in *Tumipampa*, and in all parts of *Pernu*.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Conquest of many other and great Provinces, as far as the Confines of *Quitu*.

THE *Inca* having settled and established affairs in *Cuzco*, he returned to *Cuzco*, where he spent several years in the administration of good Government, and other just actions appertaining to the Office of a Great King. But as it is natural to Puissant Princes to be ambitious, and desirous to enlarge their Empire, so likewise this *Inca* thought it not fit to lose longer time in a reposed life, but to proceed in his Conquests; to which end he raised a considerable Army, with which he marched to the Confines of *Tumipampa*; from whence beginning his Conquests, he reduced many Provinces as far as the Borders of the Kingdom of *Quitu*, which extend little less than 50 Leagues in length; the chief places of which are *Chanchar*, *Moca*, *Quejua*, *Pumallakta*, which signifies the Country of *Lima*, because they abound more in those parts, than in the places thereabouts, and are adored by the Inhabitants of *Ticcampi*, *Ticallia*, *Cayampi*, *Urcullasu*, and others of less note, for their Gods; the which places being very thin of people, were easily reduced; and moreover, the Lands are very barren, and the people forth, without Lords, or Government, or Religion, or Political Communication: every one adored that for God, which they most desired, or rather they worshipped nothing, living like brute beasts, scattered and wandering in the Fields and Woods, whom there was more trouble to instruct and inform with any kind of good manners, than to overcome, or reduce: these they taught to make Cloths, and Shoes, and to Manure the Land; for watering of which, they made Aqueducts and Channels for them. In all these Provinces the *Incas* made large Roads, and High-ways, and Store-houses to lay up Provisions for sustenance of the Souldiery, and Chambers for their Kings; but would not honour so vile and servile a sort of Inhabitants with the beauty of Temples dedicated to the Sun, or with the Houses of Select Virgins; they being capable of little more, than to keep themselves clean from Lice, by obligation of that Tribute they were to pay in them.

Whilst the *Inca*, *Tupac Yupanqui*, was thus employed in reducing and instructing the Provinces before mentioned; other Nations which are seated to the Westward of these, bordering on the Confines of that Province which the *Spaniards* call *Puerto Viejo*, or the Old Port, sent their Ambassadors to the *Inca* with Presents, beseeching him to receive them for his Subjects and Vassals, and that he would be pleased to send them Captains and Teachers, who might instruct them in the way of living in Societies, and how to manure their Lands, that they might live like Men, and not like Beasts, promising for themselves all loyalty and faithfulness: Those that made the first motion to send this Embassy, were of the Nation of *Huancavilca*. The *Inca* graciously received their Address, commanding that satisfaction should be given them in all their desires; and so Teachers were sent to instruct them in Religion, and in the Laws and good Customs of the *Inca*: Engineers were also sent them to make Aqueducts, and manure their Fields, and reduce them into Societies: But afterwards the ingratitude of this people was such, that concerning the favours and promises which the *Inca* had made them, they rose up against his people, and barbarously murdered them all. As *Pedro de Cieza* in his Observations reports, which because it serves to confirm the particulars we have often repeated in this History, touching the gentleness and good-nature of the *Incas*, who were always ready to teach and instruct the *Indians*, who submitted to their Dominion; we have here inserted the Words of *de Cieza*, that so what we have said concerning the *Incas*, may also be confirmed by the authority of the *Spanish* Writers: His Words are these which follow.

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"To return then to our purpose; I say, that I have heard from Old *Indians*, who were Chiefs in the time of the Great *Tupa Inga Tupanque*, that some of his Captains, with certain *Troops*, which they had drawn out from those Garrisons, which he maintained in divers Provinces of his Kingdom, had by divers ways of management reduced much people to the friendship and service of the *Inca*; the principal sort of which went with their Presents to the Province of *Paltas* to pay their respects of reverence and duty to the *Inca*, who courteously received them with all affection, bestowing on several of them rich pieces of Woollen, made at *Cusco*. And whereas the occasions of the *Inca* required his return to his principal Provinces, where he was so much esteemed, that they styled him Father, and honoured him with Titles of Supreme Eminence: And such was his affable disposition towards all, that his Fame was great, and his Memory perpetual. But in regard the occasions of his Kingdom were so pressing, that he could not stay, and in Person visit those *Indians*; he committed the care of that Government to certain Officers, who were Natives of *Cusco*, and whole charge it was to instruct them in the manner of living, that they might become rational Creatures, and live with some form and rule: But these did not onely shut their Ears to necessary instructions, and disdain the Orders which the Officers of *Tupa Inga* prescribed, for their living under Laws in good society, and using laudable customs and ways to live, such as Manuring their Lands, and other matters which contribute to the happiness of life: But in return for such benefits, which they ill understood, they killed their Instructors, not suffering one of them to live and escape; and this villainy they acted without any provocation, or any oppression; whereby they might deserve ill from them. It is said, that when the *Inga Tupa* heard of this Massacre, temporizing with the present state of his affairs, he dissembled the matter, not having opportunity at that time to revenge the Death of those Captains and Subjects. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieza*, with which he concludes his Chapter: To which we add, that the *Inca* having finished the Conquest of those Provinces, returned again to *Cusco*, to take some repose and divertisement after his great labours and cares in War.

C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

The Inca conquers Quito, and sends to his Son the Prince Huayna Capac to come to him.

THE *Inca Tupac*, after some few years of ease and peace, re-assumed again the thoughts of War, resolving to turn his Arms against the Kingdom of *Quito*, being a Countrey great and famous, of 70 Leagues in length, and 30 in breadth, the Soil fruitfull, and capable, by good Husbandry, of great improvement and benefit to the Inhabitants. Wherefore providing an Army of forty thousand strong, he marched to *Tumipampa*, which borders on the Confines of that Kingdom, sending thence the usual Summons to the King of *Quito*, who styled himself after the Name of his Countrey. This Prince was of a barbarous and rude nature, and consequently fierce and choleric, feared by his Neighbours for the great Power and Dominion he had over them. Wherefore relying on his own force, he confidently answered, that he was Lord and Sovereign himself, and would acknowledge no other, nor receive Foreign Laws, but gave such as he thought fit to his own Vassals; nor would he forsake the Gods of his Ancestors, which were wild beasts, and great trees, such as afforded them flesh and wood, and other benefits necessary for the support of life. The *Inca* having received this answer, would not immediately break into Acts of Hostility, endeavouring for awhile to try the effects of gentle allurements, and moderate terms, according to the rule and maxime of his Ancestors. But this kind usage operated little on the affections of the people of *Quito*, who grew more proud and insolent by the condescensions of the *Inca*; which was the cause, that when the War broke out, it continued many months and years; during which time, many Skirmishes and Battels happened with great slaughter and damage on both sides.

Tupac Inca Tupanqui perceiving that this War was likely to continue long, sent for his Eldest Son and Heir the Prince *Huayna Capac*, that so he might exercise and practise him in the War, commanding him to bring a recruit of twelve thousand Men with him; his Mother was called *Mama Ocello*, Sister of his Father, according to the customs of those Kings, who always took the Eldest Sisters for their Wives: The *Spanish* Historians say, that *Huayna Capac*, in the vulgar Language of that Family, signifies a Rich Youth: But it is certain, that those *Indians* in giving their Names and Surnames to their Kings, observed (as we have said) other Elegancies and Phrases in Speech, different from the common Language, having ever some respect to those symptoms, and appearances of Virtue, which they observed eminent and hopefull in their Princes, adding other August Titles agreeable to the Prowess, and Illustrious Actions performed in their Manhood. And so, because this Prince demonstrated in his Youth clear evidences of a Royal and Magnanimous Soul, they gave him the Name of *Huayna Capac*, which signifies as much as a Youthfull Spirit, invigorated with inclination to heroick and illustrious Achievements. For when they gave the Title of *Capac*, which is Rich, to *Manco* their first *Inca*, they did not mean the Riches of Fortune, but the Excellencies and Greatness of Mind; they ever after appropriated this Title to the *Capac Ayllu*, which is to the Royal Family, and Princes of the Blood; so they attributed the Title of *Capac*, to the Feast of *Raymi*, which is the principal Festival of the Sun; so also they called a Subject *Capac Runa*, which is Subject and Vassal of the Rich, meaning the *Inca*, being never given to any other Lord, though he were never so Rich, or powerfull: And so also this word *Capac* was given to any other thing, which they would dignifie with relation to Royalty.

Amongst the many other Illustrious Qualities with which this Prince was endowed, he had one, by which he most particularly obliged his Subjects, giving early Indications of his Virtue, which merited the Name of *Capac*, during the time he was Prince, and which afterwards he conferred, when he came to be sole Monarch; The which particular quality was this: That he never denied any Woman the grant of her Petition, of whatsoever age, quality or condition she were, answering her according to her years; for if she were elder than he, he would say, *Mother, what you desire, shall be done*. If she were of equal years with him, he would use the compellation of Sister; if younger, he would call her *Daughter*, and say, *What thou askest, shall be performed*; and to all Women generally he would lay his hand on their left shoulder, in token of his favour and respect to them. And this Magnanimity of mind he carried so even and constant, that in matters of great importance, he would condescend to the diminution of his own Right and Prerogative of his Majesty. As we shall hereafter more at large discourse.

This Prince being now about twenty years of Age, pursued his Wars, gaining on the Kingdom by little and little, ever treating with them, and offering terms of Peace and Friendship. But his barbarous Nation, which went almost naked, and was ignorant of Political Government, would never give ear to proposals of Accommodation. *Tupac* the Father observing the good Conduct of his Son, committed the absolute Government of this War to his management, and so returned to *Cusco*, the important affairs of his Empire requiring his presence there.

The Prince in the mean time, with the assistance of his Captains, so well managed the War, that in the space of three years he became absolute Master of the Kingdom of *Quitu*, though some *Indians* say, that he was five years; but then they count the two years, in which his Father was there in person, attributing the Conquest of that Country to them both. The gentleness and good-nature of the Father and Son was the cause of this long continuance of the War; for had they vigorously proceeded with fire and sword, they might soon have completed their Conquest; but they willing to save the Blood of the Natives, pressed upon them as they retired, and so won the Country by little and little; though the *Indians* say, that the War had continued longer, had not the King of *Quitu* died at that time; they say also, that his Death was occasioned by grief, for seeing himself in an unhappy condition, divested of the greatest part of his Dominion, and unable to defend the remainder; and not daring to trust, or confide in the Clemency of the *Inca*, whom he believed he had provoked to that degree, as never to obtain his pardon; he died with the pressure of his great troubles and afflictions; he being dead, his Captains presently yielded themselves to the mercy of *Huayna Capac*, who received them with obliging terms, commanding them to be vested with Garments of the finest sort, and presented them with other gifts, which were most in esteem amongst the *Indians*; treating also the more common sort of people with great kindness and friendship: In short, he performed all the generous Actions he was able to them, to render his Clemency the more apparent and perspicuous to that stupid Nation: And to oblige all that whole Country in general, so soon as the War was ended, he not only made them Aqueducts to refresh, and make fruitful their Soil; but also built a Temple there for the Sun, and a House for the Select Virgins, adorned with Riches, and other Embellishments agreeable to the quality of those Edifices: In performance of which, those *Indians* had great advantage, for their Country yielded much Gold, which they had digged for the service of their own King, and much more afterwards for the use of the Prince *Huayna Capac*, because they found that they very much gratified his humour by Presents of that Metal; his affection and covetousness of which, transported him to such extremities of Oppression, as were never before practised by *Inca* Kings, which was the cause of the ruine of their Empire, and occasion of all that misery, which afterwards extinguished this Royal Family.

Huayna

Huayna Capac leaving *Quitu*, proceeded to another Province called *Quillacaca*, which signifies a Nose of Iron; because they boared the Bridge which passes between the Noftrils, to hang a Jewel, or a piece of Gold or Silver, which reached to their Lips: the *Inca* found these to be a fardid, vile people, almost all naked, and full of Lice; they had no Religion amongst them; for they worshipped nothing, unless it were the Flesh of some Animal; of which they were so ravenous, that wheresoever they found any carrion, flesh of Horse or Mare, or any thing else corrupted and stinking, they would eat and devour it with the greatest pleasure and appetite in the World: So that it is very probable, that such a sort of Beasts as these, were easily subdued, and reduced to obedience.

From hence the *Inca* marched to another Nation called *Pastu*, as vile and fardid as the former, differing onely from them in this, that they would by no means be persuaded to eat Flesh, saying, That they were not Dogs. These being easily reduced to the obedience of the *Inca*, Instructors were appointed for them to teach them the manner of living after the rational manner, imposing on them the Tribute of Lice, that so they might keep themselves clean, and in health.

From *Pastu* they proceeded to another Province called *Oravalin*, the Inhabitants whereof were much more Political and Warlike than the others. These having made some little resistance against the *Inca*, did soon yield, finding that they were not able to defend themselves against that Potent Prince.

And having here made due provision to secure the Countrey, the *Inca* proceeded to another Province called *Caranque*, the people of which were most barbarous in their life and manners; they adored Tygers, and Lions, and great Serpents, offering the hearts and blood of Men in their Sacrifices: Making War upon their Neighbours, onely for the sake of War and Enemies, that they might have such as they might kill and eat. At first they made great opposition against the *Inca*, but being repulsed, they soon discovered their error, and in a few days surrendered at discretion. *Huayna Capac* ordained and constituted Masters to teach and instruct them in their Idolatrous Worship, and in the rules of a Moral life, forbidding them to acknowledge any other Idol but the Sun, or sacrifice the blood of Men, or eat humane flesh; which last was the most grievous of any to them, because they were of any thing the most ravenous of that. Thus far the Conquest of those Provinces extended on that side, which bordered on the Kingdom of *Quitu*.

C A A P. VIII.

Of the three Mariages of Huayna Capac; of the Death of his Father, and his Sayings.

Tupac Inca Tupanqui desisting now wholly from Wars, attended to the Government of his Empire, visiting divers parts of it at different times, to the great joy and comfort of his Vassals, who were transported with joy, as often as they saw the Inca in their Countries: It was he who effectually laboured about the Fortresses of Cuzco, his Father having onely begun, and laid the foundation of it; this Work was many years in building, on which twenty thousand Indians were always employed, every Nation and Province taking its turn, with that rule and order, that nothing could be disposed in better and more exact method and discipline. Every two years the Inca visited his Kingdom of Chili, sending every year thither many fine Garments for cloathing of the Curacas, and their Kindred, with more common habit for the ordinary people. In exchange for which, the Caciques sent much Gold, and plumes of Feathers, and other Commodities of the growth of their Country. And this continued untill the time that Don Diego de Almagro invaded that Country.

The Prince Huayna Capac having conquered the Kingdom of Quitu, and the Provinces of Quillacanca, Pastu, Otavallu and Caranque, and given instructions for the orderly management of the affairs of those Countries, he returned to Cuzco to render an account to his Father of all the Actions he had performed in his Service, being received by him with great triumph and joy for his happy return: And then he married a second time with his second Sister, called Rava Ocelo, because by his first Wife, and eldest Sister, called Pillen Huaco, he had no Children; it being necessary that the Succession should be supplied by an Heir legitimate on the side both of the Father and Mother. In like manner he married a third time lawfully, according to their Laws and Customs, with Mama Runtu, the Daughter of his Uncle Anqui Amaru Tupac Inca his Father's second Brother. Anqui is a title of distinction, given always to the second Sons of the King, and in a courtesie to all those of the Royal Bloud, but not to others, of what quality soever. Amaru is a Name given to the greatest Serpents of the Andis. The like Names of living Creatures, of Flowers or Herbs, or any thing supereminent, or excellent in its degree or quality, the Incas would take upon themselves, signifying, that as those Creatures were famous in their Species, so the Incas were in the generation of Mankind. The King Inca Tupac, with the consent and advice of his Council, ordered that those Women, last married to Huayna Capac, should be esteemed and judged as lawful Wives as the first, and not for Concubines, their Children being made capable to inherit, lest a legitimate Heir should fail in the Succession. On which consideration the Marriage with his Cousin Germain was esteemed lawful, because she was the next of kin, Huayna Capac wanting a third Sister, with whom he might match. By his Sister Rava Ocelo, he had a Son surnamed Huayna Capac, a Huascar Inca; the signification of which Name of Huascar, we will declare in its proper place, because his true and proper Name was Inti Chri Hualpa. Of his Cousin Germain, who was his third Wife, he had Manco Inca, who succeeded him in his Kingdom, that is, in Name onely, for the Inheritance was then in reality fallen into the hands of Strangers, as we shall see in its due place.

Some years of peace and tranquillity being passed, during the Reign of Tupac Tupanqui, he began at length to feel himself crazy, and declining towards his end; wherefore he assembled the Prince Huayna Capac, and all his other Sons and Daughters together, to the number of two hundred, and more: To whom after the custom of former Kings, and by way of his last Will and Testament, he recommended the practice of Peace and Justice for the good and benefit of their Subjects, which would render them illustrious, and make them to appear true Children of

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the Sun. In particular and especial manner he encharged to his Eldest Son the care of conquering the Barbarous Nations, with intent that he might reform their manners, and reduce them to the true Religion of the Sun, and teach them to live in Societies, and with Political Government, and that in all things he should imitate the examples of his Ancestors. Lastly, he encharged him to revenge that perfidious treachery, of which the people of Puerto Viejo, and the parts adjacent, and especially those of Huancavillas had been guilty in killing those Captains and Instructors, which at their request he had sent amongst them, lest the impunity and remissness in punishment of that ingratitude should be of ill example to other Subjects; and that after having chastised this offence, he should endeavour to reform their bestial way of living, by teaching them to Manure and Sow their Fields, and cover their Bodies. And farther, he encharged them to live in love and amity together, for that he was going to rest, and repose himself with his Father the Sun. Thus the Great Inca Tupac Tupanqui died, leaving to his Subjects a perpetual memory of his Piety, Clemency, and many other benefits bestowed on his Empire. In consideration of which, his people, besides his Titles and Appellations of Honour, common to other Kings, gave him the supereminent denomination of Tupac Taya, which signifies the glorious and resplendent Father. Besides the Prince, who was his Son and Heir, he left five Sons, which he had by his Sister Mama Ocelo; his second Son was called Anqui Amaru Tupac Inca, after the name of his Father; the third was Quisuar Tupac, the fourth Hualpa Tupac Inca Tupanqui, which was my Great-Grandfather by the Mothers side; the fifth was Titu Inca Rimachi; and the sixth was Anqui Mayta. His Body was afterwards so well embalmed, that when I saw it in the year 1559, it seemed to be alive.

Blas Valera speaking of this Inca, hath these words, which I have translated out of Latin. Tupac Tupanqui delivered this Philosophical discourse by way of Argument. "Many say that the Sun lives, and that he is the Maker of all things; now it is necessary, that the thing which is the cause of the Being of another, should be assistent and operate in the production thereof; now we know that many things receive their Beings, during the absence of the Sun, and therefore he is not the Maker of all things: And that the Sun hath not life, is evident, for that it always moves in its circle, and yet is never weary; for if it had life, it would require rest, as we do; and were it free, it would visit other parts of the Heavens, unto which it never inclines out of its own sphere; but as a thing obliged to a particular station, moves always in the same circle, and is like an Arrow which is directed by the hand of the Archer. He said also, that this Inca did often repeat that Saying of Inca Roca, the sixth King, as a politick and wise sentence; which was this: That it was not fit that Sciences, which belong to Noble persons, should be communicated to the common and vulgar people, lest they grow proud, and contemn the wisdom of those to whom the charge of Government is committed; it is sufficient for them to learn the trade of their Fathers, and follow their profession, not aspiring to those improvements of mind, which appertain onely to Princes and Rulers of the people. He had this other Saying likewise, That Covetousness and Ambition render a Man incapable to govern himself, or others; for Covetousness diverts the mind of a Man from its true object, that is, from the common welfare, to his own private interest; and Ambition corrupts the understanding, making it incapable of other counsels, than such as tend to its own exaltation and glory. Thus far are the Words of Blas Valera concerning the sententious Sayings of Tupac Inca Tupanqui.

And since we now approach near the time in which the Spaniards obtained this Empire; it will be convenient to declare in the following Chapter, what Provisions were then found in those Countries for the sustentance of humane life. And then next in the life of Huayna Capac, we shall shew what things were wanting, and supplied by the Spaniards, that so one thing may not be confounded with another.

CHAP. IX.

Of Mayz, Rice, and other Seeds.

THE Fruits of *Peru*, by which the *Indians* were sustained before the coming in of the *Spaniards*, were of divers sorts, some being produced above, and others under ground. Of the Fruits which grow above ground, the chief and principal is that Grane which the people of *Mexico* and *Barloventa* call Mayz, and those of *Peru*, *Cara*, being the onely Bread they use: And this is of two sorts; one is hard, which they call *Muruchu*; and the other tender and fine, called *Capia*: they eat it for Bread, either baked or parched over the fire, or boiled in water: the hard Mayz is that which they have brought to show in *Spain*, but not the fine and tender sort. Some parts produce much finer, and tenderer than others, particularly the Countrey of *Rucana*. At their solemn Sacrifices, as we have said, they used Bread made of Mayz, which they called *Cancu*; and at other times, on occasion of a Feast or treatment which they gave, they made that sort of Bread which was called *Huminta*; the which sorts of Bread had little difference in themselves, being onely distinguished by their use, some being made for sacrifice, and others for common sustenance: Their Corn was Ground by the Women on a broad Stone, on which they cast the Grist, and on the top thereof they laid another Stone in the fashion of a Half Moon, not round, but with a point of three fingers broad at each corner. At the corners of the Stone, made Half Moon wise, they laid their hands, rubbing and pressing it hard on the Mayz, untill it was broken: This difficulty and trouble they had in Grinding their Mayz, and all other Grane; for which reason they did not commonly eat Bread. They did never beat their Corn in Mortars, though they had learned the way of it; because it required more labour of the Armes, than the Grinding with a Stone, the weight of which made the work more easie: And then the good Housewife having ground awhile, with one hand lifts up the upper Stone, and with the other sweeps up the Corn, gathering it into the midst of the Quern, which for the likeness of it we may call a Pulling-Mill, because of the strokes which they gave on it with their hands. They made also a kind of a Hasty-Pudding, called *Api*, which was a great Dish amongst them, and which they eat with much delight; but this was esteemed high feeding, and not common at every meal. The Flour they divided from the Bran, in this manner, they laid all upon a clean cloth made of Cotton, and then spread it with their hands all over the Cotton-cloth; the finest part of the Flour would stick to the Cotton, but the more gross parts of the Bran would remain loose from it, and so they easily took it up, and divided it with their hands; then they swept up the Flour which stuck to the cloth into the middle; and having taken that away, they brought more, untill they had cerned and sifted all their Grist; but they chiefly took this pains for the sake of the *Spaniards*, and not of the *Indians*, who were not so curious in their diet, but that the coarsest sort of this Bran would go down with them; for the Bran of Mayz is not so harsh or choaky, as much to offend the palate. This was their manner of dividing the Bran from the Flour, for as yet the use of Sieves was not brought from *Spain*, by reason that their Bread was all made of this Mayz, and not of Wheat: All which I can testify to have seen with my own eyes, having been nourished for nine or ten years with no other Bread than that of *Cara*, which is Mayz; the which is of three sorts: *Cancu* is for Sacrifice, *Huminta* for their Feasts, and great Entertainments; *Tanta*, with an aspiration on the top of the mouth, is common Bread. *Cara*, when it is parched, they call *Cancha*, which being pronounced with an N, *Cancha* signifies a Street, or Neighbourhood. The boiled *Cara*, they called *Muti* (and the *Spaniards* *Mote*) which is boiled Mayz, having two Names for the same thing. Of the Flour

Flour of Mayz the *Spanish* Women made Biskets and Fritters, and other Dishes, both for healthfull, and people that were sick; for the Physicians in that Countrey forbid Wheaten bread to all those that are sick, and prescribe them no other diet, than what is made of Mayz. Of this Flour, with water, they brew their Drink, which the *Indians* know how to make fower after a certain manner, that it becomes excellent Vinegar. Of the Canes before the Mayz is ripe, they make rare Honey; and after it is ripe, the Canes being dried, are good feeding for all Cattel. Some *Indians*, who love to be drunk, lay *Cara* steeping in the water, untill it be grown, and then they grind it, and boil it in the same water, and afterwards draw it off, and keep it untill it be stale: This is the strongest drink they have, and which presently makes them drunk, they call it *Vinnapu*, and in other Languages *Sora*. The *Incas* forbade it, because it was so violent and strong, though now, they say, it is come in use again amongst some toping fellows. All these uses, as we have said, they have of this *Cara*, besides many others in Medicines and Physick, and in Plasters, as we have mentioned in the other part.

The next sort of Grane, which is ripe in the Harvest of that Countrey, is that which they call *Quinna*, or small Rice, because in form and colour it much resembles it. This Plant in the stalk or blade, is very like our Spinage, the leaf being very tender, and much used by the *Spaniards* and *Indians* in all their boiled Dishes, and is put into all their Broths and Potages. The *Indians* also in those Countries, which do not produce Mayz, make their Drinks of this *Quinna*; and the *Indian* Physicians make use of the Flour of it in all their Medicines for the sick. In the year 1590 they sent me some of the Seeds of this *Quinna* into *Spain*, which I sowed at divers times and seasons, but never came up. Besides this Grane, they have three or four sorts in *Peru* of Fetches, like Kidney-beans, which they put into their boiled Meats, called *Purru*: they are in Shells or Pods, like our Lupines in *Spain*, though bigger and whiter, called *Tarvi*: They have also a sort of these Beans which are not to be eaten, called *Chuy*, of divers colours: they are used for Counters in play by Men in years, and Boys in their common sport; the variety of which, for brevity, we omit.

CHAP. X.

Of Pulse and Roots which grow under ground.

THERE are many other things which are produced under ground, and yet are esteemed for excellent nourishment in the barren Countries, which yield no plenty or quantities of *Cara*: The chief Dish of all is *Papa*, which being boiled, or baked, serves them for Bread, and which they put into all their Dishes: To conserve it, they dry and wither it in the Sun, or Frost, and call it (as we have said) *Chuma*: There is another sort which they call *Oca*, of a very pleasant taste, it is long, and thick as a Man's middle finger; it is very sweet, being eaten raw; they boil it with their Meat; and to keep it, they dry it in the Sun; and it is so delicate, that without either Sugar or Honey it seems a Conserve, and then it is called *Cavi*. There is another sort like this in the shape, but not in the taste, being very bitter, and cannot be eaten unless it be boiled, and then they call it *Annu*. The *Indians* say that it is an Enemy to procreation: but those who would not lose their appetite to Courtship, holding in their hands a wand, or stick, at the time they eat it, can (as they say) find no hurt or prejudice by it. I have often heard them to talk and discourse to this purpose, and seen them practise it; but I believe it was rather by way of jest, or merriment, than out of belief of this old Women's story.

Those

Those Roots which the *Spaniards* call *Patacas*, and the *Indians* of *Peru* *Apichu*, are of four or five several colours, some are red, others white, others yellow, others brown, and are of different tastes, the worst sort are of those which are brought into *Spain*. They have also a sort of Goards, called *Roman* Goards, and in *Peru*, *Capallu*, they grow like Melons; they eat them boiled, or baked, but never raw. The sort of Goards of which they make Bottels, or Vessels, for all manner of uses, are very good, and in great plenty, which they call *Mati*; but the Goards which are eatable, were not known until the time of the *Spaniards*. There is another sort of Root which they dig out of the Earth, which the *Indians* call *Tuchic*, and the *Spaniards* *Mani*; all the Names which the *Spaniards* give to their Fruits and Pulse of *Peru*, are all taken from the Language used in the Island of *Barlovento*. The *Tuchic* both in the kernel and taste is very like Almonds: If it be eaten crude, it offends the head; if baked or parched, it is pleasant and wholesome, and with Honey makes admirable Almond cake; they also press Oil out of it for divers diseases. Besides these, there is another sort of Root which grows under ground, called by the *Indians* *Chuchuchu*, for which, as yet, the *Spaniards* have coined no proper Name, because they have no sort of that Fruit in the Islands of *Barlovento*, which are very hot Countries; but this grows in *Collao*, which is a cold Climate; being eaten raw, it is delicious to the palate, and a great strengthener of the stomach, the Roots of it are much longer, and deeper in the ground than the *Anni-seeds*: It casts no leaf above ground, but only a green Fiber, which shews the place where the *Chuchuchu* is found; and when that greenness withers, it is a sign that the Fruit is ripe, and the season to gather it: This Fruit, and the *Tuchic*, are esteemed delicacies, fit for the palate of the rich and curious, rather than for the diet of the common people, who make it their business to gather and present them to the Rich, and persons of Power and Quality.

CHAP. XI.

Of Fruits and Fruit-Trees of the largest sort.

There is another sort of Fruit, excellent and good, which the *Spaniards* having no name for, call it a Cucumber, because it is something like it in its shape, though not in the taste, nor yet in the quality of it, being of good digestion, and such as they prescribe to persons sick of Calentures, or high Fevers, and of another nature to the Cucumbers of *Spain*. What name the *Indians* give them, I must confess that I have quite forgot; for which I blame my self, and cannot imagine the word they give it, unless it be *Cacham*; but I hope that the distance I am now from my own Country, and my long absence from thence will excuse my ignorance amongst my Countrymen, for whose sake I have undertaken this work, without other hopes or expectation of reward, than only to please and serve them. These Cucumbers are of three several sorts and sizes; the least, which are such as are in the form of a Heart, and grow in little bushes, are the best. There is another sort of Fruit called *Chili*, which was brought to *Cusco* in the year 1557. It is very delicious to the palate, and wholesome; it grows on branches which run almost level with the ground, it bears a kind of colour, or grance, like the *Arbutum*, and is of the same bigness, only it is not round, but rather long, in fashion of a Heart.

There are many other sorts of Fruits, which grow on high Trees, some of which are produced in hot Countries, such as are on the Sea-coast, about the *Ariz*, others in more temperate Climates, such as are the warm Vallies of *Peru*; but because these Fruits are common in many places, it will not be necessary to particularize the several sorts of them, but only to report in what manner they grow.

And

And first as to that Fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Guayavas*, and the *Indians* *Savintu*; we say, that they are of a round fashion like the common Apple, and with a skin or paring like them: In the meat, or pulp of it, are many little round seeds, less than Grape-stones; some of which are yellow without, and red within, and are of two kinds; some are so fower, that they cannot be eaten, others are sweeter, and very pleasant to the palate; some are green without, and white within, and are much better than the red; though in some Countries on the Sea-coast they esteem the red much better than the white. The *Spaniards* make a Conserve of them, as also of other Fruits, which hath been practised since my departure out of *Peru*. At *Seville* I saw some Fruit of the *Savintu*, which a Passenger, a friend of mine, brought from *Nombre de Dios*; and because it was a Fruit of my own Country, he invited me to the eating of it.

Another Fruit the *Indians* call *Pacoy*, and the *Spaniards* *Guavas*, which grow in green Pods, of about a quarter of a Yard long, and two fingers broad; within the pod, or shell, there is a kind of hairy substance, like cotton; and so much resembles it, that some New-comers out of *Spain* have quarrelled with the *Indians* for giving them Cotton to eat; but when they tasted them, they found them sweet and pleasant; being dried in the Sun, they will keep a long time: within the Pod they have a black Seed, like small Beans, but those are not to be eaten.

The Fruit which the *Spaniards* call Pears, because they resemble them in the greenness of their colour and shape, the *Indians* call *Palta*, because they first grew in a Province of that name. They are two or three times bigger than the largest size of Pears in *Spain*; they have a fine skin, or rine, which covers them, under which is the pulp, or meat, of about a finger thick, within which there is a shell, or stone; they are of the same form as the common Pears with us; there hath been no experiment, whether they be Medicinal, or not; only 'tis certain, they are pleasant to the taste, and wholesome for the sick; and being eaten with Sugar, they are a rare confection.

They have also another sort of wild Fruit, which the *Indians* call *Rucma*, and the *Spaniards* *Lucma*; it is in no manner pleasant to the taste, though it be rather sweet, than sharp or bitter; howsoever, it is a gross kind of feeding, the Fruit being about the bigness of a common Orange; in the meat of it, it contains a kernel or seed of a Chestnut-colour, which is so bitter, that it cannot be eaten. Moreover the *Indians* had a sort of Plums which they called *Ussu*, which are red, and sweet; and being eaten, they turn the Urine into a colour like blood.

T t

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Tree Mulli; and of their Red Pepper.

Amongst the other Fruits of this Countrey, we may reckon that which is produced by the *Mulli* Tree; it grows of it self wild in the Fields; it bears its Fruit within long and slender bunches, with Seeds as small as Coriander, the leaf is small, and always green: the Seeds being taken in their due season, are sweet, and well tasted at the top, but within are very bitter. Of these Seeds they make a sort of liquor, which pressing gently in their hands in warm water, they squeeze out the sweet juice, which is at the top of the Seed; but are carefull not to press it over hard, lest they should come to the bitterness of the Seed, and so spoil the brewing. This water being strained, and kept three or four days, untill it hath done working, is very wholesome and pleasant Beverage: it is very diuretick, and cleansing of the Kidnies and Reins; and being mixed with the drink which is made of Mayz, is much stronger, and more pleasant. The same water being boiled up, grows thick, and becomes sweet like Honey; and the same water being set in the Sun, with a certain Ingredient which they put into it, turns to very sharp and strong Vinegar. The milky juice and rasmie which sweats from this *Mulli* Tree, as we have said in another place, is an excellent Balsam for green Wounds. The leaves of it being boiled in water, is a rare Elixivium, and wholesome to bathe the body and legs in; for it scours off the scurf, and cures old boils and wounds; and little sticks being cut from the tender boughs, are excellent Dentifrices for the Teeth. I have known the Valley of *Cocca*, in my time, over-spread with innumerable Trees of this sort, which were very beneficial, and of great use; and in a few years afterwards they were all cut down, and destroyed: the reason was, because they felled them to make Charcole; for though there was great trouble to kindle them, yet being once lighted, they keep their fire, untill they are quite burnt out.

Amongst these Fruits, the chief and principal of them all, because it agrees best with the palate of the *Indians*, and which they put into all their Dishes and Sauces, whether boiled or roasted, is that which they call *Uchu*, and we Red Pepper; and the *Spaniards* *Axi*, which is the Language of *Barlovento*, though in *Spain* they give it the name of *Pimiento*. The people of my Countrey are so fond of the *Uchu*, that they can eat nothing, though but crude Herbs without it; being esteemed so rich, and high in the taste, that they prohibit the use of it, at their times of Fasting and Mortification, as we have formerly mentioned. This Red Pepper is of three or four several sorts; the most common is thick and long, without any point, called *Rocot Uchu*, to distinguish it from others; they eat it in its season, when it is green, and before it hath taken its perfect colour: There are other sorts which are yellowish, and murry colour, though in *Spain* there is none but the red. There are other sorts of this Pepper, slender and long, as the middle finger, which being of the best kind, is used in the Families of the *Incas*. Another sort is small and round, about the bigness of a Cherry, the stalk not unlike it, called *Chinchi Uchu*, but is hotter than any of the others; and being rare, and in no great quantity, is more esteemed; and all these sorts of Red Pepper have this quality, that all venomous Insects fly from them, being a great enemy to them. I have heard a *Spaniard* say, that came from *Mexico*, that it is excellent good for the Eyes; and for that reason they always eat two Cods of this Pepper after Meals; generally all the *Spaniards*, that come from the *Indies*, make it their common Sauce in all their Dishes, and which favours better with them than all the Spices which come from the *East-Indies*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Tree Magucy, and the Virtues of it.

Amongst the Fruits of this Countrey, we may account that which the *Spaniards* call *Magucy*, and the *Indians* *Chuchau*, which serves for many uses to them, as we have elsewhere mentioned. *Blas Valera* reckons up many Virtues of this *Chuchau*, on which we shall touch in brief. "He says, that it is not pleasant to fight, the Timber being of a pale-coloured Wood, with a bark upon it; that they are commonly about twenty foot long, and not bigger in compass than a Man's arme or leg; the Pith within is light and spungy, and such as Pain-ers and Carvers use in their Sculptures. The leaves are thick, and half a Yard long, and grow all towards the bottom of the Tree, like Garden-Carducy; and for that reason the *Spaniards* give it the name of *Cardamum*, and may properly be so called, because it bears prickles on its leaf; the juice of them is very bitter, and serves to take spots out of Cloaths, it cures Cancers, assuages and cools Inflammations, and cleanses soars of all Worms. The same sap, or juice, being boiled with the Roots of that Tree in Rain-water, takes away all weariness from them, who wash themselves with it, and is a most Medicinal and wholesome Bath. Of these leaves, when they are taken in their season, and dried at the foot of the Tree, they make Cords as strong as those made with Hemp; hereof likewise they make Soals for their Shoes, Ropes, Halters and Head-stalls for their Horses, and other sorts of strong Work: Those that they cut, before they expose them to be dried in the Sun, they moisten and steep them first in water, that so the viscous humour, which makes them brittle, may be washed away. From this leaf also they spin a finer sort of thread than the former, with which they make the Binders for their Heads, which serves them for Linen, where they have neither Wool nor Cotton, and something resembles the coarse cloth which is brought out of *Flanders*: And from this they spin likewise a finer thread than all this, wherewith they make their Nets to take small Birds; for these being laid in certain open places between two Hills, and fastned to Trees on both sides, they drive and frighten the Birds into the Nets; which being dyed green, are not easily discerned by them. These Nets are made very long, of six, eight, twelve, fifteen and twenty Yards long. The leaves of this *Magucy* Tree are hollow, and capable to receive great quantities of Rain-water, which is wholesome for divers diseases. The *Indians* save it, and brewing it with Mayz, or *Quinna*, or with the Seed of the *Mulli* Tree make a very strong liquor; likewise they make both Vinegar and Honey of it. The leaves of the *Chuchau* they grind, and make little cakes of Soap of it, with which the *Indian* Women washing their heads when they ach, it takes away all their pain; it cleanses Spots and Freckles from the skin; it makes the Hair to grow, and Dyes them very black. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*, onely I have added something of the largeness of their Nets which he had omitted. Now we shall tell you something more of the Virtue of this *Magucy*, how it makes the Hair grow, and turns it black, being done in an unusual and strange manner.

The *Indian* Women of *Peru* do all wear long and deshevelled Hair; which when it is very much and thick, they tie it up in breads about the thickness of a Man's thumb; onely the *Collas* living in a cold Countrey, cover their heads. The *Indian* Women do naturally love long and black Hair, which they wear without any covering or dress; and when they would dye it of Chestnut-colour, or when it tangles, or falls, in combing, they boil it in a Pan of water with certain Herbs, one of which sort of Herbs, as *Blas Valera* saith, was *Chuchau*, and I think it was so, to my best remembrance; for when I was a Boy, I often saw them use it, though I did not much observe or enquire concerning it. What I remember is, that I saw the Women put their Hair into a Pan of hot water, which boiled with

fire under it; they used a kind of a Screen for their Necks to defend them from the fire; taking care that neither the water should scald, nor the fire burn their heads; and those Hairs which could not be put into the Pan of boiling water, they dipped after with the water which had by infusion received virtue, and a deep tincture from the Herbs. In this tormenting posture of holding their heads back, that their Hair might sink in the water, they would continue sometimes for the space of two hours, though I cannot precisely say the time, because that being a Boy then (as I said) I was not so curious as to observe the strict minutes; however, I cannot but wonder at the pains they did take, and the torments they sustained for a non-sensical piece of folly: But then again methinks I could excuse them, when I consider the pains which the *Spanish* Ladies undergo, and the time they spend in trimming and curling up their Hair; for they smother it with Sulphur, and wet it with *Aqua fortis* to make it shine; and then they spread it in the hot Sun, of the Dog-days, making other kinds of Elixiviums to wash it in, which are of such a nature as I know not, which is most pernicious to the health either of that which the *Indian* Women use, or that which is so common with the Ladies in *Spain*. The *Indian* Women have also other Waters in which they bathe and dye their Hair, whereby they become blacker, and with a more shining lustre than the Feathers of Ravens, that after moulting are new grown. This and much more can Women contrive and endure, that they may seem beautifull.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Platane, the Pine-Apple, and other Fruits.

BUT to return again to our discourse about those Fruits which are produced in the *Antio* of *Peru*, which are the most hot and moist parts of all those Provinces, we shall onely touch upon those which are the most remarkable, and in the first place speak of that Tree and Fruit which the *Spaniards* called the *Platane*, which in its height and leaf resembles much the Palm, being very broad and green. These Trees grow wild, and of themselves, and thrive best in a moist, rainy Climate, such as the *Antio*; the boughs of which are so large, that *Acosta* saith, that on one branch onely there are those who have counted 300 *Platane*-Nuts; they grow in a shell, which hath neither rine nor bark over it, but something like a husk, that is easily pilled off; it is of about a quarter of a Yard long, and about three fingers in thickness.

Blas Valera also writing of this Tree, saith, That when the bunches of their Fruit come to full growth, that they then cut them off, left the weight of them should tear them off from the body or trunk; which being of a soft, spongy kind of substance, is neither fit for timber nor fire. These bunches of Fruit they lay up in Jars to ripen, strowing them over with a certain Herb, which serves to hasten and force them to grow ripe and mellow: the Meat of them is tender, sweet and pleasant; and being laid in the Sun, are like a conserve, or confection: they boil them in their Broth, and serve them for Sauce in their roasted or boiled Meats; and in every way they are good, having a sweetness like Honey, or Sugar, and make several Conserves of them: The bunches which hang long upon the Trees are most delicious and delightful: the Trees are about two Yards high, some more, and some less. There is another sort of *Platans* which are less, which they call *Dominicos*, to distinguish them from others; because the shell, when it is young and tender, is white; and when the Fruit is ripe, and in its season, it is white with black spots; but this sort is not half so big as the other, but yet is much better, and therefore is not so common, nor in that plenty, as the other is.

They

They have another sort of Fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Pinna*, because of the likeness it hath with the *Pine-nuts* in *Spain*; but these resemble one the other in shape and form onely, being in the substance of a different nature; for these *Pinna* being opened with a Knife, yield a white and a most pleasant Kernel to the taste, having a little kind of an acidity with it, which is very savoury, and as big again as the *Pine-nuts* are in *Spain*. Likewise in the *Antio* they have a sort of Fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Manjar blanco*, (which is a meat made of the Beasts of *Capons* beaten up with Rose-water and Sugar) and they give it this Name, because that when it is divided in the middle it looks like two spoonfulls of this *Manjar blanco*, or white Meat; within are certain small black Stones, which are not to be eaten. This Fruit is about the bigness of a small Mellon, the Rind of it is as thick and hard as a dried Goard; within it is contained a most excellent juicy pulp, extremely delicious and pleasant to the taste, having a gratefull sharpness with it. There are many other sorts of Fruits in the *Antio*, which grow wild, and of themselves, such as the *Spaniards* call *Almonds*, being Nuts which resemble them in their form and likeness, but are of a different nature and taste; for the *Spaniards* who came first into *Peru*, seeing and observing the fruits of that Country, and wanting names to give them, called them by such names as were given to those Fruits, which most resembled them in *Spain*; and so they gave the name of *Almonds* to these Nuts, because they were something like them. And now leaving these Fruits and seeds of no great importance, which are produced in the *Antio*, let us discourse of those which are of most esteem in other parts.

CHAP. XV.

Of the pretious Leaf called Cuca, and of Tobacco.

BUT above all we must not omit to discourse at large of the Herb which the *Indians* call *Cuca*, and the *Spaniards* *Coca*, being that which is and hath been a considerable part of the Riches of *Peru*, and such as hath yielded great benefit to the Merchants. And indeed the *Indians* did justly esteem it for the rare Virtues and Qualities of it, which the *Spaniards* have not onely approved, but have also discovered several other specifick and medicinal Qualities belonging to it. *Blas Valera*, who was a very curious Person, and one who had resided many Years in *Peru*, and came from thence thirty years after my departure, hath wrote very largely of the many Virtues of this Herb, and such as he hath found out by his own experience. His Words are these: "The *Cuca* is a small tender Tree, or Bind, "about the height and bigness of a Vine; it produces not many Branches, but "is full of delicate Leaves, of about the breadth and length of a Man's Thumb, "it is of an excellent smell, and very fragrant; the *Spaniards* and *Indians* do both "give them the name of *Cuca*; the which is so much esteemed by the *Indians*; "that they prefer it before Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones. They plant and "manure them with great art and diligence, and gather them with great care, "pulling them leaf by leaf, and then lay them to dry in the Sun, and so the *Indians* eat them dry.

"The virtue and benefit of this *Cuca* is plainly observable in labouring Men, "who having eaten it are much refreshed, and often labour a whole day in the "strength of it, without other nourishment. The *Cuca* moreover preserves the "Body from many infirmities; and our Physicians make use of it, being dried and "beaten to powder, to ease and assuage the Inflammation, or swelling of any "Wound; it is good to strengthen bones which have been broken, and expell "colds from the Body, and to prevent them; it is good also to cleanse great "Wounds of Worms, and heal them; nor is the Virtue of it less being taken "inwardly, than it is by outward applications. Besides all which Virtues it yields "a great

"a great benefit to the Bishop and Canons; and other Dependents on the Cathedral Church of *Cusco*, the Tithes of the Leaves of *Cuca* being their greatest Revenue; it is also a great Commodity amongst the Merchants; notwithstanding all which good Qualities of the *Cuca*, there are many, who being ignorant of its Virtues have wrote against it; for no other reason, than because the Gentiles in ancient times did by their Diviners and Wizards offer this *Cuca* to their Gods in Sacrifice; and therefore having been abused to Idolatry, they conclude that it ought for ever to be esteemed abominable and prophane. This Argument might be available, if it had been the custome to offer this Herb onely to the Devil, but in regard that both ancient and modern Idolaters have made their Corn, and Fruits, and whatsoever grows above or beneath the earth, their Drinks and Water, their Wool and Clothing, their Flocks and Herds, and all things else, the matter and subject of their Sacrifices; we may argue from the same foundation, that all those things are defiled and rendred as abominable and unclean as the *Cuca*; but to the clean all things being clean, let us teach them to abhor and forsake their superstitious and idolatrous Worship, and let us, using our Christian Liberty, receive those Blessings with moderation and thanksgiving. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*. To which we shall add thus much farther, that this little Tree is about the height of a Man, in the planting of which they cast the seed in its green shell, and when it grows up, they then hoe and open the Earth for it, as they doe for Vines, supporting the tender twigs with stakes; and in planting they take great care that the tender roots be laid freight in the Earth, for with the least doubling they dry and wither; they take likewise the leaf of every sprig by it self, and holding it between their fingers, they cut it with great care till they come to the Bud, but do not touch it, for then the whole branch will wither; both the outside and inside of this Leaf in the greenness and shape of it, is like the *Arbutum*, onely the Leaves are so thin, that three or four of them being doubled, are not so thick as that of the *Arbutum*. I am pleased to find any sort of Fruits here in *Spain*, to which I may compare them; though the difference between them is so great, that they may easily be distinguished one from the other. When they gather the Leaves they dry them in the Sun; but care is to be taken that they be not over-dried, for then they lose much of their Virtue, and being very thin, soon turn into powder; nor will they bear much moisture; for they soon grow multy and rotten; but they lay them up in Baskets of slit Canes, of which many fine ones are made in the *Antia*. With the Leaves of those big Canes, which are about the third of a yard broad, and about half a yard long, they cover the top of the Baskets, to keep moisture from the Leaves, which is very prejudicial to them; and to consider the great pains and care which is taken to nourish this *Cuca*, and the provisions of all things which are made for it, we ought rather to render thanks to God for his abundant blessings in the variety of his Creatures, than to believe or conclude that what we write is fabulous or incredible; if these fruits were to be planted or nourished in other Countries, the charge and labour of them would be more than the benefit.

This Herb is gathered every four months, that is three times a year, and in the manuring of it care is taken to weed it often; for the Countrey being hot and moist, the Weeds grow apace, and the Herb sometimes increases so fast, that the season for gathering of it advances fifteen days; so that sometimes they have four Harvests for it in a year; the which a certain covetous Tithe-gatherer observing in my time, farmed the Tithes of all the principal and rich Inheritances and Possessions about *Cusco*, and taking care to keep them clear and clean from Weeds, he so improved his Revenue, that the year following the Farmer of the Tithes made two thirds more than what had been made in the preceding years; which caused a Law Suit between the Farmer and the Proprietor, but what the Issue was of it, I, that was then but a Boy, did not much remark.

Amongst many other Virtues of this *Cuca*, they say it corroborates the Gums, and fortifies the Teeth, and that it gives strength and vigour to any person that labours and toils, onely by carrying it in his mouth. I remember a Story which I heard in my own Countrey. That a certain Gentleman both by Bloud and Vertue, called *Rodrigo Pantoja*, journeying once from *Cusco* to *Rimac*, met with a poor *Spaniard* (for there are some poor there as well as here) travelling on foot, carrying a little Girl of about two years of age in his Armes; and being an acquaintance of

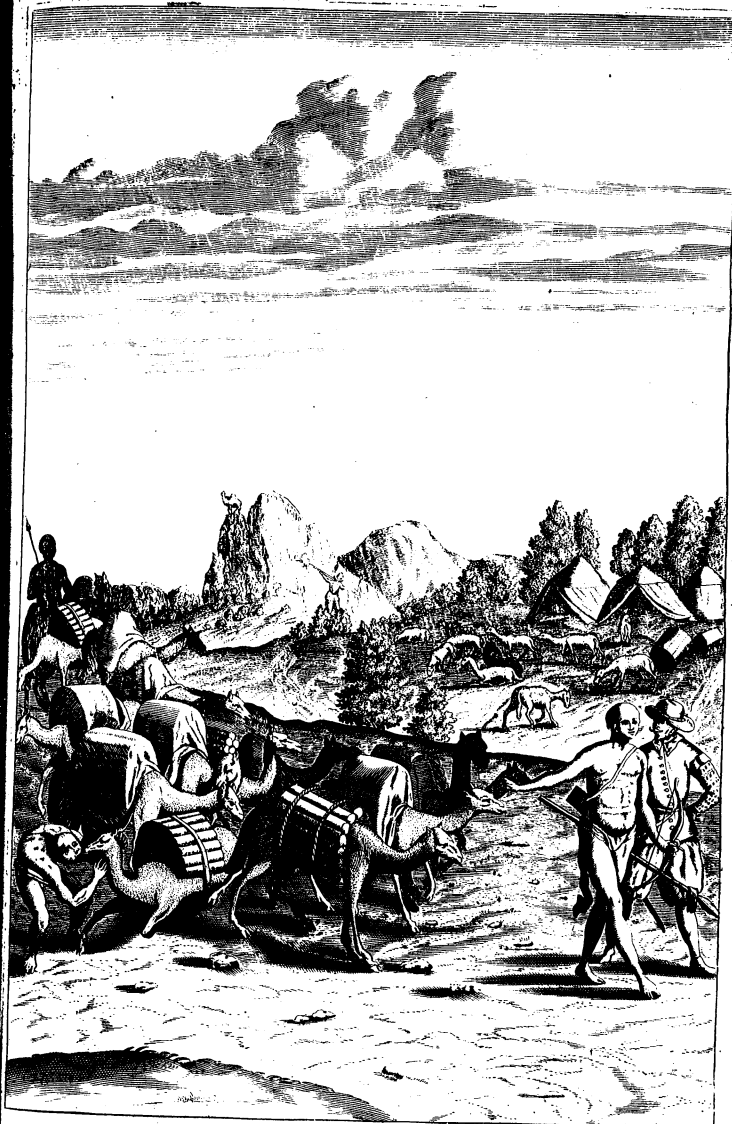
of this *Pantoja*, he asked him how he came to give himself the trouble of carrying that burthen; to which the person that was on foot replied, that he was poor, and had not money to hire an *Indian* to carry it: In this discourse with him *Pantoja* observed that his mouth was full of the *Cuca*, and it being at that time that the *Spaniards* abhorred all things which the *Indians* did eat or drink, because they had been abused to Idolatry, and particularly they hated the *Cuca*, as a bale and stinking Weed, which gave cause to *Pantoja* to ask him farther, why he, being a *Spaniard*, did use those things which the *Spaniards* hated; for his necessities could never be so great as to compell him to Meats or Customs unlawfull. To which the Souldier replied, that though he abhorred it as much as the *Spaniards*, yet necessity forced him to imitate the *Indians* therein; for that without it he could never be able to travell and carry his Burthen, for that holding it in his mouth, he found such refreshment and strength; that he was able to carry his Load, and perform his Journey with chearfulness. *Pantoja* wondring at this Report, related it to many others, who afterwards making the same experiment thereof, found that the *Indians* made use of it rather for their refreshment and necessity, than for any pleasure in the taste, which in it self is not very pleasant or agreeable. Hereafter we shall discourse in what manner they carry it to *Potosi*, and how they trade and make Merchandise of it.

As to that Plant which the *Spaniards* call *Tobacco*, and the *Indians* *Sayri*, we have already discoursed in an other place. Dr. *Monardes* writes many wonderful things of it. As to *Sarsa Parilla*, we need not speak much, since the Virtues and excellent Operations of it are already known both in the new and the old World, especially in the cure of the Venereal Disease, and other acute Distempers: There are many other Herbs in *Peru* of those medicinal Qualities, that as *Blas Valera* saith, if they were well known, and searched into by some experienced Botanist, there would be no need of bringing any Herbs or Drugs thither from other parts of the World. But our *Spanish* Physicians do so little addict themselves to the knowledge of Herbs growing in those Countries; that even the Virtues of those formerly known by the *Indians* are forgotten; which are so many, that the study of them is difficult and abstruse: the *Indians* know not their Virtues and Qualities, but distinguish them onely by bitter and sweet; sometimes eating them raw, as we do Lettuce and Radishes, and sometimes they make pottage of them, and stew them with other things; and which the poorer sort make the best part of their Diet, having no store or abundance of Fish, or Flesh, to make their Food. The bitter Herbs, such as are the Leaves which they gather from the Bushes, called *Sunchu*, and the like, they boil in two or three several Waters, and afterwards dry them in the Sun, and keep them for the Winter provisions; for which also they gather all the little Snags and Cockles they can find on the Banks of Rivers, or on the Sea-Coast.

CHAP. XVI.

Of their tame Cattel, and of the great Caravans, or Drovers of them.

THE tame Cattel which God hath given to the *Indians* of *Pern*, are of two sorts, which, as *Blas Valera* saith, are of a Disposition as gentle and easie as the *Indians* are themselves; being so tame, especially those which serve to carry their burthens, that a Child may be able to govern them. These are of two sorts, some of a bigger kind, and some of a less; in general the *Indians* give them the name of *Llama*, and the Shepherd or Pastor of them, *Llama Micbec*. In distinguishing them one from the other, they call the greater *Huanacullama*, because it hath a likeness with that brave and fierce Creature, which is called *Huanacu*, being of the same shape with it, but different onely in the colour; the tame *Huanacu* varies as much in its colours as the Horses do in *Spain*, but the wild is of a dark Chestnut colour onely. This Creature is about the size or bigness of the Hart or Stag in *Spain*, but resembles a Camel most of any other, the bunch upon the back onely excepted, but in proportion is but one third of its bigness; its Neck is long and smooth, the Skin of which being flead, the *Indians* used to make it gentle and supple, and being dressed after their fashion, served for soles to their Shoes; but because they had not attained to the Skill of Tanning of Leather, they always took off their Shoes when they were to pass wet, or Waters, because the moisture spoiled them, and made them like a Gut, or Tripe. The *Spaniards* made Reigns of them for their Horses, after the Fashion of those which come from *Barbary*, as also Girts and Cruppers for their Saddles. This sort of Cattel is usefull both to the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, for carrying their Merchandize from and to what place they please; but commonly they chole such ways where the Country is plain and even, as is between *Cusco* and *Potocchi*, being about two hundred Leagues; and likewise from many other parts they go and come to and from those Mines, carrying Provisions, Commodities of the *Indians*, Merchandizes from *Spain*, such as Wine, Oil, Conferences, and all other things which are consumed in that Country, and especially that Herb which is called *Cuca*. I remember that in my time they had Drovers of that Cattel which carried burthens, sometimes six or eight hundred, or a thousand in a *Caravan*; and that a drove of five hundred was esteemed as nothing. The burthen which one of these Beasts will carry is about three or four Aroves, (an Arove in *Spain* is about twenty five pounds weight) and will travel about three Leagues a day, which is about nine Miles. They are not to be driven beyond their usual pace, for if they are, they will tire, and lie down, and then all that can be done to them, cannot raise them, though they ease them of their Burthen, and take off their Saddles; for when they come to raise them up, they presently eject all they have in their Maw, or Stomach, into their Mouths, whence they cast it, if possible, into the Faces of those who disturb them; which seems to be the onely Revenge and instrument they are able to exercise, having no Horns like the Stag or Hart. Howsoever the *Spaniards* call them Mutton, or Sheep, though the difference between these and those be as much as we have before mentioned. And that these Creatures, nor any of them, may tire, and hinder the Travels of the whole Caravan, or Drove, they have always forty or fifty of them, which go loose, and free of burthen in their company, and so soon as they observe that one begins to tire, they presently ease him of his Burthen, and lay it upon another, for if he once lies down, there is no remedy, though you kill him, to raise him again. The Flesh of this sort of Cattel is the best, and most favoury of any in the World, being both tender and wholesome. The Physicians prescribe the Flesh of the young ones of four or five months old to their Patients, and prefer it far before Hens or Chickens.



In the time of the Vice-king, called *Blasco Nannez Vela*, in the year 1544. and 45. amongst other Contagions at that time in *Peru*, there was a Murrain amongst this sort of Cattel, which the *Indians* called *Carache*, being a certain Mange, or Scab, a Disease never known before in those parts; it took them first in the Legs and Ventricle, and then diffused it self over all the Body, rising in Bunches three or four fingers high; which sometime burst with Matter and Bloud, and issued in that abundance, that the poor Creature died in two or three days. This Murrain was so contagious, to the great trouble and affliction both of the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, that two thirds of the greater and lesser Cattel dyed, both *Paco* and *Huanach*; and farther it extended it self to the wild *Huanach* and *Vicuna*, though it was not so mortal amongst them, because they belonged to colder Countries, and did not herd in such droves as the tame Cattel. This Murrain also extended it self to the very Foxes, and affected them in so cruel a manner; that as I remember in the Year 1548. when *Gonzalo Pizarro* was at *Cuzco*, and victorious after the Battel of *Huarina*, I saw a great many Foxes which were seized with this Plague come into the City by night, and in the morning were found dead in the Streets, having great boils on their Backs, from Head to Tail, which were caused by this Plague amongst Beasts. The *Indians*, who were very superstitious in matters of this nature, did from hence prognosticate the Death of *Pizarro*, which accordingly ensued in a short time afterwards. When this Murrain first began amongst the Cattel they applied many Remedies, which served rather to encrease than abate the evil; amongst which one was to kill or bury alive one of the kind which was infected, as *Acsa* mentions in his 4th Book; but in regard the evil encreased so fast, that neither the *Indians* nor *Spaniards* knew in what manner to give a stop to it; they at length made a trial how it might be done by fire, or cauterizing; then they tried to cure it by preparations of Mercury, and Sulphur, and Hogs-grease, but all proved too violent Remedies, so that the Cattel dyed the more speedily by them. At length, after many experiments made, they found none better than to anoint the parts where the Scab arose with Hogs-grease, melted and warm, taking great care to observe if the Scratches began on their Legs, and then to anoint them, for the Murrain seized them first there, before it spread it self into the upper parts. This was the best remedy they found, yet served for little untill the evil influences were over, which were the causes of it. And by reason of the great benefit, which they found by this Grease, they very much esteemed of Hogs, though for the numbers of them they were cheap, and yielded no great price. It is observable that this general Plague upon almost all sorts of Cattel, did not yet touch the wilder Animals, such as Stags, and Fallow-Deer, because perhaps they were of another temper. I remember that in *Cuzco* they made choice of *St. Antonio* for their Saint and Protectour against this Murrain, for which cause they solemnize a Festival to him every year.

Though this sort of Cattel be great and large, (as we have said) and the Journeys long which they travell, yet they put their Masters to no charge, either in their Meat, or Shoeing, or Stable, nor in their Pack-saddles, or Girts, or Cruppers, or Stays, or other Utensils which our Carriers use; for when they come to the end of their days journey, they onely throw off their burthen, and send them to feed on the Grass which the Land affords, being at no charge, either of Straw or Corn, though they would gladly eat Corn, if their Masters would be so kind as to bestow it upon them. Then as to their shoeing there is no need of it, for besides that they are cloven footed, they have a kind of a callous, or spongy matter on their Feet, without a Hoof. Then for their Pack-saddles they have no need of them, because they have so much wool on their Backs as serves in the place of a Saddle, and keeps the burthen fast and close, which the Masters of them take care to lade in such manner, as that it may lie even, and well poised, and not touch so far as to gaul the Withers; nor have they need of a Surcingle which our Carriers use, for the Beast wearing no Pack-saddle, all Girts or Cords may rub off the Fleh; howsoever many of them travelling in a Drove were tied one to the other, having 20 or 25 beasts running loose, so as to ease and change the Burthens of those which were tired. The Merchants in travelling carried their Tents with them, which they pitched in the Fields, wheresoever they found it convenient to lodge and repose; and there unloaded their Merchandize; so that they never entred into Villages or Towns, because too much time and labour would be lost to put their Cattel to Grass, and then to go and fetch them up. In their

Journey from *Coxco* to *Potocchi* in going and returning they are commonly four months, besides the time that they are detained at the place for traffick, and packing up their Merchandize. One of this sort of Sheep, which was of the best kind, was worth in *Coxco* eighteen Ducats, and one of the more ordinary twelve or thirteen. The chief Merchandize brought from that City was *Cuca*, and Garments for the *Indians*. All that I have before spoken I have seen and observed with my own Eyes, but how things have been ordered since my departure, I know not. I have traded with many of them for this commodity, as the Merchants went and came, and I am assured that some of these Travellers have fold a Basket of this *Cuca* for above thirty Pieces of Eight, weighty Money. And notwithstanding the value of their Commodities, and that these Caravans, or Drovers of Sheep, returned with thirty, forty, fifty, and an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, yet such was the security of those Countries, and the little danger they had of Thieves, or Robbers, that they lodged and slept in the open Fields, without other Guards or Defence than their own. The like security and confidence did Men use in their dealings and Merchandize, as also in payment of their Rents, or Loans of Money, making no Conveyance, or Writing, or Obligation, besides their mere Word; which they kept and observed so punctually, that when a Spaniard had lost Money by Play, he would say to the Winner, *Tell such a one, that the Money which he owes me he should pay to you, in Satisfaction of what you won of me at Cards*. These Words were esteemed as sufficient as a Bill of Exchange, for such was the Innocence and the simplicity of those Countries, that no scruple was made in giving all belief and credence thereunto; and this was so common, that whether the Person were a Merchant, or a Soldier, or a Lord of *Indians*, his Word would pass, and he was credited in every thing that he uttered; and such was the security of the ways, that it seemed the golden Age, wherein was no fraud nor violence amongst Mankind. And as I understand it continues still so in those Countries.

In times of Peace, when all Wars were ceased, many Nobles and Gentlemen having no employment, thought it no diminution to their Honour, rather than to remain idle, to travel frequently to *Potocchi*, and trade in *Cuca*, and other *Indian* Commodities, but then it was not esteemed honourable to sell or buy them by parcels, but by the whole sale; nor yet to deal in *Spanish* Commodities, or to sell by the yard, or open a Shop. Howsoever many of them were pleased to travel with their Commodities, it not being esteemed ignoble for Men of Quality to be Merchants; but then they did not go according to the pace of their Drovers, but often went out of the way, and diverted themselves with their Hawks, and Spaniels, Greyhounds, and Guns, hunting as their Cattel travelled; and then at night when they came to the place of repose, they would entertain themselves with what they had killed, perhaps with a dozen of Partridges, with a *Huanachu*, or *Vicuña*, or some other sort of Venison, for the Country being wide and large, was full of all sorts of Game: And in this manner entertaining themselves in going and coming, their Journeys seemed rather designed for Pleasure than for Merchandize; which was an employment so far from diminishing the Honour of the Noble Soldiers, that it was an addition to their Fortune and Reputation. *Joseph Acosta* in his 4th Book speaks much in praise of this bigger sort of Cattel, and of the profit which they bring. But of the lesser sort, which is of the same species with these, called *Pacollama*, there is not much to be said; for they are not usefull for Burthens, or in that manner serviceable: howsoever their Flesh is almost as savoury and as good as that of the bigger sort; and their Wooll is excellently good and long, with which they make three sorts of Stuffs for clothing, which the *Indians* die with such excellent colours, that they never fade: But the *Indians* make no use of the Milk either of the bigger or lesser sort of this Cattel for making Cheese, or eating it otherwise; the truth is, they yield little Milk, and no more than suffices for the nourishment of their Young. In my time they brought Cheefes from *Mayorca* to *Pern*, which were greatly esteemed. Milk, and the Dug, and Sucking, are all called by the same Word *Nuuma*. The *Indians* have no Dogs, but such as are Curs, and not of that difference of Races, and Kinds, as we have in *Europe*. The *Indian* Word for a Dog is *Alco*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their wild Cattel, and Vermine.

Before the time that the Spaniards came into *Pern*, the *Indians* had no other distinction or variety of tame Cattel, but onely of the *Paco* and *Huanachu*, as we have before specified. Of their wild Cattel they had much more variety, of which they made notwithstanding the same benefit, and use, as they did of the tame, according as we have specified, in the Chapter of their Huntings, which they performed at their certain seasons. One sort of this wild Cattel was called *Huanachu*, for the likeness it had to that of the greater kind, which was tame; the Flesh of which was very excellent and savoury, though not so good as that of the tame; in short, they resemble each other very much, both in Colour, Wool, Shape, and every thing else. The Males of these Creatures always keep watch on high Hills, whilst the Females are feeding in the lower Pastures, which so soon as they espie people coming towards them, they presently make a bleating, (which resembles the neighing of a Horse) to give warning to them to fly and save themselves; and then the Males stay untill their Females come up, which they put before them, and remain themselves in the rear. The Wool of this wild *Huanachu* is short and coarse; howsoever the *Indians* made use of it for their clothing; and in my time the Spaniards used to take them with their Greyhounds.

The *Vicuña*, which is another sort of wild Cattel, resembles the *Paco*; and is a neat Creature, but very lean, and yields great abundance of fine Wool. *Acosta* writes of the many medicinal Virtues which belong to this Creature; and as he describes the Beasts and Fowl of all the new World, so in reading of his Writings we ought to distinguish those of *Pern* from other parts. The *Vicuña* is long legged, and higher than the biggest Goat; the colour of its Wool is of a light Chelut, or as some call it, Lion-coloured; they are so nimble and swift, that no Greyhound can take them, and therefore they kill them with Guns, or take them in toils, as they practised in the times of the *Incas*. They feed commonly in the highest parts of the mountains near the Snows; the Flesh may be eaten, though it be not so savoury as that of the *Huanachu*; and though it be lean and tough, is yet esteemed by the *Indians*.

They have Fallow Deer and Stags in *Pern*, though they are much less than those in *Spain*, the *Indians* call them *Tavuca*; they were in such numbers, in the times of the *Incas*, that they were common and tame, and would come into the Villages; and from all these wild Beasts they now take out the Bezar-stone, though in my time it was a thing not imagined, or sought for. They have certain sorts of wild or mountain Cats, which they call *Ozcollo*, being of two or three kinds.

Their Foxes are much less than those in *Spain*, which they call *Atoc*; they have also other little Animals, lesser than our House-cats, which the *Indians* call *Annas*, and the Spaniards *Zorrinas*; if their Smell were sweet, as it is stinking, it would surpass the Musk or Amber; but as it is fetulent, it is the most offensive smell in the World, and the stink of it is so strong, that it may be smelt at the distance of a hundred paces, and though the Doors and Windows are shut, yet the stink is so subtil, that it will find an entrance at the Crevices: It is well that these Creatures are not in great numbers, for if they were, they were able to poison and stench up a whole Country. They have both tame and wild Conies, different from each other, both in colour and taste; they call them *Coy*; some tame Conies have been brought from *Spain*, though the *Indians* will give little for them; and yet because their Countries do not abound in Flesh, they esteem them for great Delicacies, and eat them with much delight. There is another sort of Cony which they have called *Vizcachta*, it hath a long Tail like a Cat, and is bred in the Mountains where the Snows lie. In the Reign of the *Incas*, and many years after, untill the times that I remember they made great use of the Skins of these Conies,

Conies, spinning and weaving the Wool into their fine Cloths, for variety of colours; the colour of which is a light grey, and is very gentle and soft in the touch, and so much esteemed amongst the *Indians*, that they used it only in clothing for the Nobles.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of their Lions, Bears, Tigers, Apes and Monkeys.

THE Lions in *Pern* are few in number, and neither so large nor fierce as those in *Africa*, which they call *Puma*. They have also some Bears, but not many, because that the Country of *Pern* is not proper for them, not being mountainous to that degree, as is agreeable to Beasts of that fierce nature; and, as they said, the *Incas* commanded in their Huntings, that they should be killed, and no quarter given to Beasts of Prey and Slaughter: The Bear is called *Yanuari*. There are no Tigers, but only in craggy and horrid Mountains of the *Antis*, where also Serpents are produced of a prodigious bigness, being of about twenty five to thirty foot long, which they call *Amaru*, and in compals as big as a Man's Thigh, where also are great numbers of Snakes, or lesser Serpents, called *Machachway*, and poisonous Serpents, and many other venomous Insects; but *Pern* is free of these venomous Creatures. A certain *Spaniard*, with whom I was acquainted, killed a Lioness of a prodigious bigness within the *Antis*, on that side which borders toward *Cocoto*; which having lodged her self in a high Tree, he shot her down with four Arrows, and ripping her up, found her with young of two Whelps, which were the Cubs of a Tiger, well known by their Spots. What the Word is for a Lion in the general Tongue of *Pern*, I have forgot; and yet I cannot much reproach my memory, but rather lay the fault on my own neglect, not having in the space of forty two years either spoken or read in that Language, which I think is a very good excuse to any who would blame me for this forgetfulness. I think the Tiger is called *Ururunchu*, though *Acofta* calls a Bear *Owroncos*, according to the corrupt manner of the *Spanish* pronunciation. There is another sort of animal in the *Antis*, very like a Cow, but without Horns, nor yet so big; the Hide makes a most strong sort of Leather, and, as some say, resists a Sword better than Buff, or a Coat of Mail. They have wild Boars in shape like our tame Hogs, but there are not many of this kind on that side of the *Antis*, which borders upon *Pern*: And as to matters on the other remote parts of the *Antis*, it is not my design or purpose to treat. Monkeys and Apes there are many, both great and small, some of them with Tails, and others without them. Of the natures of them we might say much, but because *Acofta* hath wrote thereof at large, we shall use his own Words, as he sets them down in the 39th Chapter of his 4th Book, being agreeable to what both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* report, and of what I myself have been an Eye-witness: His Words follow. "There are great numbers of *Micos*, which are a sort of Monkeys, found in all the Mountains, as well those which are on the Main land, as in the Islands in *Antis*; they are of the same species with the Baboons, but differ in the length of their Tails, and in their proportion and size; some of them being three or four times bigger than others: Some of them are all black, others grey, and others spotted. Their activity and motion is such, that they seem to have reason, and discourse, leaping from one Tree to another, in imitation of Birds. In *Capita*, as I travelled from *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*, I saw one of these *Micos* spring at one leap from a Tree to another Tree, which grew on the other side of a Stream, which to me seemed most strange and wonderful. Their manner is to sit on their Tails at the end of a Bough, and thence to throw themselves to what place soever they please; and when the distance is so far, that they are not able to reach it, they use this

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"contrivance; many of them getting together, one hangs at the Tail of another, making a kind of a long Chain, with which fetching a long Swing, the lowermost throws himself with the help of the others, to the bough they aim at, where hanging by his fore feet, stretch out his Tail to the next companion, and so one helps the other, untill all are come over. The tricks and mimical postures which they have, are matters of great divertisement, and the actions which they perform in obedience to their Commanders, seem effects of humane Understanding, rather than of irrational Creatures. I saw one of these Monkeys at *Cartagena*, in the House of the Governour, of which they related such strange things as to me seemed almost incredible. They said, that they sent him often to the Tavern for Wine, with Money in one hand, and a Bottle in the other; and that when he was come to the Tavern, he would not deliver his Money untill he had received his Wine; if the Boys met with him by the way, and made a houting, or noise after him, he would set down his Bottle, and throw Stones at them, and having cleared the way, he would take up his Bottle and hasten home; and that though he loved Wine excessively, yet he would not dare to touch it, unless his Master gave him licence. They say also, that if he saw a Woman at any time fine, and well dressed, he would presently pull her by the Cloths, and ruffle them in a strange manner. Perhaps something may be reported of these Creatures more than I have seen; howsoever it is most certain that there is no Animal in the World so sagacious, and so delighted with humane Society as this sort and race of Monkeys; and because the Reports concerning the understanding of these Creatures are so strange that the Instances thereof seem incredible to me, and would perhaps appear fabulous to others, I shall therefore omit to mention them, and only blefs and admire the Authour of all Creatures, that amongst all his works made for the use and benefit of Mankind, he hath shaped and fashioned a Creature so ridiculous in its form and postures, as serves to move laughter, and yield matter of Recreation and Divertisement to Man, whom he hath made Lord of this Universe. Some have written that *Solomon* brought his Monkeys from the *West-Indies*, but I am of another opinion, and believe that they were fetched from the Eastern Parts. Thus far are the Words of *Acofta*, to which may be farther added, that these Apes and Monkeys carry their young ones at their backs, untill they are able to shift for themselves; the young ones taking hold with their fore-feet about their necks, and clasp their hind legs about their middle; all which, besides their tricks and inventions before recited, serve to demonstrate their sagacious dexterity, and shifts like experienced Souldiers in time of necessity. And because the noise they make is a Language, by which one understands the other; (as for my part I believe that all Birds and Beasts do by their several voices understand the meaning of their own species) therefore the *Indians* say, that they can speak, and that they disguise their want of speech to the *Spaniards*, lest they should send them to work in the Mines, and dig for Gold and Silver, and that in imitation of the *Indians* they carry their young ones at their backs. And thus much shall suffice to have spoken of Apes and Monkeys.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of their Tame and Wild-fowl both of Water and Land.

THE *Indians* of *Peru* have no tame fowl, but onely a sort of Ducks, so called by the *Spaniards*, because they have some kind of likeness with those in *Spain*: they are of an ordinary size, neither so big, nor so tall as a Goose, nor yet so little as a Duck; but something between both; the *Indians* call them *Nunas*, deriving their Name from *Nuna*, which is to suck, because they draw in their meat as if they were sucking; besides which they have no tame fowl in all that Countrey. As to Birds of the Air, and Water-fowl belonging to the Sea, or Rivers, they are of such variety, as is not possible for us to declare one quarter part of them; but we shall mention some of them which are most common: There are Eagles of all sorts, great and small, though not so large as they are in *Spain*: They have Hawks of divers kinds, some like those in *Spain*, and others not; the general word which the *Indians* have for them is *Huamans*; the lesser sort of Hawks have been brought thence into *Spain*, and are much esteemed: Those which in my Countrey are called *Noblets* are mettled Hawks; and long winged, with large talons, and are of a blackish colour. At *Cusco*, in the year 1557, a certain Gentleman of *Sevil*, who was a great Faulconer, used all his Art to teach and train up some of this Countrey Hawks for his pastime; in which he so far proceeded, as to make them come to hand, and to the lure readily at a far distance, but could never teach them to prey upon any game, so that he gave over his hopes of doing any good with those Hawks: There are other Fowls which we may reckon with those of prey, which are of a large size, called *Cuntur*, and by the *Spaniards* corruptedly *Condor*. Many of these fowls having been killed by the *Spaniards*, had their proportion taken, and from one point of their Wing to the other measured fifteen or sixteen Foot, which being reduced to Yards, makes five Yards and a third: Nature, to temper and allay their fierceness, denied them the talons which are given to the Eagle, having their feet tipped with claws like a Hen; howsoever their beak is strong enough to tear off the Hide, and rip up the Bowels of an Oxe: Two of them will attempt a Cow or Bull, and devour him; and it hath often happened, that one of them alone hath assaulted Boys of ten or twelve years of Age, and eaten them: Their colour is black and white, like a Magpye; it is well that they are but few in number; for if they were many, they would very much destroy the cattel: they have on the fore-part of their heads a comb, not pointed like that of a Cock, but rather even, in the form of a Razor; when they come to alight from the Air, they make such a humming noise with the fluttering of their Wings, as is enough to astonish, or make a Man deaf.

Acosta treating in his fourth Book concerning the Birds of the New World, speaks there particularly of the *Cuntur*; to which I refer those who are desirous to read and hear of strange and wonderfull things; he there hath these words: "The Fowls which they call *Cuntur* are of a vast bigness, and so strong, that they are able to prey upon Sheep and Calves, and do often devour them. *Acosta* treating also of the little Birds which are in *Peru*, which the *Spaniards* call *Tomincois*, and the *Indians* *Quenti*, which are of a golden azure colour, finer and brighter than that about the Neck of a Peacock: they feed like Bees, piercing with their long sharp bill into the Flowers, and suck from thence a sweetness, and Honey, with which they are nourished: they are so little, that *Acosta* speaks in this manner of them: "In *Peru* there is a sort of Birds so little called *Tomincois*, that when I have seen them upon the Wing, I have much doubted whether they were Bees, or Butterflies. And now that we have given a report of two sorts of Birds, so different in the extremes, there is no person will wonder at what we shall say of those which are of a moderate proportion. There is a sort of great Birds

Birds which are black, called by the *Indians* *Flynnu*, and by the *Spaniards* *Gallinaza*; they are great devourers of Flesh, and so ravenous, that if they find any carrion dead in the Fields, they gorge themselves with it to such a degree, that they are not able to fly; and when they find themselves in that condition pursued by Men, they run away on their legs, helping their flight with the fluttering of their Wings, vomiting up all their meat as they run; that it is pleasant to observe how they pursue their prey with the same eagerness as that with which they devoured it: Howsoever, if they are hardly pursued, they may be taken and killed; but Men forbear to destroy them, considering that they are not good for meat; and being a silly Bird, doth no hurt, but onely serves to devour carrion, and cleanse the streets and ways from filthiness. *Acosta* is of an opinion that it is a sort of Crow.

There is a sort of Sea-Birds which resemble these, such as the *Spaniards* call *Alcatrazes*, (in English Sea-Mews) they are less than Bustards; they live upon Fish, and it is pleasant to see how they take them. At certain hours of the Morning or Evening, when the Fish usually play and rise upon the surface of the water, which are the times also that these Birds are most hungry; they raise themselves high upon the Wing, from whence observing where the Fish move, they clap their Wings close, and fall with such a swoop, like a Hawk, that they never miss of their prey; and sometimes dive with such agility under water, following the shoals of Fish, that they arise again with their prey crossed in their beak; and then mounting in the Air, devour the Fish, and then try for others. It is very pleasant to see them stoop, and give blows upon the water, and dive into it, others to be at the same time in the Air, watching their opportunity; others having missed their stroke, to rise again: In short, to see at the same time 200 Hawks stooping, and mounting, like the Hammers of an Iron Mill. Besides these, there are flocks of Sea-birds of a lesser sort; howsoever, some are greater, and some are less; but in such incredible numbers, that they will sometimes cover the Sea of *Zur* for two or three Leagues in length, and fly so close together, that for such a compass they even darken the Sky: And hereby we may admire the Providence of the Eternal Majesty, who hath created such a multitude of Creatures, and therewith a sufficient provision of Fish, wherewith to support and maintain them. And thus much for Sea-fowl.

Now as to Water-fowl which belong to Rivers and Lakes in *Peru*, they are in great numbers; such as Herons, Wild-ducks, and Bran-geefe, and those which we call Shovelers; besides many others of a different kind, which we cannot exactly describe, by reason that we have not observed their variety with due attention: They have also Swans which live upon Fish, and are very white, without any mixture of black; they have long legs, very beautifull, and go always in couples, or pairs, but are in no great number.

C H A P. XX.

Of Partridges, Doves, and other smaller Birds.

There are two sorts of Partridges in my Countrey; one is like our Hens which lay Eggs, and these are found in the deserts, which the *Indians* call *Puna*; the other is lesser than our Partridge in *Spain*, but the flesh is excellent good, and more savoury than the greater kind; they are both of a greyish colour, their bill and feet being white; they name them *Tutu* from the sound of the call which they make; the lesser sort are of the same colour with our Quails, only that their beak is different; to most Birds the *Indians* give Names according to the inarticulate voice or noise they make, as we shall hereafter declare. I know not whether the Partridges of *Spain* have been transported to *Pern*, to make a breed of them in that part of the World: They have Wood-Pigeons, or Ring-Doves of the same colour and bigness as they are in *Spain*, they call them *Urpi*; House-Pigeons have been brought thither from *Spain*, which the *Indians* call *Casilla Urpi*: They have Turtles of the same colour and bigness as those in *Spain*, if not something larger; they call them *Cocobuay*, from the noise they make, which sounds something like it. They have another sort of Turtle about the bigness of a Thrush, or Lark, and of the same colour, they breed under the Eaves of a House, like our Sparrows, and some of them in the Fields, but those are few. They have a sort of small Birds of a greyish colour, which the *Spaniards* for the likeness of their colour, call Sparrows, but are different in their note, for these sing sweetly, and chirp not like the ordinary Sparrow: the *Indians* call them *Parlapichin*; they breed in the Mud-walls of Houses, or in Walls covered with Bushes, and sometimes also in the Field. They have another sort of small Bird, which we call a Nightingale, by reason of its reddish colour, but differs in its note as much as white and black, having that unpleasant sound, that the ancient *Indians* esteemed it as unlucky as the croaking of a Raven. They have another sort of small Birds of a blackish colour, which the *Spaniards* call Swallows, but they are rather Swifts, than Swallows, and come at their certain seasons; they commonly lodge, and make their nests, in places where people do inhabit; for my part, I never saw either Swallows or Martins in the Hilly Countries of *Pern*. The Birds of the Plains are the same with ours, but their Sea-fowl is much different. They have neither Plover, Heath-pouts, nor Thrushes in that Countrey, nor Cranes, nor Bustards; howsoever there may be others like them which I cannot remember.

In the Kingdom of *Chili*, which was within the Dominions and Empire of the *Incas*; there were Ostridges which the *Indians* call *Suri*, but their Feathers were not so fine and curious as those of *Africa*; their colours are commonly grey: they take no high flight, but making use of their Wings and Feet, flutter along, and run faster than a Horse. The *Spaniards* run them sometimes down with their Horses, but then two or three Horsemen chase them from one to another, until they are tired. In *Pern* they have a sort of Starlings, which fly in Flocks, and are of a black and grey colour; the *Indians* call them *Chayna* from the noise they make: they have also several other sorts of Birds, greater and lesser, of which, for the variety of them, I am not able to give an account. I remember that they have a kind of Kestrel, or Wind-hover, but of more spirit and courage than those which we have here, for those will adventure to prey upon small Birds. In the Plains of *Tucay* I once saw two Kestrels fly at a small Bird, which they had pursued a great way, and at last lodged her in a tall and thick Tree which is in that Plain. I left that Tree standing when I departed from thence, which the *Indians* in the time of their Gentility held, and esteemed for Sacred, because their Kings did often sit under the shadow of it, to see the diversements and pastimes which were represented in those Plains. These Kestrels following their natural sagacity, combined against the poor Bird; and one of them

them entered into the Tree, whilst the other soared aloft, being ready to take the Bird so soon as she adventured out. When the Bird was forced out by the Kestrel in the Tree, the other without stooped at her like a Hawk; which the Bird avoiding, returned again to the Tree, to shelter her self; then the Kestrel, which was on the Wing, entered in after her, whilst the other took her place in the Air; and thus they entered and sallied three or four times, until at last the poor Bird adventured to fly towards a building, where she sheltered her self within the hole of a Wall, so little, that the Kestrels could not enter, and so escaped from being made a prey unto them. All this time some *Spaniards* with great delight and curiosity observed the many shifts of these Creatures, which nature had taught them to maintain and preserve themselves. They have wild Bees in divers manners; but such as are housed and hived at home, they have none, neither have the *Spaniards* taught the *Indians* as yet how to manage them. Their wild Bees hive themselves, and make their Honey in clefts, and hollow places of the Rocks, and hollow Trees: the Bees which are in the cold Countries make little Honey, because they want Flowers and odoriferous Herbs out of which to extract it; and that little which they do make is bitter, and the Wax black, and of no use: But in the warmer Countries, and more temperate, where the Climate yields good Herbs, and odoriferous Flowers; the Honey is excellent, and white, clean, and very sweet: This sort of Honey being carried into colder Countries, candies and turns to a Sugar; they highly esteem it, not only because it is wholesome food, but also because it is medicinal, and very wholesome.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the divers sorts of Parrots; and how talkative they are.

Parrots breed, and are found most commonly in the Mountains of *Anis*; they are of divers sorts and sizes, some being greater, and some less: the little ones are less than Thrushes, and the great bigger than Kestrels; there are some all over of the same colour, others of great variety, being green, yellow, blew and red, especially those of the great kind, which the *Spaniards* call *Guacamayas*, which are of all colours, especially their Tails, which are long, and the Feathers so fine, that the *Indians* on the days of the Festivals adorn themselves with them; from the beauty of which Feathers *John Bocacio* took his subject to frame the pleasant Novel of *Friar Cipolla*. The *Spaniards* call these Parrots by divers names, according to the difference of their size and bigness: the least of all they name *Periquillos*, those that are bigger they call *Catalillas*, and such as are a size bigger, and which speak best, they name *Loro*; and the biggest of all, which are dull, and never speak, they call *Guacamayas*, and are good for nothing but to look upon, for the beauty of their Feathers: Such as these they carry into *Spain* in Cages, for the delight they have in hearing them talk; but others, which are not so beautifull, nor diverting, they think not worth the care and charge of transporting so far.

In the Year 1555, and 56, there was a Parrot at *Poros*, which was one of those called *Loro*, which was so ready in its Tongue, that it would call the *Indians*, as they passed along the Streets, by the names of their several Countries; such as *Colla*, *Tunca*, *Huayru*, *Quechua*, &c. as if it had been acquainted with the several Salutes they wore on their Heads, to distinguish their Countries. Upon a certain day there was a beautifull *Indian* Woman passing the Streets very fine, and accompanied with three or four Servant-Maids, as if she had been some great Lady, or *Palla* of the *Blond-Royal*: So soon as the Parrot

saw her, he fell into a great laughter, crying out, *Huayru, Huayru, Huayru*, which is a Nation the most base and contemptible of all the *Indians*. With which the *Indian* Woman was greatly ashamed, being laughed at by the people, who in great Numbers were always about the Parrot, hearing him talk; and when she came near he called her *Capac*, which is Devil; the *Indians* which were by, approved the Saying of the Parrot, for they knew that she was an ordinary Woman disguised in the Habit of a *Queen* or great Lady.

Some few years past in *Peru*, there was another Parrot of this kind, which did most horribly abuse a certain Physician, though unworthy of that name, being a mere Quack, as he passed the Streets; which he did so scurrilously, and so much to the purpose, that the Doctor took it ill, and was really offended: Whereupon the Justice commanded the Master not to let the Parrot any more in the Street, upon penalty of forfeiting it to the next person offended at his prate. The general word which the *Indians* have for Parrots is *Uritu*; and when they hear a Man talk much, and obstreperously, with much noise, they call him *Uritu*, for the noise and chat which the Parrots make when they fly in great flocks, is like the prate of a vain-talking fellow, who, as the Divine *Arriaga* says, in his twenty fifth Canto, *Kioms little, and talks much*.

These Parrots, at the season of the year, when the Corn is ripe, fly out from the *Antis*, to seek their food; and being in great flocks, they spoil the Mayz, or Corn, wherever they alight; they are very strong upon the Wing, and fly high: but the *Guacamacas* being a dull and heavy sort of Bird, go not out from the *Antis*: And all these different sorts of Parrots keep to their own kind; to make the Proverb true, that *Birds of a Feather flock together*.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the four famous Rivers, and of the Fish which is taken in those which belong to Peru.

I Had almost forgot to give a Relation of the Fish which the *Indians* of *Peru* have in their fresh-water Rivers of *Peru*; the which Rivers are many, and very great, of which, for brevity sake, we shall onely mention four. The first is that great River, which is now called the *Madalena*, falling into the Sea between *Cartagena*, and *Santa Maria*; the mouth of which, according to the Sea-charts, is eight Leagues wide, having its head, or source, from the high Mountains of *Peru*: The fierce swiftness of the current with which it falls into the Sea is so such, that for ten or twelve Leagues the forcible streams are sensibly perceived to reach into the Seas, the fury thereof contending with the Waves of the Ocean. The River *Orellana*, called so by us, being distinct from the *Madalena*, is, according to the Sea-charts, about fifty four Leagues wide at the mouth of it, though some Authors onely reckon it for thirty, others forty, others seventy, making their account with great variety; howsoever, for my part, I shall rather adhere to the opinion of Seamen, who are knowing and learned in Maritime affairs, and those whose business it is to sail over, and measure the Seas, and have made Sea-charts and Draughts with great Art: the diversity of the opinions in the measures, is this, because some measuring just at the mouth of the River, from side to side, make it fifty Leagues; but such as draw their lines from the extreme points of Land, which extend into the Sea, may measure seventy Leagues, as is well known to the Pilots. The source or head of those Fountains which make this River, arises in the division of *Cumtium*, being to the South-West of *Cusco*, and distant about eleven Leagues Westward from thence. This River, at the very head of it, is very deep, and not fordable, and is very swift and rapid, the streams there-

of being contracted between very high Mountains, which from the bottom to the top, where the Snow is lodged upon them, measure thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen Leagues almost perpendicular. This River is the greatest of any in all *Peru*, wherefore the *Indians* call it *Apurimac*, because *Apru* signifies Chief, or Principal both in War and Peace: they call it also *Capac Mayu*, *Capac* signifying plentiful, rich, abundant, and *Mayu* a River: For as *Capac* was an Epithet, or Title given to their Kings, so they attributed that Title or Dignity to the Chief and Prince of all their Rivers. This River keeps its name, whilst it passes through the Country of *Peru*; but whether it loses its name afterwards or not, or that the Nations who live in the Mountains give it any other name, I am not able to say.

In the year 1555, by reason of the great Rains which fell that Winter, a vast part of the Mountain tumbled into the River, with such mighty and prodigious Rocks, as gave a stop to the current of the water for three whole days; and so remained till the water overflowing the ruinous Mountain which fell in, came at last to take its naturale course; at which detention, or stoppage of the water, the poor Inhabitants, which lived below, much admiring, and not knowing the reason thereof, concluded that the end of the World was come; and this stoppage below caused the water to rise at fourteen Leagues distance above, being sensibly elevated as far as the Bridge, which is in the great and royal High-way leading from *Cusco* to *Ciudad Real*. This River *Apurimac* runs North and South at least five hundred Leagues from the head and source of it to the Equinoctial; thence taking a turn to the Eastward, it runs under the Equinoctial, six hundred and fifty Leagues measured on a strait line, to the place where it falls into the Sea; but being measured by the turnings and windings of it, it will make fifteen hundred Leagues, as *Francis de Orella* reports, who sailed down that River, in a Voyage he made in company with *Gonzalo Pigarro*, who went to make discovery of the Country of *Canela*, as we shall mention in its due place. The Chart of Navigation makes it on a strait line to be six hundred and fifty Leagues without any doublings of the River. And though Merchants in describing the situation of places do not much meddle with in-land Countries, but those onely which lye on the Sea-coast, and those Rivers which fall into the Ocean: Yet in regard that this River is the greatest in the World, being above seventy Leagues in breadth at the mouth of it, and runs with so great a stream and torrent, that it makes fresh water for above a hundred Leagues within the Sea; they have thought it worthy of their observation and enquiry: So that according to the Relation of *Orellana* (as *Gomara* attests) those five hundred Leagues which we mention in a strait line, will make two thousand Leagues with the turnings, and doublings of this River falling into the Sea directly under the Equinoctial; and it was called *Orellana* according to the name of this Gentleman, who sailed over it in the year 1543.

Howsoever a discovery was made before that time of this River by the *Pincos* of *Sevil*, in the year 1500; to which they then gave the name of the River of *Amazonis*, because they observed that the Women fought with as much courage in defence of those parts, as the Men; the like instances whereof we have in our History of *Florida*. In that River there are many greater and lesser Islands, and the tide flows from the Sea above an hundred Leagues up the River: And thus much shall suffice to have said of this River.

Now as to that River which is called *Marañon*, it falls into the Sea about seventy Leagues to the Southward of *Orellana*, which is about three degrees of South-latitude, being about twenty Leagues wide at the mouth of it. This River issues from some great Lakes on the upper parts of *Peru*, which are filled by the Snow-waters that dissolve from the high Mountains which are covered with Snow. Now in regard that these two Rivers fall into the Sea, so near one unto the other, I am apt to believe that they make one River of these two, giving the name of *Orellana* to both these Rivers, so far as the fresh water runs into the Sea. As to the River which the Spaniards call *el rio de la plata*, and the *Indians* *Parabuy*; we have in our second part given the reason, why this River was so called in *Spanish*, and explained the signification of the *Indian* word; the Fountains of whose waters, like those of *Marañon*, have their head or source from the prodigious Mountains of the snowy desert, called the *Cordillera*, which passes through all the Country of *Peru*. This River many times overflows with rapid inundations all the Fields and Villages near the banks, and forces the people for three Months in the year, to

be ready with their Boats and Canoes, which they tie to the branches of Trees to save themselves, untill those Floods are over, having no other place wherein to secure themselves: It falls into the Sea about the degree of thirty five, being about thirty Leagues wide at the mouth; and yet here below it is narrower than it is eighty Leagues above, where it is fifty Leagues broad; so that joyning the breadth of these four Rivers together at the places where they fall into the Sea, we may say, that they measure one hundred and thirty Leagues in breadth, and may be reckoned amongst the Miracles and Wonders of *Pern*. Besides these four great Rivers, there are multitudes of other smaller Rivers, which every-where fall into the Sea, as we may see described in the Waggoners, and Sea-Maps, to which I refer my self; which if joyned together, would make greater Rivers than any we have hitherto mentioned.

And now in such vast Rivers we might rationally conclude, that great plenty of Fish were produced in them; but it is quite otherwise, namely in *Pern*, which is the Country I chiefly treat of; for with other parts I meddle not. Some attribute the cause of this scarcity of Fish in those Rivers to the rapidness of their streams, which are too violent for Fish to remain in; and there are very few places in those Rivers, where the Waters are still, or tolerably quiet. Moreover it is observable, that the Fish which is bred there, is of another and different sort to that in *Spain*; they seem to be all of one kind, without scales, the Head being broad and smooth, in fashion of a Toad, with a wide Mouth: Howsoever, it is very favourable, and pleasant to eat; and the skin is so delicate and sweet, that it is the best Meat of all: they call them *Challua*, which signifies Fish. Another reason why these Rivers of *Pern*, which fall into the Sea, are so ill stored with Fish may be, because the Waters are shallow, as well as rapid; and yet in the Winter they are too deep to be waded over.

In the great Lake of *Titicaca* are great quantities of Fish, which though they are of the same quality and form with those in the Rivers, yet the *Indians*, to distinguish them from others, give them the name of *Suchi*: they are so fat, that when they are fried, or stewed, they need no other grease than their own. There is likewise in this Lake another sort of Fish, which the *Spaniards* call *Bogus*, the *Indian* word for them I have forgot; it is a little small Fish, of a bad taste, and a worse shape; and if I am not greatly mistaken, they have scales, and might well be called *Harrinuelas*, or Sprats, for the smallness of them: both sorts of these Fishes breed abundantly in that great Lake, having room enough to spawn in, and have sufficiency of feeding, which is brought down by the Rivers which fall into it. And thus much shall serve to have spoken of Rivers, and of the Fish which the Waters of that Country afford.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Emeralds, Torquoises, and Pearls of that Country.

THE precious Stones found in *Pern*, in the time of the *Incas*, were Torquoises, Emeralds, and Crystal of the finest sort, though they were not acquainted with the manner how to work it: the Emeralds grow in the Mountains of the Province of *Manta*, which is within the Jurisdiction of *Puerto Viejo*; but yet the *Spaniards* have not been able, with all their endeavours, to find out the quarry of them, which is the reason that they are so scarce and rare; such of them as are found, are the best of that kind in all *Pern*: Howsoever from that, and other parts of the *West-Indies*, they have brought such great quantities of them into *Spain*, as have made them cheap, and disesteemed: howsoever the Emeralds from other parts are not to be compared with those of *Puerto Viejo*; the which grow in their Quarries, and take their tincture from the nature of the Soil from whence they are produced, ripening there with time, like fruit in their proper seasons: The Emerald, when it first begins, is of a palish white, partaking of a grey colour mixed with a green; then as it grows ripe, or towards its perfection, it takes at one end a tincture of green, perhaps at that end first which points towards the East, after which that pleasant colour disperses it self over all the Stone; so that as the Stone is when it comes from its Quarry, so it remains for ever after. I saw in *Cusco*, amongst many Emeralds, two especially of singular note, being of a perfect round shape, as big as ordinary Nuts, and bored through the middle; one of these Stones was complete, and in all parts perfect; the other in the middle, and at one of the corners, was perfect, and extremely beautiful; the other two parts, or corners, were not so pleasing, being not come to their full beauty and perfection, howsoever were not much short of the best; but the other which was opposite to it, was foul, and little worth, having received but a faint green, and such as appeared worse, by the beautiful lustre of the others, so that it seemed a piece of green glass joyned to the Emerald. Wherefore the Master of that Stone cut off that part from the other, for which he was much blamed by curious and inquisitive Men; who were of opinion, that for proof and evidence, that the Emerald grows by degrees to perfection in the Quarry; he ought to have permitted them to remain together; and that the curiosity of the thing would have been more valuable than the Stone it self. I then being a Boy, they gave me that part which was cut off to play with, which I still keep, not being of any value.

The Torquoise is a Stone of a blew colour, some of them of a more deep azure, and finer than the others, but not so much esteemed by the *Indians* as the Emerald.

Pearls were not much used or worn in *Pern*, though they had a knowledge of them: the reason was, because the *Incas*, who were always more tender of the welfare and safety of their people, than of their improvements in that which we call Riches, forbade them to expose themselves to that danger which is required in fishing for Pearls, which therefore were not in use amongst them. Since that time they are become so common, that *Acosta* reports thus of them, which words we shall rehearse *verbatim*. "Since we have undertaken (saith he) to treat of the principal Riches, which are brought from the *Indies*, we must not omit Pearls, which the Ancients called *Margarites*; the value of which were at first so great, that they were esteemed Jewels fit and worthy onely for Princes and Royal Persons: but now they are become so common, that even *Neger* Women wear Strings of them. Then afterwards in another part of this Chapter, he proceeds, and says, That Pearls are found in divers parts of the *Indies*; but the place, where they abound most, is in the South-Sea, about *Panama*, where those Islands are, which are called the Pearl-Islands: but the best and greatest quantity is found

"found in the North-Sea, near the River called *Hacha*, where I understood how they fished for them, and took them; which is done with the great labour and hazard of those poor people, who will dive six, nine, and sometimes twelve fathoms under water to gather the Oysters, which include the Pearls, and grow close to the sides of the Rocks; and having loaded themselves at the bottom of the Sea, they arise, and buoy up themselves again to the surface of the water, and emptying their shells which they bring up into their Canoes, they then open them, and take out that Treasure, which good fortune hath presented to them: the coldness of the water at the bottom of the Sea is great, and troublesome to the Divers, but much more laborious to hold their breath for a quarter of an hour, and sometimes for a full half hour, during the time that they remain under water; the which cannot be performed by any, but those who have accustomed themselves to it from their infancy, and who use great abstinence, adventuring not to dive, but when they are fasting: Likewise covetousness in this people makes them the more abstemious, though it be never so grievous: they drudge for Pearls in divers manners, and find them in such quantities, that they now string them in Neck-laces. In the year 1587, within my memory, there came from the *Indies*, for the King's account, 18 Mark weight of Pearl, with three other large Chefts of the same, besides 1264 Mark weight for account of particular persons, and seven other bags full not weighed: the report of which, at any other time, would have seemed incredible. Thus far are the Words of *Acosta*, with which he concludes that Chapter.

And now hereunto I shall add two Stories about Pearls; one is, that about the year 1564, they brought so many Pearls to *Sevil* for the King's account, that being heaped up into a hoard like seed, they were set to sale in gross to the highest Bidder; Out-cry being made of the sale to him that should give most, and the price agreed; one of the King's Officers presently offered to him that had bought them 6000 Ducats for his bargain; and a certain Merchant called *Prospero*, who was skilled in that commodity, immediately laid down the Money; so the Pearls being taken up, the first buyer remained contented with the advantage of 6000 Ducats, which he had gained for one word speaking; and the other well satisfied with his bargain, hoping to get much more Money and benefit by so considerable a parcel of Pearls. The other Story is this: I knew a young Man in *Spain* of low condition, and in great want; and though he were a Silver-smith by Trade, yet having no Stock to set up with, he worked as a Journey-man. This person lived in *Madrid* in the year 1562, and 63, and lodged with me at my Lodgings; and observing him to play away all that he got by his work, I often chid him, and told him that I believed I should one day see him in very great misery: To which he replied, that his wants and miseries could not be greater than they had been, when he came on foot, and only with 14 * *Maravedis* in his pocket to *Madrid*. This fellow, to improve and better his fortune, resolved to go to the *Indies*; and deal in Pearls, for I knew he had some skill in them: It happened that he was so successful in his Voyage, and in his profit, that he got an Estate of above thirty thousand Ducats; and then to shew his Gallantry (for I knew both him and his Wife) he made him a large Coat of black Velvet, which he embroidered with fine Pearl before, at least six fingers broad, and quite round the borders; which was very gallant, and agreeable to the new Mode; this Embroidery being valued at the least in four thousand Ducats. This Relation I have made, to shew the great quantities of Pearl, which have been brought from the *Indies*; besides those which we have mentioned in the third Book and fifteenth Chapter of our History of *Florida*, which are found in many parts of that great Kingdom, particularly in that rich Temple of the Province called *Gefachiqui*; the 18 Mark weight of Pearl, besides the two Chefts which *Acosta* mentions to have been brought for the King's account, were all choice Pearls, and such as at several times were culled out by the *Indians*, and set apart for the King's use and service, to whom a fifth part belonged of all the Pearls which were taken, and accordingly delivered into the Royal Wardrobe; from whence they were given out for adorning a Manto and Petticoat for the Image of our Lady of *Gnadaupe*; embroidering a whole Suit, such as the Chefs of her Head, Frontlets, Surcoat, hanging Sleeves, and hem of her Garments, all with the finest sort of Pearl set in Diamond-work: the House, or Chair of State made for this Image, which were usually of a darkish colour, were now covered with Rubies and Emeralds set in Gold; by which it was apparent, by

* Thirty six
Maravedis
make six
pence.

whole command, and at whose charge those Artists worked, and to whose service the Catholick King did dedicate so great a Treasure, which was immense, and beyond the abilities and magnificence of any other, than his only who was Emperor of the *Indies*.

But to compute, and rightly to calculate the Riches of this Monarch, we ought to read the fourth Book of *Acosta*, wherein are such strange discoveries of things in the New World, as are almost incredible. Amongst which I have been an eye-witness myself at *Sevil*, in the year 1579, where I saw a Pearl, which a Gentleman, called *Don Diego de Temez*, brought from *Panama*, and designed for King *Philip* the Second: the Pearl was about the bigness of a Walnut, and roundness of a Pigeon's Egg: it was valued in the *Indies* at twelve thousand Pieces of Eight, which make fourteen thousand four hundred Ducats. *Jacomo de Trepo de Milan*, an excellent Artist and Jeweler to his Catholick Majesty, esteemed it at fourteen, thirty, fifty, and sometimes at a hundred thousand Ducats, that is, that it had no price; for in regard there was none like it in the World, and that there was none with which it might be compared, it was not capable of any estimation: In *Sevil* many went to see it for a sight, giving it the Name of the Foreigner. A certain *Italian* Gentleman at that time went about that City, and bought up all the choicest Pearls he could find for account of a Great Lord in *Italy*; when having purchased a String, or Chain of the best; yet being compared and laid by the Foreigner, they seemed like so many little pebbles of the Brook. Those that knew, and were acquainted with Pearls, and precious Stones, did aver, that it weighed 24 Quilats above any other that was ever known; but what that means, I am not skillfull enough to interpret: The Proprietor of this Pearl said, that a little *Neger* Boy, which was not worth above a 100 Ryals, fished the shell, wherein it was contained, out of the water; which was so cragged, and promised so little outwardly, that they were going to cast it again into the Sea; but yielding unexpectedly to great a profit to the Master, he was pleased in reward for the benefit to give liberty to the Slave; and in honour to the Master on whom fortune had bestowed so great a Treasure, the Inhabitants of *Panama* were pleased to make him their High Constable: the Pearl was never polished, because the Master would never consent that it should be touched, unless it were to bore a hole through it; for they never attempt to alter the fashion or shapes of them, but string them as they come from the shells; so that some of them come out very round, others long, others flat, others round of one side, and flat on the other; but those which are in fashion of a Pear, are most esteemed, because they are not common: When a Merchant hath got one of this shape, he presently enquires, and makes search for another which is like it; for being well matched, they rise double in their price; so that when a Pearl, being single, is valued at a hundred Ducats; being afterwards well matched with another, doth presently double its price, and both give a value to each other, because they are made the more fit for Chains and Neck-laces, for which they are principally designed. Pearl is of a nature which will admit of no polishing, being composed of a certain shell, or tunicle, which covers it; and which decays with time, losing much of its lustre and brightness which it had at first; howsoever, when they take off the upper coat, or tunicle, of the decayed part, that which is under appears as oriental as it did at first, but yet with great damage to the Pearl, being considerably lessened, at least one third of its bigness: Howsoever, the best sort of Pearls do never decay, and may be excepted from this general rule.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of Gold and Silver.

Spain it self is a sufficient witness of the Gold and Silver which comes from *Peru*, considering that for the twenty five years last past, (besides what hath been formerly carried) there hath been every year transported twelve or thirteen Millions, according to Register, besides that which hath passed without account. There is Gold found in all the parts of *Peru*, some more, and some less generally in every Province. It is found on the top or surface of the Earth, carried by streams and currents, and washed down by great floods of Rain, which the *Indians* gather and put into water, separating it from the Earth, as the Silver-smiths do the filings, which fall in their hops. That which is found in this manner, is called Gold in dust, because it is like filings; some of which are indifferently big, and about the fashion of a Mellon-seed, some are round, and others of an oval form; all the Gold of *Peru* is about eighteen or twenty Quilats, more or less, in goodness, onely that which comes from the Mines of *Callavaya*, or *Callabuyaya*, is of the finest sort, being twenty four Quilats and better, as I have been informed by some Gold-smiths in *Spain*. In the year 1556, there was digged out of the veins of a Rock in the Mines of *Callabuyaya*, a piece of Gold Ore, of the bigness of a Man's head, in colour like the Lungs of a living creature, and indeed did something resemble it in the shape, having certain Perforations through it from one end to the other; in all which holes there appeared little kernels of Gold, as if melted Gold had been dropped in to them, some of them being outwardly in knobs, and others more inward: Those that understood the nature of Mines, were of opinion, that had that piece of Ore been suffered to remain, it would all with time have been turned into perfect Gold. In *Cusco* the *Spaniards* looked upon it as strange and unusual, and the *Indians* called it *Huaco*, as they did every thing which was wonderful, and worthy of admiration; the which word also was used by them when any thing was abominable, or detestable in its kind. The Master of this piece of Ore determined to carry it with him into *Spain*, and present it to King *Philip* the Second as a curiosity greatly to be esteemed: But I was informed by those who were in the same Fleet with him, that the Ship in which that person embarked was cast away, and that he was drowned, and all his treasure, with much more, perished with him.

The Silver is digged with much more labour than Gold, and refined with much more charge and difficulty: There are many Mines in divers parts of *Peru*, but none like those of *Potosi*, the which were discovered in the year 1545; being about fourteen years after the *Spaniards* first possessed that Countrey, as appears by the Record. The Mountain in which these Mines arise, is called *Potosi*; but why it is so named, I cannot tell, unless it hath some signification in the proper Language of that Countrey; for in the general Speech of *Peru* it hath none. It is situated in the midst of a Plain, in form of a Sugar-loaf, is about the compass of a League at the bottom, and a quarter of a League towards the top, it is round, and very pleasant to behold, standing alone, and single in a Plain; which Nature hath adorned and beautified, having added comeliness to that fame, which its Riches hath made renowned, and esteemed in the World. Some Mornings it appears with a cap of Snow, the Climate thereabouts being something cold. That Mountain in the division which was first made fell to the share of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and afterwards to *Pedro Hinojosa*, as we shall hereafter declare, in case we may be so free, as to bring to light some hidden and secret practices contrived in the times of War, which Historians do often omit; fearing to disparage the Actions of great Men, and thereby create enmity and displeasure to themselves.

Acosta in his fourth Book writes at large of Gold, and Silver, and Quick-silver, of which every day there are Mines discovered in that Empire, so that I shall not need to write of them; onely I shall mention some few remarkable things concerning those Metals, and how the *Indians* melted, and founded them before the *Spaniards*

niards found out the use of Quick-silver; and refer the Reader, to satisfy his curiosity to that History of *Acosta*, in which he writes of all these Metals, and particularly of the Nature of Quick-silver, at large. 'Tis observable that the Mines of the Mountain *Potosi* were first discovered by certain *Indians*, who were Servants to *Spaniards*, called in their Language *Tanacuna*; who under the seal of friendship, and promise of secrecy, kept it concealed for some time, enjoying to themselves the benefit of the first discovery; but finding the Riches immense, and difficult to be hidden, they could not, or would not, conceal the intimation thereof from their Masters, who opening the first vein of Ore, found passage to a greater Treasure. Amongst those *Spaniards*, to whom this booty and fortunate lot happened, there was one called *Gonzalo Bernal*, who was afterwards Steward to *Pedro de Hinojosa*; this Man discoursing some short time after the discovery of this Mine, with *Diego Centeno*, a Gentleman of Quality, and other Noble persons, concerning the rich and spreading veins of this Mountain, declared it to be his opinion, that in case this Mine were digged, and the Silver melted, which it would produce, that Silver would become more common, and less valuable than Iron. The which assertion I have seen made good in the years 1554, and 55, when in the War of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, an Iron Horse-hoe was worth five Pieces of Eight, or six Ducats, and a Shoe for a Mule rated at four Pieces of Eight, and two Nails for shoing valued at a *Tomin*, or * fifty five *Maravdis*. I have seen a pair of Buskins, or Spatter-tie Cloth, dyed in grane, at sixty Ducats; and according to this rate, all the fine Cloths made of *Sigovia* Wool, their Silks, Linen, and other Merchandises of *Spain*, were estimated: but the War was the cause of this dearth, because in the space of two years, that it continued, there arrived no Ships in *Peru* with the Commodities of *Spain*. Moreover, the great abundance of Silver which those Mines yielded, caused it to be cheap, and of no esteem; that a Basket of *Cuca* came to be worth thirty six Ducats, and a Bushel of Wheat valued at twenty four or twenty five Ducats; at like rates they sold their Mayz, and all their commodities for Shoes and Cloathing; and their Wine also was sold at excessive prizes, untill such time as it came to be imported in greater quantities: And though this Countrey be rich, and abounding with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, yet the Natives are the most poor and miserable people in all the World.

C H A P. XXV.

Of Quick-silver; and how they melted their Ore before they discovered that Mineral.

WE have in the foregoing part of this History signified, that the *Incan* Kings had a knowledge of Quick-silver; but were unacquainted with the Nature, or Use of it, and onely admired the lively and quick motions of it; howsoever, having observed some certain noxious qualities and effects it produced, such as stupefactions, palsies, and tremblings of the Nerves, the Kings, whose chief care was the safety of their people, (for which reason one of their Titles was, *Lovers of the Poor*) did absolutely forbid their Subjects to use or meddle with it; and they being possessed with an apprehension of its noxious qualities, abhorred it to that degree, as not to think it worthy of their thought or words: so that they had no name for Quick-silver, unless they have coined one for it since the *Spaniards* in the year 1567, made a discovery of it; and if they had any before, they had certainly forgot it, as Men are liable to doe, who have no knowledge or practice of letters. That which the *Incas* used and permitted to their Subjects, was a sort of Earth of a pure Vermilion-colour beyond expression, found in dust within the Mines of

Quick-silver; the *Indians* call it *Tchma*; that which *Acofta* calls *Llimpi* is of a Purple-colour, and extracted from other Mines; for in those Countries they have Earth of all colours, which serve us for Painting: But as to this curious Crimson with which the *Indians* are so much affected, it is also forbidden to be extracted without licence, lest the people venturing themselves far into the Caverns of the Earth in the search of it, should prejudice their healths, and endanger their lives; and therefore the use of it is forbidden to the common people, and only permitted to Ladies of the Royal Blood; Men never use it, nor Women in years, but such only as are young and handsome; who do not lay it upon their Cheeks, as our Women do in *Spain*, but only draw it in streaks about the breadth of a straw, from the corners of their Eyes to their Temples; and in this manner it seemed very becoming. Other *Fucus*, or Painting, than this with *Tchma*, the *Pallas* or great Ladies did not use, nor was it their adornment of every days dress, but only then, when they would appear fine and well dressed upon the days of the principal Feasts, when they always washed their Faces very clean, as also did all the common people. But the truth is, those Women who did much avail themselves of their beauty, and cleanness of their skin, would for conservation thereof, lay a sort of white stuff like Milk upon it, (of what they made it, for my part I cannot tell;) but there they let it stick, and remain for the space of nine days, at the end of which being well dried, like a scurf on the skin, they would then take it off, and the complexion would remain much more bright and clear than before: But as to the *Tchma*, the Prohibition that was made against extracting of it, caused it to be scarce, and of little use. And whereas a certain Author says, that the *Indians* did usually paint their faces in the Wars, and at their Festivals, it is a gross mistake, though perhaps some Nations might do it, which were esteemed the most salvage and barbarous.

And now we are to declare how they melted their Silver, before they found the use of Quick-silver: the manner was this. Near to the Mountain *Potechi*, or *Potechi*, (which is all one) there is another Mountain in the same form and shape, but not so great, nor so high, called by the *Indians* *Huayna Potechi*, or the *Potechi* the Junior, as if they were Father and Son. The Silver, for the most part, is extracted from *Huayna Potechi*, or the Elder *Potechi*; in melting of which, they at first found great difficulty, for not being able to make it run, it burnt away, or evaporated in smoke; of which the *Indians* could not penetrate the cause, nor discover a remedy. But as necessity and covetousness make Men ingenious and contriving, so particularly the *Indians* were infinitely industrious to find out some way to Melt their Gold and Silver; at length, after many experiments, they happened to try the melting of a baser sort of Metal, which the lesser *Potechi* produced, consisting, for the most part, of Lead mixed with Silver; the which yielding more easily, melted, and run; and this being put into the Melting-pots, together with the fine Silver and Gold, would immediately cause them to melt and dissolve; for which reason the *Indians* gave it the Name of *Curuchec*, which signifies any thing that dissolves. In the melting of which Metals, they observed a certain proportion of this counter sort, for to so much Silver they put such a quantity of this *Curuchec*, according as time and experience had informed their judgments; for all sorts of Silver were not of the same fineness, though digged and extracted from the same vein; so that according to the quality and richness of the Metal, the quantity of *Curuchec* was to be applied. The Silver being thus mixed with more fusible Metal, they melted it down in Earthen or Clay-pots, or Cryfobles, which they carried from place to place: But in regard they had no use of Bellows to make the heat of their fire more intense, nor yet used Copper Pipes, which we have formerly mentioned, wherewith to blow the fire; it often happened, that they could not possibly cause their Silver to melt; of which the *Indians* not being able to comprehend the reason, did at length conclude, that it must be a natural blast of Wind which must do this work: But then if the Wind were too strong, it would blow away the Coals, and cool the Metal, so that a temperate and easie gale was requisite: To procure which, their custom was to go upon the Hills by night, observing how the Winds fate, and there placed their Melting-pots at such a height, higher or lower, according as they perceived the force of the Wind. It was a pleasant sight in those days to see eight, ten, twelve or fifteen thousand of these Fires burning all at the same time, upon the sides of these Mountains ranged in order one by the other. The first Melting of the Ore was made in this manner on the Mountains; but

but then the second time they founded it again in their Houses, blowing the fire, as we have said, with the Pipes of Copper, when they made separation of their Lead from their Silver. For in regard the *Indians* had not the knowledge of all those inventions, which the *Spaniards* have attained in the Art of separating Gold, and Silver, and Lead, performed by *Aqua fortis*, and other Ingredients; their way was by often Melting, to burn out the Lead, and so refine: By which we may observe, that the *Indians* had some knowledge of refining the Silver of *Potosi*, before the discovery of Quick-silver; and still conserve that Art, though not so commonly or frequently known amongst them as formerly.

The Masters and Owners of the Mines, perceiving that by this way of Melting by natural Winds, their Goods and Riches were divided, and much embezzled by being dispersed into several hands; wherefore to remedy this inconvenience, they employed Day-labourers, who were *Indians*, to dig and extract the Metal; and then the *Spaniards* themselves melted down their own Silver; whereas before the *Indians* having extracted the Ore, for every hundred weight thereof agreed and stipulated with their Masters to return them such a quantity of Silver. By this good husbandry, and by the improvements they had made in the Art of Melting, they made great Bellows, which being placed at a distance, would blow their fires into an extremity of flame. But this neither proving a ready way, they made an Engine with Wheels, carried about with Sails like a Wind-mill, or turned by Horses; which fanned and blowed the fire with great violence. Nor did this neither do the work, so that the *Spaniards* despairing of the success of their inventions, made use of those which the *Indians* had framed and contrived; and so things continued for 22 years, until the year 1567, when by the wit and industry of a certain *Portugal*, named *Henrique Garces*, a great plenty of Quick-silver was discovered in the Province of *Huanca*, surnamed *Pilca*, which signifies Greatness, or Eminence; I know not for what reason, unless it be for the great abundance of Quick-silver which that Countrey yielded; which is so necessary in the founding of Metals, that without it there is great waste and consumption; and which hath been so useful, that eight thousand Quintals of it have every year been spent in the service of his Majesty; and yet notwithstanding this great plenty of Quick-silver which was discovered, the *Spaniards* were for some time ignorant of the use which might be made thereof in the more easie extracting of their Silver; nor had they for the space of four years after any good Assay-Master, until the year 1571, when a certain *Spaniard* named *Fernandez de Velasco*, who had lived at *Mexico*, and learned the manner of extracting the Silver with Quick-silver, came to *Pern*, and taught the use of it to them there. As *Acofta* more largely and curiously relates, to whom I refer the Reader, who desires to be informed of many rarities and matters of this nature worthy to be known.

Royal Commentaries.

B. O O K IX.

C H A P. I.

Huayna Capac caused a Chain of Gold to be made as big as a Cable; and his Reasons for it.

TH E puissant and powerfull *Huayna Capac* being absolute Lord of his Empire, employed the first year of his Reign in performing the Funeral Solemnities of his deceased Father; and then afterwards, to the great joy and satisfaction of his people, made his progress in visiting divers parts of his Empire; and everywhere as he passed, the *Curacas* came forth to meet and receive him, and the people strowed their ways with Flowers, and made Triumphal Arches with Canes and Rushes, covered with Roses and Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs; all places resounded with loud Acclamations of the people, repeating the August Titles of the *Inca*, especially the Name of *Huayna Capac*, *Huayna Capac*, which they often echoed, as that which contained most of Grandeur and Renown; the which he having deserved from his infancy, did now, as they believed, merit a greater advance of Adoration, being placed in degree of a God. *Acosta* writing in the 24th Chapter of his sixth Book in commendation of this Prince, hath these words: "This *Huayna Capac* was adored by his people in his life-time for a God, and with that divine Worship which was never before used towards his Ancestours, as ancient Men still living do remember, and relate of their own knowledge. As this *Huayna Capac* had newly begun to make his Journey into divers parts of his Empire, news was brought him, that he had a Son and Heir born, who was afterwards called *Huascar Inca*: This Child being greatly desired, filled all the Court with joy; and was so pleasing to his Father, that he returned to *Cusco*, to be present at the Entertainments which were made for celebrating the Festivals of his Son's Nativity, and was there received with all the evidences of joy, and cordial welcome, as could be possibly expressed. This Solemnity being past, which lasted for twenty days; the *Inca*, out of the abundance of joy, which he conceived for the Birth of an Heir, began to entertain thoughts of doing and contriving something extraordinary, and never before invented against the time that his Son was to be weaned, at which time they cut off his first lock of Hair, and gave him his Name, which, as we have said in the former part of this History, was the most solemn Festival that they kept, being observed by all sorts of people, from the King to the Beggar, every one having a share, and being concerned in the Birth and Welfare of the Prince, who

who was Heir. Amongst divers other particulars of Greatness, in an extraordinary part instituted for celebration of this Festival, one was a Chain of Gold of that wonderfull bigness, as made it famous by report through the whole World, and yet was never seen by Foreigners, whose Avarice was as strong as their curiosity to see a piece of such magnificence; the design which the *Inca* had to make it, was this: In the Countries of *Peru* every Province or Nation had Dances properly belonging to their Countrey, different from others, by which they were distinguished one from the other, as much as by the Dress upon their Heads; and these Dances were always constant, and the same, without any change or alteration of new Modes. The *Incas* had a sort of Dance which was grave and decent, without jumping, or capring, as others used. Their Custome was for the Men to dance without admitting the Women into the Ring, and to clasp hands one with the other, reaching them out to the foremost, untill all were entred in, and chained as it were one to the other, so that sometimes two or three hundred Men were concerned in the Dance, according to the number of those present at the Festival; the which they began at some distance from the King, before whom they presented it. Their manner was to begin all at the same time, and to make three steps by rule, the first was back, and then two others forward, like the Chafes and Coupees that we use in our *Spanishe* Dances; so that giving but one step backward, and two forward, they still gained ground, untill they came to the middle of the place, where the *Inca* fate: as they danced they sang by turns, not to tire themselves, so much as they would do, in case they all sang together; their Tunes were according to the measure of their Dances, and the subjects of their Songs were in praise of the present *Inca*, and his Ancestours, and those of the Bloud Royal, and of their Actions and Exploits performed in the times of Peace and War. The *Incas* also there present, and standing about the King, bore their part in the Confort, as those who were equally concerned in the merriment, and the King himself danced sometimes, to render the Festival more solemn.

From this manner of clasping and linking hands one within another, the *Inca Huayna Capac* took his invention of making his Chain of Gold, esteeming that it would be much more stately and majesticall to have these Dancers linked and fastened one to the other by this Chain, rather than by their hands. The particulars of this Chain I did not hear from common report, but from my Old Uncle, whom I mentioned at the beginning of this History, who being a Person much pleased with the remembrance of old Stories, told me that this Chain was so long, as would reach the length and breadth of the chief Market-place of *Cuzco*, where they danced at the time of all their principal Feasts; and though it was not necessary to have it so long in respect to the Dance, onely the *Inca* was pleased to order it of that length, for greater State, and in honour to the Festival of his Son and Heir, in which nothing was to be deficient which might render it great and solemn. I shall not need to inform and trouble those who have seen and measured that Market-place, with an account of the length and breadth of it; howsoever to satisfie the curiosity of such as have not been there, I dare to affirm, that that place North and South is two hundred common Paces in length, allowing two Foot for every Pace, and an hundred and fifty Paces East and West in breadth, taking in those Houses which the *Spaniards* in the Year 1556. when my Master *Garcilasso de la Vega* was Chief Justice, had built on the side of the River; so that this Chain must have been three hundred and fifty Paces long, which make seven hundred Foot; and when I asked the same *Indian* of the compass of this Chain, he held up his Hand, pointing to his Wrist, signifying that every Link was of that bigness. The Accountant General *Angustine Carave*, in the 14th Chapter of his first Book, having at any time occasion to speak of the Riches of the Royal Palaces belonging to the *Incas*, reckons up vast Treasures, and almost incredible, but I shall onely repeat what he says particularly of this Golden Chain, which I have extracted *verbatim*.

Guaynacava

"*Guaynacava*, when he had a Son born, caused a Golden Chain of that weight to be made, (as many *Indians* still alive can testify) that being fastened to the Ears or Luggs of two hundred *Indians*, it could scarcely be raised by them; and in memory of this remarkable Fabrick of Gold; the Child's Name was called *Guasca*, which in their Language signifies a Rope, or Cable, with the additional Title of *Inca*. And thus far are the Words of that noble Historian of *Peru*.

This rich and magnificent piece of Gold, together with other vast Treasures, the *Indians* made away with, or concealed, so soon as the *Spaniards* invaded their Countrey, and so confounded them beyond all recovery, that no knowledge or intimation remains where any part of them is to be found: And in regard this rich and stately piece of Gold was compounded and framed onely for that time when the Prince an Heir was to have his Lock cut, and his Name imposed; they surnamed him *Huascar*, adding it to his other Names of *Tuti Cusi Hualsa*; and because *Huasca* signifies a Rope or Cable, (for in the Language of *Peru* they have no Word for a Chain,) they, for better Grace of the Word, added *R.* the which took so much with his Subjects, that they for the most part called him *Huascar*, omitting *Tuti Cusi Hualsa*, which Word *Hualsa* signifies the Sun of Chearfulness. For whereas in those days the *Incas* became very potent, and that power for the most part raises in Men a Spirit of Pride and Vanity; so they began to be weary of those ordinary Titles, which anciently expressed their Grandeur and Majesty; and expected other Hyperbolies and Exaltations of Divine Attributes, which might raise them to the Heavens, and make their adoration equal to that of their God the Sun. So they called him *Tuti*, which signifies the Sun, or *Phaebus*, *Cusi* Chearfulness, Pleasure, Contentment or Rejoycing. And thus much shall serve in Explanation of the Names and Titles of the *Inca Huascar*. Let us now return to his Father *Huayna Capac*, who having given order for the making of this Chain, and left sufficient directions for the fashion and size thereof, (that so it might be ready against the time that his Child was to be weaned,) he prosecuted the Design he had already began, of making a Visit to the remote parts of his Empire; the which having finished in the space of two Years, being about the time that his Child was to be weaned, he returned to *Cuzco*, where all things were prepared that could be contrived to make this Feast solemn, and joyfull, and full of divertisement; and then the Child received the Name of *Huascar*.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Ten Vallies of the Coast are reduced, one after the other, as they lay in order; and Tumpiz surrenders of it self.

A Year being past after this Solemnity, *Huayna Capac* ordered that an Army of forty thousand Men should be raised, with which he marched into the Kingdom of *Quim*, taking the Eldest Daughter of the King of that Country which he had Conquered, to be his Concubine, during the time of that Expedition; but first to prepare and hallow her, she was sent to remain some days in the House of the Select Virgins. By this Woman he had *Atahualpa*, and his Brothers, as we shall see by the sequel of this History. From *Quim* the *Inca* descended into the Plains by the Sea-coast, and in prosecution of his Conquests he came to the Valley called *Chimu*, now *Trugillo*, which was the ultimate bounds to which his Grandfather the good *Inca Yupanqui* had proceeded, as we have already mentioned. From thence he sent his Heralds with the customary Summons and Offers of Peace and War to the Inhabitants of the Valley of *Chacma*, and *Pacasmayo*. These people having long been Borderers and Neighbours to the Subjects of the *Inca*, had from them been informed of the gentleness of their Kings, and the advantage of their Government, and therefore from a quick sense of so much felicity, returned answer, That they desired nothing more than to be Subjects to the *Inca*, to obey his Laws, and be ruled by him. All the other eight Vallies followed the Example of these two adjoining Provinces, being situate between *Pacasmayo*, and *Tumpiz*, and are these which follow, namely *Canna*, *Collque*, *Cinta*, *Tucni*, *Sayanca*, *Antupi*, *Puchiu* and *Sullana*; in the settlement of which Countries, and in the improvement of them with good Husbandry, and in making Aqueducts to water their Glebe-lands and Pasturage, two years were spent, rather than in the Conquest or Subjection of them, for they cheerfully, and with free Will surrendered themselves to the *Inca*. During which time the *Inca* relieved his Forces three or four times, for in regard the Air of that Country was hot and moist, and consequently unwholsome, he judged it fit for the better health of his Subjects, to change his Guards frequently, that so the Diseases of the Country might not enter the Camp, before they were again relieved by an exchange of fresh Men.

The *Inca* having subjected these Vallies, returned to the Kingdom of *Quim*, where he remained for the space of two Years, that so he might adorn that Country with sumptuous Edifices, and stately Aqueducts, wherewith he advantaged, and obliged that people. After which he commanded a levy to be made of fifty thousand Souldiers, which being raised and armed, he marched with them along the Sea-coast, until they came to the Valley of *Sullana*, which is the nearest Sea to *Tumpiz*; from whence he sent his usual Summons, and Offers of Peace and War. The Inhabitants of *Tumpiz* were a sort of people more luxurious in their Diet and Habit, than all those who live on that Coast, and had already submitted to Obedience of the *Incas*; their manner was to wear a Garland on their Heads by way of distinction, which they called *Pillu*. Their *Caciques* or Lords maintained Buffoons, Jesters, Dancers, and Singers, for their Pastime and Divertisement; but their Religion yet was vile and base, for they adored Tigers and Lions, and offered the Blood and Hearts of Men in Sacrifice; they were served and obeyed with great Fear and Awe by their own Subjects, and feared by Strangers; howsoever being possessed with dreadful Apprehensions of the *Inca*, they had no heart nor courage to make opposition against him, and therefore returned

ned Answer to his Heralds, that they were with all willing obedience ready to receive him for their Lord and Emperour: The like Answer was made by the Inhabitants of the Vallies upon the Coast; and other In-land Nations called *Chumana*, *Chimn*, and *Collonche*, *Taquall*, and others, seated on the neighbouring parts.

C H A P. III.

Of the punishment inflicted on those who killed the Officers of Tupac Inca Yupanqui.

THE *Inca* being entred into *Tumpiz*, raised a strong Fortrefs, and put a considerable Garrison into it; he built also a Temple for the Sun, to which he adjoined a House for the Select Virgins; the which Work being finished, he passed forward into the Country of those who had slain the Captains, Instructors, and Doctors of Religion, which his Father *Tupac Yupanqui* had formerly seated in that Country, for the better Government and Erudition of that people, as we have formerly mentioned. In memory of which treacherous Villany *Huayna Capac* sent his Messengers to them, commanding them immediately to repair to his Court, to render an Account of the wickedness they had perpetrated; and though they were conscious of the Fact, and trembled with the thoughts of the punishment they had deserved, yet they durst not refuse, or neglect the Summons, and therefore in due sense of their demerit they humbly approached the *Inca*, casting themselves with all submission at his Feet. The *Inca* hereupon assembled all the *Curacas*, Ambassadors, Counsellours, and Nobles, who were present at that Meeting, when his Father, at their request, sent his Officers and Instructors amongst them, the which they had treacherously murdered; and all of them appearing before him, a certain Colonel of the Army stood up, and made a Speech to them in behalf of the *Inca*; and in the first place upbraiding them with treachery, breach of their Faith, and cruelty, he accused them of Ingratitude, and want of Understanding; for that whereas they ought to have adored the *Inca* and his Officers, for withdrawing them from their brutish and bestial Life, to live like Men, with all the Comforts and Enjoyments of a rational Being; they on the contrary had barbarously and cruelly murdered the Authours and Instruments of their Felicity, to the great dishonour of the Sun his Father, for which offence they had deserved so severe a punishment, that if their whole Nation of both Sexes, and all ages were extirpated, and their Race extinguished, they were not able with the effusion of all their Blood, to make expiation for this heinous crime. But in regard that *Huayna Capac* was an *Inca* to whose Nature Mercy and Clemency were most agreeable, and whose Title it was to be a Lover of the Poor, he did freely forgive all the common people; and as to those Authours and Contrivers of this Murder, though they had all deserved Death, yet he was contented to decimate them, and every tenth Man to die, as his Lot should fall upon him, that so it might be evident, that the *Inca* had no Spleen or Hatred to any in particular, but only to punish Offenders, as Truth and Justice required. And farther, that a Mark and Testimony of this Treachery might remain in the Memory of future Ages, the *Inca* commanded that the *Curacas*, and principal Personages of the Nation, *Huancavilca*, should have two of their Teeth drawn from above, and two from beneath, and for ever to be so continued to them, and their Posterity, and to remain as a Mark whereby to reproach the falsity of the Words pronounced with their Mouths, and the breach of the Promise of Fidelity and Vassalage made to his Father *Tupac Yupanqui*.

These Nations received the Sentence and Execution of Justice with great Humility and Resignation; esteeming themselves very happy that the Infliction of their punishment was no greater, fearing that it might have extended to a general Massacre of them all who were concerned in this Treachery; for since the time that the Empire of the *Incas* began to be dilated, nothing was punished with so much severity as Rebellion; which Crime being complicated with the vile sin of Ingratitude, made the punishment inflicted seem easie, and not bear an equality with what the offence deserved; so that when the whole Nation of *Huancavilla* was punished for all the rest, they supported the Sentence with Patience and Moderation; and their *Curacas* and Captains, willingly consented to have their Teeth drawn; and to shew their readines herein, they made it the Badge and Distinction of their Nation, drawing out the upper and nether Teeth of their Children, so soon as having shed them, they were grown again; whereby it is observable, that rude and barbarous People are as well pleased with Moderation in the Execution of Punishment, as others are in the Excesses of Benefits.

I was once acquainted with an *Indian* Woman of *Huancavilla* in *Cusco*, who recounted unto me at large all this Story; the Men and Women, (as she said) of that Countrey, did usually boar their Nostrils, for carrying Jewels of Gold and Silver in them; and I remember when I was a Child, that a Neighbour of ours, called *Coca*, had a Horse of a Chestnut colour, which being broken-winded, for his more easie breathing they slit his Nostrils, with which Novelty the *Indians* being much pleased, they called the Horse *Huancavilla*, in similitude of one of that Nation.

CHAP. IV.

The Inca visits his Empire, consults the Oracles, and gains the Island of Puna.

THE *Inca Huayna Capac* having reduced those Provinces, punished the Offenders, and placed sufficient Guards and Garrisons for subjecting the people, and keeping them in obedience, he returned to the Kingdom of *Quito*, and thence taking a compass to the Southward, he proceeded to the *Charcas* by way of *Cusco*, being a Journey of above seven hundred Leagues in length. He also sent visitors to the Kingdom of *Chili*, from whence they brought much Gold to himself, as they had done to his Father; in which Travels he spent four Years, and then resided two Years in *Cusco*. After which he raised fifty thousand Soldiers out of the Division of *Chinchafuyu*, which is to the North of *Cusco*, commanding them to make their Rendezvous on the Frontiers of *Tumpiza*, whilst he in Person descended into the Plains, to visit the Temples of the Sun, of which there were many of great Devotion in those parts. In the first place he went to the rich Temple of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored for the unknown God; and there commanding the Priests to consult the Oracle, who was the Devil, concerning the happiness of his Successes, answer was made, that he should proceed in his Enterprises, for he should be prosperous in them, and in all others that he should undertake; for that he was chosen for supreme Lord of all the four Quarters of the World. Hence he passed to the Valley of *Rimas*, where that famous prating Idol was seated, the which he consulted in compliance with the Capitulations which his Great-grandfather had made with the *Tumacs*, of which one was, that that Idol should be always conserved by him in great veneration, and having received his Answer, which was full of Ambiguities and Flatteries, he proceeded forward to the Vallies which border upon *Tumpiza*; where being arrived, he dispatched his

accustomary Summons of Peace and War to the Inhabitants of the Island of *Puna*, not far distant from the Main Land is a fruitfull soil abounding with all things necessary for humane Life. This Isle contains about twelve Leagues in compass, the Lord of which was by Name *Tumpalla*, one of a proud and haughty Spirit; for having neither by himself nor Ancestours acknowledged any Superiour, they domineered over their Neighbours, and thereby being at discord amongst themselves, were the less able to make head or resistance against the *Inca*. Moreover this *Tumpalla* was vicious and luxurious in his Manners, and Way of living, for he kept many Wives, and Boys used after the fashion of Sodomites; they sacrificed the Blood and Hearts of Men to their Gods; which were Tigers and Lions, and the Fish of that Coast, which, because they yielded them Food in great abundance, were by them, as well as by the common *Indians*, adored for Deities. These People, when they heard the Summons of the *Inca*, were greatly surpris'd and troubled; to which, that they might return their Answer, *Tumpalla* assembled the principal Persons of his Island, and then with great sorrow declared unto them, saying, *Here now appears at the Gates of our Houses a certain Tyrant, who threatens to take from us all our Goods and Estates, and to destroy us all, unless we readily receive him for our Lord and Master; and now in case we should admit him, we must renounce our ancient Liberty, our Command and Principality, which for many Ages hath descended to us from our Ancestours. Nor is this all, for this Foreigner not trusting to our Words and Fidelity, will compell us to labour, and erect Towers and Fortresses, and having put Garrisons into them will force us to maintain the Charge and Expence, that so we may never be in any capacity of recovering our Liberty. He will moreover seize upon the best of our Possessions, and take from us our Wives and Children, and the most beautiful of our Daughters; and what is most grievous, he will abolish our Laws, and ancient Customs, and in the place thereof impose new ones upon us, making us worship strange Gods, and throw down our own, with which we have been acquainted; and in short, live after their manner and pleasure, which is the worst of servitudes. Which being certainly our Case, I leave it to you to consider, whether we had not better die, than be enslaved, desiring you to consult and advise me what course is best to be taken in this exigence.*

The *Indians* hereupon debating the matter amongst themselves, did greatly bewail their own weakness and inability to resist so powerfull a Tyrant; and that the correspondence between them and their Neighbours being very ill, there was no hopes of making a firm and faithfull Confederacy with them; in consideration of which having no prospect of defending themselves, and that their resistance would produce nothing but Ruine and Destruction, they concluded at last, that the less evil was to be chosen, which was to submit to the *Inca*; and to make a Virtue of Necessity, to dissemble a ready Obedience untill opportunity presented, which might acquit them of their servitude. On this Resolution *Tumpalla* did not only render a very favourable and gentle Answer to the Messengers sent by the *Inca*, but also dispatched Ambassadors in his own Name, and in behalf of all his Dominions, to him with presents, humbly offering himself, and all his People, to his Obedience; beseeching him to grace that Island, and his new Vassals, with the favour of his Royal Presence, which would be the greatest felicity that they could expect or imagine.

The *Inca* gratiofully receiving this Address of *Tumpalla*, ordered conveniences to be provided for passing his Army into the Island, that he might take possession of the Countrey; all which being prepared with great punctuality, and in such manner as the shortness of the time would permit, though not with such Pomp and Ostentation as *Tumpalla* did desire, the *Inca* passed into the Island, where he was received with Feasting, and Dancing, and new Songs, purposely composed in Praise and Honour of *Huayna Capac*, and his mighty Actions. His Lodgings were provided in a new Palace, lately built, for the *Inca* was not to sleep in such a Chamber where any other Person had reposed. The *Inca* remaining here for some days, employed himself in giving out necessary Orders for the Government, by Laws, and the Institution of his Religion, commanding the Inhabitants thereof, and all the Neighbours of the Main Land, bordering thereabouts, which consisted of divers Nations and Languages, that leaving the Worship of their former Gods, they should forbear to sacrifice the Blood or Flesh of Men, nor eat it,

nor commit any other wickedness of this nature; but that they should adore the Sun for their universal God, and live amongst Mankind with Justice and Reason. All which the *Inca*, whose Father was the Sun, pronounced, as Legislator of that great Empire, from whose Words nothing was to be subtracted or diminished upon pain of Death. To which *Tumpalla* and his People answered, that they would comply with whatsoever the *Inca* should please to enjoin them.

The Solemnity of the Festival being past, which was provided for the more decent reception of the *Inca*, the *Curacas* had time to think upon what they had done, and considering more maturely of the rigour of the new Laws imposed upon them, and how contrary they were to their ancient Customs, and restrictive of those Pastimes and Diversions they formerly enjoyed, they began already to esteem a foreign Subjection grievous unto them; and so being desirous to return to their old bestiality, the Islanders and their Neighbours conspired together to kill the *Inca*, and all his Army, in a treacherous manner, when the first occasion should occur. To which end they consulted their Gods, privately restoring their Idols to some secret and convenient places, which that they might reconcile for the late affront offered them for their Revolt and Desertion, they sacrificed to them, demanding their Counsel and Advice, whether the Enterprize they had now designed should be successful and prosperous, or not: To this demand the Devil gave them this Answer, That they should go on and be prosperous. With which these Salvages became so proud and confident, that they had immediately proceeded to the Execution of it, had they not been dissuaded by their Magicians and Diviners, who advised them to have patience for a while, for that their Gods were willing to defer the Execution untill a better and more secure opportunity.

CHAP. V.

The Islanders of Puna Massacre the People and Captains of Huaina Capac.

WHILST *Huayna Capac* was ordering and disposing Affairs for the better government of this People, and reducing them to a more political way of living, in the mean time the *Curacas* were meditating the manner how to execute their Treachery; an occasion for which seemed to offer it self, at the time when the *Inca* sending his Captains and Ministers with Commission and Instructions, to inform and teach the Nations of the Main-land the Laws, Doctrines, Customs and Religion of the *Incas*, for he then withdrew his Forces from the Island, the Natives readily supplying Boats and Ferries to transport them into those parts to which they were designed; which being performed, the *Inca* also returned to *Tumbez*, on other important occasions; for whereas these Princes employed their whole time to business for the better government of their People, they omitted nothing which might tend to their good, and to the happiness of their living, and therefore might most justly be styled Lovers of the Poor, and Guardians of their People.

So soon as the *Inca* was departed, his Captains and Officers prepared also for their passage, ordering Boats and Ferries for their transportations, the which were provided by the Natives, in so small a number, as were not sufficient to carry above half the People at a time, the which they purposely contrived, that so

being

being on the Water, they might be able to master that Party, and execute their Design, which was to kill them all: Wherefore one half being embarked together with their Luggage, or Baggage, which was great, for it appertained for the most part to *Incas* of the Blood, who were near the Person of the King, and therefore carried many changes of Apparel with them, which were very fine: These Traitors which conducted the Boats being come to such a place of the Sea, where they had designed to execute their Treachery, cut the Cords and Ropes which bound the Timbers and Planks of the Boats together, which carried the *Incas*, with which all the Captains and Souldiers being plunged in the Sea, the Assassins took up the Oars, and the Arms belonging to them, and therewith knocked them on the Head, not suffering one of them to escape with his Life. And though some of them endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, for most of the *Indians* are very expert in that Art, yet it availed them little, for they were not suffered to come ashore by the People of the Coast, who preyed upon them in such manner, as the Maritime Creatures do upon those of the Land. In this manner these Islanders having gained their Victory, and made themselves Masters of the Spoils, which were very great, they with much Joy and Triumph saluted one the other from Boat to Boat, applauding the contrivance and success of their Design, with which they were so elevated, being an ignorant and foolish People, that they believed they had now not only secured their Liberty, but were able also to make themselves Masters of the Empire. With this vain opinion they returned to the Island, and with like Dissimulation and Wickedness of Intention, took aboard the residue of the Captains and Souldiers, which remained for the second adventure, whom having brought to the same place where the former Villany was perpetrated, they acted the like on them; and then returning home, they completed their Villany, by putting all the Governours and Ministers to death, whom the *Inca* had left to do Justice, and to oversee the Revenue belonging to the Sun, and to the *Inca*, the which they acted with incomparable Cruelty and Disdain of the Royal Person of the *Inca*, placing the Heads of the murdered at the Gates of their Temples, and sacrificing their Hearts and Blood to their Idols, complying hereby with the Vows they had made to their Spirits and Devils, in case they would favour and prosper their Attempt.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Punishment which was inflicted upon these faithless Rebels.

THE sad news of this unhappy success being made known to *Huayna Capac*, he received it with as deep a sense of trouble, as the loss of so many *Incas* of the Blood Royal, and of Men experienced in War and Peace did require, condoling much that their Bodies should be cast into the Sea, to be the Food and Prey of Fish; for which being full of sorrow, he put himself into mourning Weeds, which amongst them is a Clothing of a greyish colour, called *Yellori*. But the Anger and Indignation of the *Inca* soon overcame his sorrow, for having assembled his People together, and provided all things necessary, he with the greatest Expedition imaginable passed into the rebellious Provinces upon the Main-land, and with great facility subjected the Inhabitants, who were a silly people, without Counsel, Policy, or Military Art, whereby to defend themselves.

From

From the Subjection of these people on the Main, the *Inca* passed into the Island, in his way whereunto he encountered a slight resistance on the Sea, but so inconsiderable and weak, that the Enemy was immediately overcome, and yielded to Mercy. Whereupon the *Inca* commanded all the principal Authours and Counsellors of this Design, together with the Captains, and Souldiers of chiefest note, who were in any wise concerned in this Treason, to be seized, and brought before his Tribunal of Justice; to whom one of the Generals made a grave Speech, representing to them the deformity of their Wickedness, aggravated with all the black circumstances that were possible; for that whilst the *Inca* was studying their good, and endeavouring to reclaim them from their bestial and brutish Life, that they might enjoy a condition more agreeable to a rational Being; that then they were contriving to disappoint his good Intentions by the worst and foulest Cruelties: Wherefore since Justice was to be performed, and that the *Inca* could not exercise that Clemency and Compassion which was natural to his Temper, they were to prepare themselves to receive a punishment agreeable to their demerit; upon which Sentence being passed, it was executed with divers sorts of Death, according as the *Inca* directed; that it might have some conformity to that kind of Cruelty which they acted on the people of the *Inca*, they threw some into the Sea, with great weights to sink them to the bottom; others they ran through the Body with their Lances, and pitched them on Spears before the Gates of their Temples; others were quartered after their Throats were cut; others they killed with their own Weapons, and others were hanged. *Pedro de Ciega* having at large described the particulars of this Rebellion, and the Revenge of it, writes afterwards these Words. "In this manner many thousands of Indians were killed and destroyed with different sorts of death; the principal Leaders of which Councils were either drowned or empaled. And after *Huayna Capac* had done Justice upon these Offenders, he commanded that this dismal story should be made the Subject of those Songs which were to be recited on their days, and times of Calamity, which they in doleful Ditties composed in their Language and Proprieties of their Country. After which the *Inca* attempted to make a Causeway over the River *Guayaquile*, which certainly was a great and magnificent work, according to those remains which to this day appear of it; but it was never finished according to the manner that he designed, being called to this day the Pass of *Guayna Capac*; all which being performed, commands were given to obey the Governour who resided in the Fortresses of *Tumbez*, with other matters relating to Government; and so the *Inca* departed from those Quarters. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Ciega*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Mutiny which arose amongst the Chachapuyas, and the Valour of Huayna Capac.

WHilst the King *Huayna Capac* was preparing for his return to *Cuzco*, and to visit several Kingdoms in his way, many *Caciques*, or Lords of those Provinces adjoining to the Coast, which were reduced to the Obedience of the Empire, presented themselves with such Gifts and Offerings as their Countries afforded; amongst which they brought a Lion and a Tyger, both Creatures most fierce in their Nature, and which the *Inca* very much esteeming, gave order that they should be kept and nourished with singular care; by which Creatures God was pleased to work so great a Miracle in favour of the Christians, (as we shall hereafter relate) that they were adored by the Indians for it, and esteemed like their *Incas* for Children of the Sun.

The *Inca Huayna Capac* having provided all things necessary for government of Affairs both in War and Peace, departed from *Tumbez*, intending in his Journey to visit one half of his Kingdom in length, as far as the *Chichas*, which is the ultimate Confines of *Peru*, and then taking a compass to visit the other half, which lies to the Eastward. And being in the Country of the *Chichas*, he employed and substituted certain Visitors to survey the Kingdom of *Tucma*, called by the Spaniards *Tucuman*, and others to visit *Chile*; and with them he sent many Vessments, of such sort as the *Inca* himself wore, and other Curiosities for the Governours, Captains, and other Ministers of the King; as also for the *Curacas*, who were Natives of those Countries, that so they might in the Name of the *Inca* oblige them with those Presents which were highly esteemed. In his Journey from *Cuzco*, and his return thither, he visited the Fortresses, which was then almost finished, and the better to give Life and Encouragement to the chief Architects, and Labourers in the Work, he himself would lay his own hand to some part of the Edifice. This Visitation or Progress being made, in which four Years were spent, he commanded Souldiers to be levied, for the farther Conquest of *Tumbez* to the Northward, where it stretches it self along the Sea-Coast; and whilst he resided in the Province of the *Cannaris*, which was the way, as he thought, that did lead to *Quin*, that he might the better descend for Conquest of that Coast, News was brought to him, that the Inhabitants of the great Province of *Chachapuyas*, seeing him engaged in Wars and Conquests of great importance, took that opportunity to make a Rebellion; and confiding in the fastness of their craggy and mountainous Country, and in the numbers of their People, which were sturdy and stout, had made a general Massacre of all the Governours and Captains, and many of the Souldiery, which the *Inca* had appointed to preside over them; and such of the Souldiers, whom they had spared, they made Slaves to serve them in the basest Drudgeries, and meanest Offices. So soon as this Intelligence was brought to the ears of *Huayna Capac*, with great anger and disdain, he countermanded all his Troops from their march on the Sea-coast, and appointed them to bend their course towards the *Chachapuyas*, resolving to punish them with the extremity of severe Justice; and he in person went to the place which he had appointed for the general Rendezvous; and whilst his Army was gathering into a Body, he sent his Summons to the *Chachapuyas*, requiring them to return to their Obedience, and declaring pardon to all such as should voluntarily submit themselves: but these brutish people instead of returning a submissive and penitent Answer, treated the Messengers with indignities and opprobrious words, threatening them with Death, if they did not immediately depart; the which rude treatment the *Inca* highly resenting, made all the speed imaginable to unite his Forces, and having assembled and fitted his Army, he marched to a great River, where they found

found many Boats made of a sort of light and boyant Timber, which in the common Language of Peru are called *Chuchan*.

The *Inca* considering that it was neither honourable, nor decent for his Person, nor People, to pass over the water in companies of five or six in a Boat, commanded that all these Boats should be joined together, and linked one to one, by which means the Army might march over them in a more compact and conjoined Body, as over a Bridge, the which was ordered with so much Art and industry, that the *Inca* and his Army passed the Water in one days time; and then with all expedition marched in Battalia towards *Casca Marquilla*, which is the principal Province of that people, intending to destroy and consume all before him; for as this Prince availed himself much in being esteemed gentle, and gracious towards his good and loyal Subjects, so he desired no less to render himself terrible to Rebels, Traitors, and Falsifiers of their Word.

These Rebels being sensible of the just Anger of the *Inca*, and the power of his Army, and the punishment of their crime, which they too late repented; and also considering the rude and brutish terms and treatment they had used towards the Messengers, which brought the late Summons from the *Inca*, with which despairing of all favour and pardon, they resolved to demolish their Houses and Dwellings, and with their Wives and Children, and such as were able to flee unto the Mountains. Howsoever the old people and infirm remaining behind, and being of more experience, and more considerate than the others, recalled to mind the late generosity of this *Huayna Capac*, and the assurances they had, that he would never refuse the Instances and Requests made him by a Woman, did therefore address themselves to a certain Matron, named *Chachapuya*, a Native of *Casca Marquilla*, who had formerly been the Wife of *Tupac Inca Yupanqui* the Great, beseeching her that she would with all the Prayers and Tears she was able, endeavour to divert the present danger, and appease the Wrath of the *Inca*, persuading him notwithstanding the late provocations, to receive the people to pardon and mercy, without which there could be no hopes, or other expectation than a total ruine and desolation of that Province.

This Matron considering her self involved with the her family in same Destruction, readily inclined to this good Office, and so with Women of all Ages, without admitting one man into their company, she went forth to meet the *Inca*, whom finding about two Leagues distant from *Casca Marquilla*, she boldly prostrated her self at his Feet, and with great presence of mind, expostulated in this manner with him: Sir, said she, where is it you are going? Do not you consider, that full of Rage and indignation you are going to destroy that Province which your good Father gained, and added to his Empire? Consider I beseech you, that you are proceeding against the Rules of that Clemency and Piety which are natural to you, and that you are going to execute that Desolation and Destruction in your anger, which you will repent with much remorse, so soon as you return to your sober and natural temper. Reflect I beseech you on your Title of *Huacchacuyac*, which is a Lover of the Poor, and a Deliverer of the Distressed; the which generous Quality you cannot exercise at a more seasonable time, when you may manifestly evidence to all the World the compassion you have for humane frailty. Remember, Sir, that your Father conquered this People, which, though unworthy such a Patron, are yet your own, and therefore let not your Fury so far transport you in the punishment of this People, and in the unprofitable effusion of their Blood, which may blemish your ancient Praises, and eclipse the bright character you have of being descended from the Sun your Father. Consider that how much the greater the crime is which you pardon, so much the more will your Clemency and Piety be exalted and admired, and the memory of your Ancestours be rendered more precious and glorious by the proof and exercise of this Virtue, which they have derived unto you. Wherefore my Petition is, that you would vouchsafe to receive this People unto pardon; and if not, that at least since I am a Native of this Province, you would vent your Anger and Revenge first upon me, and thereby do me that grace and favour, that I may not live to behold the entire Destruction of my People. The Matron having uttered these Words, was silent, and then all the other Women, that were with her, lifted up their Voices and Cries, repeating often the Titles of the *Inca*, saying, O thou Child of the Sun, thou Lover of the Distressed, thou Great *Huayna Capac*, have pity on us, and pardon our Fathers, our Husbands, our Brothers and our Children.

The *Inca* herewith was struck dumb for a while, considering the Reasons which *Mamacuna* had given him, which being seconded by the Cries, and Tears, and Sighs of the *Indian* Women, the Anger of the *Inca* began to moderate and assuage, with

with which going towards his Mother-in-law, he raised her from the ground; and then said to her, Well dost thou deserve to be called *Mamanchic*, or the common Mother (he would have said the Mother of me, and thy people) since thou hast been so provident, as to foresee the Miseries which were coming, and to provide that remedy against them, which was agreeable to my Honour, and the Glory of my Father's Memory: For which I must heartily thank thee, being assured, that in case I had given way to my rage, I had to morrow repented the actions of this day. Well hast thou performed the office of a Mother towards thy people, in redeeming their lives from destruction; in which, since thou hast been so successful, whatsoever thou hast desired of me, shall be accomplished; and consider, if there be any thing else which thou wouldst require of me, return therefore with happiness to thy people; pardon them in my name, and offer them what other grace and favour thou seest convenient: And for the better assurance of this my pardon, take with thee the four *Incas*, who are your Sons, and my Brothers, without other attendance than their own *Admial* Servants, to whom I shall give no other Commission, than only to settle them in peace under a good and wholesome Government. Which being said, the *Inca* returned with his whole Army, commanding them to march along the Coast in prosecution of his first design.

The *Chachapuyas* by this gracious Act of Clemency being convinced of their error, became afterwards most loyal Subjects to the *Inca*; and in remembrance and gratitude for such high and sublime generosity, they hallowed and esteemed that place Sacred where this discourse had passed between the *Inca* and his Mother-in-law, fencing it about, that for ever after, neither Man, nor Beast, nor yet the Fowls of the Air, should set their foot, or tread that Sacred place: For security of which they encompassed it about with three Walls; the first was of Stone rarely polished, with all its Cornishes; the second was of rough and rustick Stone, for better security of that within; and the third was of Clay, or Sun-burnt Bricks, for defence of the other two, being more exposed to the weather: Of which some Reliques and Ruines still remain, and might have endured for many Ages, had not the Covetousness of the New-come Guests overthrown those Edifices in the Quest of Riches.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Gods, and Customs of the Nation of Manta; of their Subjection; together with many other Barbarous Nations.

Huayna Capac having fitted and prepared his Camp in order to the Conquest of that Province, which was called *Manta*, he arrived at the Confines of that Harbour, which the *Spaniards* do now call *Puerto Viejo*, or the Old Haven: the reason of which Name, we have already given, at the beginning of this History. The Natives of this Country, and all the Inhabitants for many Leagues on the Sea-side Northward, observed the same Customs, and the same Idolatrous Religion; Worshipping the Sea and Fish, of which there was great abundance, serving them both for food, and for Gods: They also adored Lions, and Tygers, and Serpents of incredible bigness, and other creeping creatures, as they best fancied: But above all in the Valley of *Manta*, which was the Metropolis, or chief place of all that Country; they Worshipped an Emerald of a prodigious bigness, being not much less than the Egg of an Ostrich.

At their principal Festivals they exposed it to publick view, so that the *Indians* came far and near to Worship it, and offer Sacrifices to it, bringing Presents of lesser Emeralds; the Priests and the *Cacique* of *Manta* telling the people, that the Offerings of the lesser Emeralds, which were the Children and Off-spring of this

great One, were the most pleasing and acceptable Sacrifice that they could make to this Goddes; the which doctrine being inculcated into the people by the covetousness of the Priests, was the occasion that vast numbers of Emeralds were amassed together in this place, where they were afterwards found by *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and his Companions, of which *Garcilasso de la Vega*, my Master, was one, when they were employed in the Conquest of *Pern*: but they being unskillfull Lapidaries, were of opinion, that these Stones, if they were true, and not Glasse, could never be broken; and therefore in the trial of them broke the greatest part of them with Hammers upon an Anvil: But the great one, which was their Goddes, was conveyed away by the *Indians* in such manner, so soon as they understood that the *Spaniards* had invaded their Countrey, that with all the diligence and menaces which could be used, it could never be recovered; as also other vast and immense treasures which have been lost and embezzled in that Countrey.

The Natives of *Manta*, and the parts adjacent, and especially those that live along the Coast (though we must exempt the *Serranos*, who inhabit within the Land) did use and profess openly, and without shame, that abominable vice of Sodomy, and were more addicted to it than all the other Nations we have before mentioned, as guilty of this sin. Their Marriages were contracted, on condition that the Parents and Friends of the Bridegroom should first enjoy the Bride before the Husband. Those which they took in the War they steal'd, and filling their Skins with Althes, they hanged them up at the Gates of their Temples in signal of Victory, or in the publick places where they danced.

To this people the *Inca* sent his accustomed Summons, requiring them either to submit themselves to his Empire, or prepare to defend themselves by Arms: But this people of *Manta* had a long time since been well assured, that their force was not sufficient to resist the power of the *Inca*, though they had been able to have made an Alliance with the neighbouring Nations; for considering that they were a brutish sort of people, without Government, Union, or Law, there was no possibility of reducing them within any terms of confederacy; and therefore they all with much facility submitted themselves to *Huayna Capac*. The *Inca* received them very graciously, treating them with kindness and rewards; and having placed Officers and Governours over them, and Instructours to teach them their Religion, Laws and Customs, he proceeded afterwards in his Conquest to another great Province called *Caranque*. In the parts adjacent there were many other Nations, all brutish, living without Law, Religion or Government. The Conquest of them was performed without any difficulty, for they never attempted to defend themselves; and if they had, it would have been to little purpose, being all of them, though united together, an unequal match for the power of the *Inca*. In the subjection and disposal of these people, the same rules and methods were used, as with the former, over whom Governours and Instructours were sent to preside, that they might rule and teach them. Proceeding forward in these Conquests, they came at length to other Provinces more barbarous and fottish than any as yet inhabiting along that Coast; for the Men and Women cut and slashed their faces with sharp flints, and moulded their Childrens heads into a deformed shape, different to what nature had given them: For so soon as their Infants were born, they clapt a smooth Plate upon their foreheads, and another on the hinder parts of the head; the which was straitened every day harder and harder, untill they came to the Age of four or five years; by which time the head was grown broad on each side, and consequently the forehead low, and the face contracted in the length: And to make themselves yet more deformed, they cut-off the hair behind, and on the crown of the head, leaving onely locks on each side; nor were these locks of hair combed, or plaited, but frizzled and frowled, to make their countenances yet more monstrous and deformed: their food was for the most part Fish, (for Fishery was their chief employment) likewise they ate Herbs, and Roots, and such wild Fruits as the Woods produced; they went naked, and worshipped the Gods which their Neighbours adored. These Nations were called *Apichiqui*, *Pichunsi*, *Sava*, *Pecellanimiqui*, *Pampahuaci*, and the like. These people being reduced, the *Inca* proceeded to another Nation, called *Saramislu*, and then to another named *Passan*, which is situated directly under the Equinoctial line; and these were yet more barbarous than the rest, for they owned no Gods, nor did the thoughts of a God ever enter into their consideration; for they were not associated in any political communion, nor had they Houses, but lived in hollow

Trees.

Trees, which are very capacious in those Mountains; they had no propriety in Wives, nor Children, but mixed together as they casually met, and used Sodomy in an open manner: they knew not how to cultivate the Land, or doe any other thing which is conducing to humane life. Their Bodies were naked without any habit; their Lips they cut and slashed both within and without; their Faces they painted in four quarters, with divers colours; one part was yellow, another blew, another red, and another black, changing the colours as they thought fit: They never combed their heads, but suffered their hairs to grow long and matted, being full of straw, or dust, or any thing that fell upon them; in short, they were worse than beasts. In the year 1560, when I went for *Spain*, I remember I saw some of these people at a place where we touched to take fresh water, and remained there for three or four days; and there these people came out to us in their Boats made of Rushes to trade with us, and sell us their great Fish, which they struck with their Fishgigs; which they performed with such dexterity, that the *Spaniards* took great pleasure to see them, and would bargain for them before they struck them: their price was made for Bisket and Flesh, for they had no value for Silver: their Privities they covered with leaves, or barks of Trees, not for the shame they had of them in the way of common modesty, but out of respect to the *Spaniards*; in short, they were salvage and barbarous above imagination.

It is said, when *Huayna Capac* observed the barrenness of those Countries, being nothing but Mountains; and the bestiality of that nasty people, which was so stupid, that he despaired of ever reducing them to a tolerable Oeconomy; that then he should say to his people, *Come, and let us return again, for these deserve not the Honour of our Dominion*. At which words the whole Army faced about, and returned, leaving the people of *Passan* in their ancient filthiness and brutality.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Giants which were in that Countrey, and the destruction of them.

BEFORE we conclude our History relating to the affairs of this Countrey, we cannot omit one notable particular, which the Natives by tradition from their Forefathers have received, telling us of certain Giants which came to that Countrey by Sea, and landed at that Point, or Cape, which the *Spaniards* call *St. Helen's*, because they first discovered it upon that day; and though the *Spanish* Writers mention Giants, yet there is none who treats of them so much at large as *Pedro de Cieza* doth, who took his information from the people of that Countrey, where these Giants resided, we shall make use of his Relation, and rehearse his words *verbatim*, as he sets them down; for though *Joseph Acosta*, and the Accountant-General *Augustine de Carate* touch those particulars; yet none describe them so much at large as *Pedro de Cieza*, whose Words are these, in the 52d Chapter of his Book: "Seeing that there are many reports of Giants in *Pern*, which, according to common fame, landed at the Cape of *St. Helen*, which lyes near to *Puerto Viejo*; I have thought fit to declare my opinion in the case, without regard to the variety of common report, which often magnifies things above the truth. The Natives of this Countrey having received it by tradition from their Fathers, tell us, that many Ages past, there was a sort of Men of an extraordinary size, which arrived at that Countrey in great Junks; they were so large, that a Man of our ordinary stature reached but to their knees; and that their bodies being proportionable thereunto, (as we may measure the body of *Hercules* by his foot) were strange monsters to behold: their Heads were great, covered with long hair hanging to their shoulders; their Eyes were as big as Saucers;

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cers; they had no Beards; some of them were clothed with the Skins of Beasts, others were naked, and without other covering than long hair, which nature had given them. They brought no Women with them, but being arrived at this Point, they landed, and seated themselves in the manner of people under Government, of which there remain some Ruines to this day: But in regard they found no water, they set themselves to make Wells, which they digged out of the hard living Rock, so that they may continue for many Ages, and which speak the great and mighty strength of those robustious Men; and being very deep, they yield a most sweet and pleasant water; very cool, and wholesome to drink.

"These great Giants, or over-grown Men, having seated themselves, and provided Cisterns for their Drink, the next thing was to make a sufficient provision for their Victuals; for they had already almost consumed the whole Countrey; for one of these great Men was able to eat as much as fifty of those ordinary people, that were Natives of the place; so that food beginning to want, they supplied themselves from the great quantities of Fish, which they took from the Sea, which yielded to them in great abundance. They lived with great abhorrence, and in ill correspondence with the people of the Countrey; for their Women, they could not use without killing them; and the Natives, for that and other causes, as much detested them; but being weaker than they, the Indians durst not attempt, or assault them, though they often entertained Consultations in what manner to take advantages upon them. Some years being passed, since these Giants resided in those parts, and having no Women fit for them, with whom to couple for propagation of their race, their numbers began to diminish; and wanting the natural use of Women, by the motion and instigation of the Devil, they burned in Lust one towards the other, and used Sodomy publicly in the face of God, and the Sun, without shame or respect one to the other. The which abomination being detestable in the sight of God, as the Natives report, it pleased his Divine and pure Majesty to punish this unnatural Sin, with a Judgment extraordinary, and agreeable to the enormity of it: For being one day all together conjoined in this detestable Act, there issued a dreadful Fire from Heaven, with great noise and thunder; and immediately an Angel proceeded from this flame with a glittering and flaming Sword, with which, at one blow, he killed them all; and then the Fire consumed them, leaving no more than their bones and skulls, which it pleased God to suffer as reliques to remain for an everlasting Memorial of this Judgment. Thus much is the Relation of the Giants, the which we have ground to believe, because the bones of Men are found there of an incredible bigness; and I have heard Spaniards say, that they have seen the piece of one hollow Tooth to weigh above half a pound of the Butcher's weight; and that they had seen one of the Shank-bones of an incredible length and bigness: besides which evidences, their Wells and Cisterns are clear testimonies of the places of their habitation. But as to the parts from whence they came, I am not able to render any account.

In the year 1550, being in the City of *los Reyes*, when *Don Antonio de Mendoza* was Vice-king, and Governour of New Spain, there were certain bones of Men digged up, which were of Giants, or Men of an extraordinary proportion; and I have heard also that at *Mexico* there were bones digged out of a Sepulchre, which for being of an extraordinary size, might be the bones of Giants: By which testimony of so many persons, it plainly appears, that there were Giants, and those bones might be the reliques of those mighty Men, of which we have already spoken.

At this Cape of *St. Helena*, (which as I have said is upon the Coast of *Pern*, and bordering near to *Puerto Viejo*) there is one thing very considerable, and that is a Mine, or Spring of Tar, of such excellent quality, and which issues in that plenty, as may serve to Tar a whole Fleet of Ships. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieza*, which we have faithfully transcribed out of his History, to shew the Tradition which the Indians have of these Giants; and the Spring of Tar which issues out about that place, which is a matter also very observable.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

Of the Words which Huayna Capac uttered relating to the Sun.

THE King *Huayna Capac* (as we have said) commanded his Army to return from the Province called *Passan*, the which he made his extreme and frontier Countrey to the Northward; which having done, he returned again to *Cuzco*, visiting his Provinces in the way, doing them all the favours he was able, and administering Justice to those which did demand it of him.

Returning at length to *Cuzco*, after this long Journey of some years, he arrived there about the time that the principal Feast of the Sun was to be celebrated, called *Raymi*: And the Indians tell us a story, that upon one day of the nine, that this Festival continued, the *Inca* took a liberty to fix his eyes upon the Sun, which was a freedom yet unknown, and esteemed a profanation so to do, or to behold the circle wherein he moved; on which object, whilst for sometime he continued his sight, the High Priest, who was one of his Uncles, and stood next to him, said, *Inca, what is it you do? know you not that this is not lawfull?*

Hereat the King withdrew his Eyes for awhile, but presently after lifting them up again, fixed them upon the Sun; which the High Priest observing, reproved him for it, and told him, *Sir, consider what it is you do; for you not only do an action which is unlawfull in it self, but you give ill example and scandal to all your Court, and the people of your Dominions, who are here present to perform that venerable adoration which they owe to your Father, as their sole and supreme Lord.* Hereupon *Huayna Capac* turning to the High Priest, told him, that he would ask him two Questions, which he required him to make answer unto: *I being (said he) your King and universal Lord, is there any of you so bold as to command me for your pleasure to arise from my seat, and take a Journey to those parts whereunto you shall direct me? How, replied the High Priest, can any person be so impudent and daring? Is there any Curaca (said the Inca) the most rich and powerfull of all my Subjects, who will adventure to disobey my Commands, in case I should dispend him post from hence into the most remote parts of Chili? No,* replied the High Priest, *these cannot certainly be any who dares to disobey you, or refuse your commands even to death. Then (said the King) if it be so, there must be some other whom Our Father the Sun takes and esteems for a more supreme, and more powerfull Lord than himself; by whose Commands he every day measures the compass of the Heavens, without any intermission, or hour of repose; for if he were absolute, and at his own disposal, he would certainly allot himself some time of cessation, though it were only to please his own humour and fancy, without other consideration than that of liberty and change.* For this Speech and others of the like nature, which the Indians reported of this Prince, the Spaniards conceived so great an opinion of his judgment and understanding, that they believed the subtilty of his wit would very easily have comprehended, and given admission to the Doctrines of the Catholick Faith. A certain Spanish Captain, who might have heard this Story of *Huayna Capac*, for it was commonly discoursed in *Pern*, did make himself the Authour of this Saying, and recounted it to *Acofta* for his own. This *Acofta*, in the fifth Book of his History of the New World, mentioning this particular Saying, which is attributed to *Huayna Capac*, but names not the person by whom it was uttered: but reports, "That there was a certain *Inca*, a person of a subtil wit, and refined understanding, who observing how his Ancestours had always adored the Sun for a God, seemed to wonder at it, and said, that it was impossible for the Sun to be God. For God was certainly a great Lord, who formed and acted all his matters with quiet and settlement; but that the Sun was a thing always in motion, which was contrary to the unalterable Being of God: His reason was admirably good and sound; and such as being well explained to the Indians, might effectually have convinced them of their errors and follies. Thus far are the Words of *Acofta*; with which he

he concludes that Chapter. The *Indians*, who were very superstitious and scrupulous in their Idolatry, interpreted this unpractised liberty which *Huayna Capac* took in beholding the Sun, to be an ill Omen of some unhappy success. But this conceit concerning the Nature of the Sun, was not (as I hear) primarily to be attributed to *Huayna Capac*, but that he received it first from his Father *Tupac Inca Yupanqui*, who uttered something of the like nature.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Rebellion of the Caranques, and their Punishment for it.

THE *Inca Huayna Capac* taking his Circuit through the several Provinces of his Empire, which was the last Journey he made; news was brought him, that the Province of *Caranque*, which was one (as we have said) that was the last conquered in the utmost Confines of *Pern*, was risen into rebellion; for being a sort of barbarous and cruel people, such as offered the blood, and heads, and hearts of Men, whom they had killed, in sacrifice to their Gods, and ate Man's flesh; for not being able to bear the Laws of reason and good manners, which were given them, especially that which forbade the eating of Humane flesh, they had joined with the neighbouring Countries in Alliance and League, intending to make a general Insurrection: For this reason they held many secret Meetings, and gathered people to surprize and kill the Governours and Ministers of the *Inca*, together with the Souldiers and Garrisons which were set over them: And whilst matters were thus preparing for execution of their design at the time appointed, they dissembled their submission and treachery with the greatest demonstrations of fidelity and kindness imaginable, that the *Incas* being thereby become more confident of their Loyalty, they might with the more facility, and less danger, find an opportunity to cut their throats. The Plot being laid, and the time come for the execution of it, they without any remorse killed all the *Incas*, and others which presided over them, offering their heads, hearts and blood to their Gods in sacrifice, by way of acknowledgment for being freed from their subjection to the *Incas*. They then devoured their flesh, and drank their blood with much greediness, for being debarred for some time from that food, they longed for it; and partly in revenge, and partly from a voracious appetite thereunto, they ate with spight, satisfying both their palate and their anger. The advice of which being come to *Huayna Capac*, he was greatly troubled, and immediately dispeised away his Captains with an Army to execute justice for this great offence, whilst he in person kept at some distance, observing the success of this affair: The Captains accordingly invested the *Caranques*; but first, according to their usual custom, they sent Propositions of Peace and Amnety, in case they would return to obedience and submission of the *Inca*. But these barbarous Rebels were so far from accepting these terms, that they impudently rejected, and scorned them, and so ill treated the Messengers, that they hardly escaped from their hands. Of which *Huayna Capac* being informed, he resolved personally to assail them with his whole Army, putting all to fire and sword before him. The Rebels fought with great obduracy, and the *Incas* honourably acquitted themselves to revenge the affront to their King; so that on one side and the other many thousands were slain: But whereas the power of the *Inca* was, as to that people, invincible; they in a short time began to abate in their courage and hopes; so that not daring to fight in the open Plains, they betook themselves to the Woods and Mountains, and to defend themselves in difficult passes. But such was the Power and Military Discipline of the *Incas*, that they entirely defeated the Enemy, taking many thousands of them

them Prisoners; the most culpable of which, and the most active in this Rebellion, to the number of two thousand, part of which were *Caranques*, and part Allies with them, were put to death, having their throats cut within a Lake, and their bodies sunk into the deep; the waters of which being stained with the blood, the Lake was for ever afterwards called *Tabuarcacha*, or the bloody Sea, in a perpetual Memorial of this rebellious crime, and the punishment of it. *Pedro de Cieza* mentioning this particular, reports, that twenty thousand of them suffered this punishment; perhaps he means, that so many might be killed in this War on both sides.

The *Inca Huayna Capac* having executed this justice in the punishment of Rebels, departed for *Quito*, being much troubled, that during his Reign, such enormous wickednesses should arise, which should require his extreme severity and rigour in the just punishment; being an action as much contrary to his natural inclination, as it was to the custom and practice of his Ancestours, who most availed themselves on the Titles of Pious and Merciful: He was moreover much concerned, that these unhappy accidents should concur in his time, and not in the Reign of his Predecessours; having no example, or precedent of so much cruelty, unless it were in the case of the *Chanca*, which happened in the Reign of the *Inca Viracocha*. Perhaps the matter being well considered, it might be a fore-runner of that grand rebellion and defection, which was the destruction of the Empire, and ruine of the Blood-Royal, as we shall now see in the sequel of this History.

CHAP. XII.

Huayna Capac makes his Son Atahualpa King of Quito.

THE *Inca Huayna Capac* (as we have before noted) had by the Daughter of the King of *Quito*, who was Heir to that Kingdom, a Son named *Atahualpa*, who was a person of great understanding, and of a quick wit and apprehension; he was also of a subtle, jealous, and cautious temper, naturally courageous, and addicted to War, of a good shape, and gentle body, with a pleasant Air in his mouth, as have commonly all the *Incas* and *Pallas*, which are Ladies. These Endowments of mind and body were so pleasing to his Father, that he loved him entirely, and would have him always in company with him; and would have made him his sole Heir and Successour to his Empire, but that he could not disinherit his Eldest Son *Huascar*, who claimed by Right of Primogeniture a title to all the Estate and Empire of his Father: Howsoever, as to the Kingdom of *Quito*, there seemed some colour of justice to dismember it from the Empire, and confer it in right of his Mother on her Son *Atahualpa*; the which being the desire and intention of *Huayna Capac*, he sent for the Prince *Huascar*, then at *Cozco*, to come to him, and in a full Assembly of his Captains and *Curacas*, spake to his legitimate Son and Heir in this manner: It is well known, Prince, that according to the ancient Custom and Canon of our Ancestours derived to us from our first Father *Manco Capac*, this Kingdom of *Quito* belongs to your Crown and Inheritance; having ever been maintained for a rule unto this day, that whatsoever Kingdoms or Provinces have been conquered, have ever been annexed to the Imperial Crown, of which *Cozco* is the chief City and Metropolis: But in regard I bear so tender an affection towards your Brother *Atahualpa*, that it would grieve me much to see him poor; I could therefore wish you would consent to part with the Kingdom of *Quito*, that so I might bestow it upon him; for though the Inheritance in right be yours, yet considering that that Kingdom was the Patrimony of

his Fathers, and came by his Mother; and that I have added many Countries and Provinces to your Patrimony, you may the more easily condescend to my desires in this; and so yielding Quito to your Brother, whose Vertues deserve a Royal condition, your interest will be fortified and strengthened by the assistance of such an Associate, who being endeared the more by this obligation, will be able to recompense the favour, and serve you in the Wars for the Conquest of many other Countries, which are adjacent to your Frontiers, and pay you for the release of this Kingdom by the acquisition of many more; which if you think fit to grant, I shall then depart with contentment out of this World, when I go to rest with our Father the Sun.

The Prince Huascar answered his Father with a cheerful frankness, telling him, that he was over-joyed of this opportunity, wherein he might demonstrate his readiness to obey his Father the Inca, in any thing which he might esteem for his service; and that if it were necessary for the better accommodation of his Brother Atahualpa, that he should release other Provinces, provided it may be to give his Father satisfaction he would, esteeming nothing so dear and valuable as his pleasure and contentment.

Huayna Capac having received this obliging Answer from his Son Huascar, gave him leave to return to Cuzco, and then contrived the ways in what manner to settle his Son Atahualpa in the Kingdom of Quito, adding other Provinces to his Crown and Dignity; he also bestowed upon him several of his Captains of best experience, and furnished him with part of his Army; and, in short, omitted nothing to render him great, though it were to the prejudice of the Prince, to whose right the whole Succession and Inheritance appertained: And being a most tender and indulgent Father, and passionate in the love of this Son, he designed to be an Assistant to him in the Administration of all the affairs of his Kingdom, during the time of his life: the which resolution was taken both out of care and favour to his Son, that so he might lay a good foundation to his Kingdom, and also that he might the better keep the new Conquests lately made upon the Sea-coast, and Inland Countries, in subjection; for the people there being warlike, barbarous, and bestial, were ready upon all occasions to rebel, and rise in Arms against the Government of the Inca: For securing of which Peace, it was the custom and practice of the Incas to transplant the people from one Province to another, which was an approved course to make them quiet and peaceable, and much more observant and submissive to their Kings, as we have at large discoursed in those places where we have treated of Colonies, called by them *Mitmas*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the two famous and great Roads in Peru.

IT were but justice to the Life and Memory of Huayna Capac, if we mention those two great Roads which run North and South through the whole Kingdom of Peru, because the making of them is attributed unto him: One of them passes along by the Sea-coast, and the other over the Mountains to the Inland Countries, which Historians describe with high Enlargements, though, in reality, the work exceeds the common fame: And in regard I cannot pretend to lay them down with such exactness as some have done, I shall therefore refer my self to their Relations, and begin with Augustin Carate, who in the 13th Chapter of his first Book speaking of the Original of the Incas, hath these words: "In a due and orderly succession of these Incas, there was one called Guaynacava (which signifies a rich young Man) who came to the Government, and encreased, and greatly enlarged his Dominions; his business being chiefly to advance Justice and Reason, he so far prevailed on the uncultivated understandings of that barbarous people, that he seemed to have worked Miracles in political conversation, having reduced them without the help of letters to Obedience and Rule, and gained so far on the affection of his Vassals, that for his service they readily applied their hands, and their hearts, to make and open a large Road in Peru, which was so famous, that we cannot in justice omit to mention, and describe it, in regard that amongst the seven Wonders of the World, there was none made at greater expence and labour than this. When this Guaynacava marched with his Army from Cuzco to conquer the Province of Quito, which are about five hundred Leagues distant one from the other; he suffered many difficulties in his passage, by reason of the inaccessible ways over Rocks and Mountains, which he was to overcome: Howsoever, having passed and subdued that Country, and being now to return again victorious and triumphant, the Indians broke a convenient way through the Mountains, which they made both plain and wide, breaking the Rocks, and levelling the Ground which was rough and uneven; so that sometimes they were forced to raise it fifteen or twenty fathom in height, and in other places to sink it as far; and in this manner they continued their work for five hundred Leagues in length. And it is reported, that when this work was finished, the way was so plain, that a Cart or Coach might be driven over it; yet afterwards, in the time of the Wars, all this workmanship and labour was demolished by the Indians, to make the ways and passes more difficult to the Christians. Now if we compare this work with the short cut onely of two Leagues of Mountain, which is between Espinar, Segovia, and Guadarrama in Spain, and consider what charge and labour hath been there employed, onely to make that way tolerably passable for the Kings of Castile, when at any time they passed with their Equipage and Court from Andalusia, or Toledo, and travelled into parts beyond those Mountains; which, as I say, if it were considered, what an immense and incredible work must this seem to have been? Nay farther, the Incas were not content with this, for this Guaynacava intending again to visit the Province of Quito, for variety in his Travels, he resolved to take his passage through the Plains, which the Indians, though with no less difficulty, made as convenient as that of the Mountains; for in all those Vallies which were watered with Rivers and Fountains, and were planted with Trees, which (as we have said elsewhere) did commonly continue for a full League, they made a way almost forty foot wide, with thick Mud-walls on each side, being four or five Frames, or Pannels, of this Mud in height. And then entering out of these Plains into the sandy ways, they drove in great Stakes into the ground on one side and the other,

" that so Travellers might not mistake their way, or wander either on one hand, or the other; and in this manner all was ordered for the space of five hundred Leagues, being the same distance as over the Mountains. But now the Stakes fixed in the sandy Grounds are in many parts broken, or plucked up by the Spaniards, who in the times, as well of War as Peace, made use of them for fuel; yet the Walls which are made in the Vallies remain entire unto this day, by which we may conjecture and judge of the greatness of this work. And thus did this *Guaynacuma* go by one way, and return by another, being always covered with Boughs of Trees, and entertained with the fragrant smells of sweet Flowers. Thus far are the Words of *Augustin de Carate*.

Likewise *Pedro de Cieca de Leon* discoursing of this matter, and of the Road through the Mountains, hath these words in the 37th Chapter of his Book: " From *Tiplas* you travel to a small Province called *Onken*, and in the way thither you pass that famous Road which the *Incas* made in those parts, and may be compared to that which *Hannibal* made over the *Alpes*, when he marched into *Italy*; and indeed, considering the great Chambers and Store-houses which were made in that way, it seems a more difficult, and a more admirable piece of work.

Of which *Pedro de Cieca* enlarges no farther; howsoever in the 60th Chapter of his Book, speaking of the Road over the Plains, he hath these words: " That I may proceed in my History with due method, I have thought it requisite, before I conclude, to mention something relating to the Road over the Plains, which, as I have touched in other places, is a work of singular remark and importance: And therefore I must here denote something of that high Road over the Plains, half of which, at least, is a way made by order of the *Incas*; the which, though now it is in many places broken down, and demolished, yet the Ruines of it are durable evidences of the power of those who first commanded the same to be made. The *Indians* attribute this work to *Guaynacapa*, and *Topa Inga Yupanque* his Father, who descended by these Vallies to the lower Provinces; though some report, that *Inga Yupanque*, the Grandfather of *Guaynacapa*, and Father of *Topa Inga*, was the first who discovered that Coast, and passed those Plains unto it; and that the *Caciques*, or chief Governours of those parts, made the Road fifteen Foot broad by command and direction of that *Inga*: on each side a very strong Wall was built, adjoining to which, were fine groves of Trees planted; the Boughs of which did sometimes reach over the way, being laden with Fruit; and the floor, or the way under foot, was smooth and easie; the Woods and Forests all along were inhabited by Singing-birds, Parrots, and Fowls of all sorts.

And farther, this *Cieca* treating of the Store-houses, and places of entertainment and provision, saith, " That these Walls reach all along the way, excepting onely those sandy deserts which could not bear a foundation: Howsoever, as proofs of the greatness of the Founders, and as signs and marks to direct Travellers, great Timbers, in the manner of Piles, were driven into the ground at such a space and distance as were easily seen from one to the other. And as they were very careful to keep the ways in the Vallies clear, and the Walls in good repair; so also the like diligence was used to keep up the Posts or Stakes, in case any of them should be blown down by the Wind, or overturned by any other accident: So that this Road was certainly a great piece of Workmanship, though not so laborious in the making, as that of the Mountains. In these Vallies also there were some Fortresses and Temples of the Sun, which we shall specify in their due places. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cieca*, which we have extracted verbatim.

Likewise *John Botero Benes* makes mention of these two Roads, and in his Observations denotes them for miraculous Works; and, in short, says thus much of them: " From the City of *Coco* there are two great Roads, or King's Highways, running at least two thousand Miles in length, one of which goes by the way of the Plains, and the other leads by the Mountains: And in making these ways in the manner they now are, being twenty five Foot broad, it was necessary to raise the Vallies, level the Mountains, and cut through the solid and living Rocks; which is a Work so great, as exceeds above any comparison, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, or the *Roman* Edifices. All which is extracted

tracted out of the Words of the three preceding Authours, who treat of these two famous Roads; every one of which exalts their praises to such a degree, as most pleases his fancy, though they all come short of that praise and admiration, which is due to the Greatness of so mighty a Work: For were there nothing more in the matter, than onely a continued distance of five hundred Leagues in length, it were much to be admired; but when we consider that this Road passes over ascents on the Mountains of two, three, and four Leagues high; it is then so strange, that nothing seems to be comparable to it. Besides all which, we must note, that on the highest tops of the Hills, from whence was the best prospect, there were erected certain Lodges, or Houses of Pleasure, which were seated on each side of the way, with Stone-stairs to go up to them, where the Chair-men which carried the Sedans did usually rest, and where the *Incas* did sit for some time taking the Air; and surveying in a most pleasant prospect all the high and lower parts of the Mountains, which wore their coverings of Snow, or on which the Snow was falling, which certainly was a most pleasant view; for from the tops of some very high Mountains one might see sixty, seventy, eighty, or an hundred Leagues round; in which variety of prospect the piques of some very high Mountains were to be seen, that seemed to touch the Heavens; and other Chasms and Precipices so low and deep, as seemed to extend unto the centre of the Earth. Of all which Works, there is nothing remains but Ruines, and such as War and time have not been able to destroy. Onely in the Road by the Plains, and in the deserts of Sand, which are wide and vast, and where also are some Hills and Dales, there they have droven in their Piles, or Posts of Wood; which being placed in sight one of another, do serve for Marks to direct Travellers in their way, where there is no path, or beaten road, because it being all Sand, the track and footsteps are covered by the Sand so often as it is moved by the Wind: And therefore these Posts are so necessary to Travellers, as the Needle of the Compass is to direct a Ship through the floating Waves.

CHAP. XIV.

That Huayna Capac received News how the Spaniards sailed along the Coast of Peru.

Huayna Capac being busied and employed in the forementioned affairs, and residing in the Royal Palaces of *Tumipampa*, which are the most Magnificent of any in *Peru*, advices were brought him, that some stranger Nations, never before seen in those Countries, sailed along that shore to make a discovery of the Land; upon which intelligence *Huayna Capac* was much surprized, entertaining new fears and jealousies of an unknown people, of whom no account of their Nation, or the parts from whence they came could be given. But we are to note, that this Ship was Commanded by *Basco Nunez de Bilbo*, who was the first that discovered the South-Sea, and the Seamen were *Spaniards*, who (as we have said before) were the first that gave the Name of *Peru* unto this Empire, which happened in the year 1515, the discovery of which Country being two years before. There is an Historian, who reports, that the Ship and *Spaniards* belonged to *Don Francisco de Pizarro*, and his thirteen Companions, who were the first Discoverers of *Peru*; in which there was a mistake between the first Discoverers, and the first Conquerours: There was also some error as to the time, for there was fifteen or sixteen years difference between one and the other; for the first discovery of *Peru*, and the Name given to it, happened in the year 1515; and the year when *Francisco Pizarro*, and his four Brothers, with *Don Diego de Almagro* invaded that Country was 1531, and *Huayna Capac* died eight years before, being

in the year 1523, after he had reigned forty two years, as is recorded by *Blas Valera*, and found in his loose and scattered Papers, wherein he writes as a curious Antiquary of the Original and Antiquity of those Kings.

Huayna Capac lived eight years after the News was brought him that the first Discoverers of those Countries coasted along his shore; during which time he kept an extraordinary watch on the Coast, and attended with greater care to preserve his people in Peace and Concord; not being willing to extend and employ his force into new Conquests, until such time as he was well assured of the nature and condition of that people, who in a Ship frequented and visited his Ports. And herein he was the more troubled upon remembrance of the Prophecy of an ancient Oracle, which foretold them, that after such a Number of years, and after the Reign of so many Kings, there should arrive strange Nations, never before seen in those parts, who should take their Kingdom from them, and destroy their Government and Idolatrous Religion: the which Prophecy was fulfilled in this *Inca*, as we shall see in the sequel of this History.

And as a preparative hereunto, it happened out three years before this Ship was seen on the Coast of *Peru*, that a prodigious and ominous light appeared at *Cuzco*, which greatly affected *Huayna Capac*, and astonished all the Empire: the occasion was this: That whilst they were celebrating the solemn Festival, which was yearly dedicated to their God the Sun, a Royal Eagle (which they call *Auca*) was seen soaring in the Air, and pursued by five or six Kestrels, and other Hobbies, and smaller Hawks; of which some, for the rarity of them, have been brought into *Spain*, where they are called *Aleuts*, and in *Peru* *Huamán*; the which exchanging their blows and strokes on the Eagle, would not suffer him to escape in his flight, but killed him with the flutters of their wings. The Eagle not being able longer to defend it self, fell down in the middle of the Market-place amongst the *Incas*, as if he had implored their defence and succour; and they willingly received her, and finding her body covered over with scurf, as with a scab, and plumed of all her smaller Feathers, nourished her with all the care imaginable; but nothing availing to doe her good, she died in a few days, not being able to raise her self from the ground. The *Inca* and his Ministers judged this to be a bad Omen of what was to succeed; and the Astrologers and Diviners interpreted the matter to preface no less than the destruction, and total ruin of their Empire and Religion; which also being followed by great Earthquakes in divers places, and such as were so extraordinary and violent, as to overturn many high Mountains; the Prodigies seemed terrible, and such as were the certain fore-runners of dismal Judgments. The *Indians* also, who inhabited the Sea-coast, observed that the tides in their ebblings and flowings did not keep their usual course, nor did the waters contain themselves within their due bounds: Comets also, and strange Apparitions were seen in the Air; and to increase this terror, the Moon was observed in a clear and bright night to be encompassed with three large Haloes, or Circles, the first was of a bloudy colour; the second of a blackish, inclining to green; and the third was like a mist, or smog. A certain Magician (whom the *Indians* call *Llayta*) having seen and considered these prodigious Circles about the Moon, entred with a sad and weeping countenance into the presence of *Huayna Capac*, and with tears in his eyes told him, and said, *To you alone, Sir, it appertains to know, that the Moon your Mother, as a pious and tender Parent, makes known unto you, that the Pachacamac, who is the Creator and Sustainer of all things, doth threaten your Royal Family and Empire with grievous Judgments, which he designs to send upon your people: For the first bloody Circle prognosticates; that after you are gone to rest with your Father the Sun, that then most terrible Wars shall arise amongst those of your own Line and Family, which will open so large an effusion of Royal Blood, as will be sufficient in a few years to extinguish your whole Race and Progeny.* Which having said, he let fall such a flood of tears, that he was not able farther to utter his words: But at length having a little recovered himself, he proceeded, and said, *The second Circle, which is black, threatens us your Subjects with a total destruction and subversion of our Religion and Government, caused by the Wars and Dissensions of your own Family; and that then your Empire shall be alienated and translated to another people, and all your Greatest vanquish into smog and vapour, which is the signification of the third Circle.* The *Inca* was greatly astonished with this dismal Prediction; howsoever, not to shew fear, and weakness of spirit, he bid the Magician begone, for these are (said he) but your last night's Dreams, which thou declarest to me for Revelations and Advices from my Mother the Moon. No, said the Magician, for that you may give

better

better credence to my words, you may be pleased to come forth, and see the truth hereof testified by your own Eyes; and then if you think fit, you may be pleased to take farther information from the other Diviners, or Magicians, concerning these prodigious Apparitions. The *Inca* accordingly came forth from his Chamber, and having beheld these Signs in the Heavens, he called for all the Diviners and Prognosticators which he maintained in his Court; amongst which there being one of the Nation of *Tayun*, who was much esteemed above the rest, and that having beheld and considered these Circles, gave the same judgment thereupon as the former had done. Howsoever *Huayna Capac*, though he entertained sad apprehensions and fears hereof within his own Breast, yet not to discourage his People, he seemed to make small account of these affrighting Stories, telling the Magicians, that unless the *Pachacamac* himself should reveal the same to him by his own Words, he would not give credit to such Sayings: For is it possible, said he, that my Father the Sun should abhor and detest his own Blood, and so far abandon them, as to yield them up to a total destruction? And so dismissed his Prognosticators. Howsoever reflecting within himself upon what they had said, and considering how it agreed with the Prophecies of an ancient Oracle, and comparing past times with the prodigious Novelties of the present times, which appeared and shewed themselves in every Element; as also the Ship which sailed along the Coast, with a sort of People never before seen in those Seas; all these things being taken together, did greatly move and disturb the Mind of *Huayna Capac* with inward fear and apprehension; for which reason he always kept an Army in a readines, composed of his most experienced Souldiers and Officers, which he drew out from the Garrisons of those Provinces. He ordained also that many Sacrifices should be offered to the Sun, and that all the Diviners and Magicians in their respective Provinces should consult their familiar Demons, and particularly the great *Pachacamac*, and the prating Devil of *Rimac*, who always gave answers to all demands; and to enquire and know of them whether those strange and new Apparitions in the Heavens, and in the Sea, did portend either good or evil to the Empire. The Answers from *Rimac* were so dubious and obscure, that they could not promise themselves any great good, nor yet did they seem to prognosticate any affrighting evil. Howsoever all the Diviners prefiguring nothing but ill, the whole Empire remained in terror and fear of some approaching mischief and calamity; yet in regard no considerable misfortune befell that people for the space of three or four Years, the remembrance thereof began to wear out, every one returning to his usual quietness, and settled way of living, in which they continued for several Years, until the death of *Huayna Capac*. The relations of these Prognostications which we have mentioned, were, besides the common report, delivered particularly by two Captains, who had formerly been of the Guard to *Huayna Capac*, and being each of them of the age of eighty years, were both baptized, the eldest of them was called *John Pechusa*, his own Name remaining for a surname after Baptism, as was common to the *Indians*; the other was called *Chauca Rimachi*, but his Christian Name I have forgot. These Captains, when they related the stories of these unhappy prefigs, with the successes of those times, they would always burst into Tears; so that it was necessary to divert them with some other Discourse, before they would cease their Tears and Lamentations. The Testament and Death of *Huayna Capac*, with many other particulars which afterwards succeeded, were delivered to us by an old *Inca*, whose Name was *Cusi Huallpa*; but the cruelties which *Atahualpa* exercised upon all those of the Blood Royal, I received from the relation of my own Mother, and her Brother, who was called *Don Fernando Huallpa Yupac Inca Tupanqui*, who were in those days, both of them Children of ten Years of age, and lived in the fury and rage of all those troubles which continued for the space of two years and a half, until such time as the *Spaniards* invaded that Countrey, as we shall relate in its due place, together with the manner how they, with some few others of the Royal Blood, escaped from death, which *Atahualpa* had designed for them, which turned greatly to the advantage of the Enemy.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Testament and Death of Huayna Capac; and the Prophecy concerning the Invasion made by the Spaniards.

Huayna Capac residing in his Kingdom of *Quitu*, an humour took him in one of the last days of his Life, to wash and bath himself in a certain Lake, onely to please and recreate himself: so soon as he came out from the Water he was taken with a cold, and shivering, (which the *Indians* call *Chucucu*), which was followed by a hot fit of a Fever; after which finding himself every day to grow worse and worse, he apprehended he should die; which he strongly fancied from a remembrance of certain Prognosticks, which had some years before been delivered in reference thereunto; in which the *Indians* are very superstitious, especially in those which relate to the Royal Person of the King, which the *Incas* for the reputation of their Idolatry call Revelations from their Father the Sun.

Besides these various Prognosticks and Sayings delivered by their Oracles, many affrighting Comets appeared in the Air, and amongst the rest one with extraordinary Rays, of a greenish colour, very terrible to behold; and moreover a Thunderbolt fell in the Palace of the *Inca* himself; all which strange and ominous matters being put together, did greatly trouble and puzzle the Wisdom and Art of their Magicians and Philosophers, called *Amanas*, who were the Sages and Priests of that Religion, who being also conversant with familiar Spirits, presaged the death of *Huayna Capac*, with the destruction of the Royal Family, and the total Ruine and Downfall of the Empire, with many other dismal Calamities and Misfortunes, which their Nations in general, and every one in particular was to sustain; howsoever these fatal Stories were not vulgarly published, lest they should dismay and terrifie their people with utmost despair, who were naturally superstitious, and of a melancholy temper, apt to receive impressions of this nature.

Huayna Capac finding himself now sensibly to decay, and his end to approach, summoned all his Sons and Relations, with the Governours and Captains of the neighbouring parts to come to him, and declared to them, That he was then going to Heaven, to rest with his Father the Sun, who had some time since revealed to him, that he would shortly call him from a certain Lake, or Fountain, or River. Now in regard that I am seized, said he, with this Distemper by the chinefs of the Water in which I bathed, it seems to me a certain token that I am called by my Father, and that this is the time of my Dissolution. So soon as I am dead, I would have my Body opened, as is the Custome of Kings; my Heart and Bowels I would have carried and interred in *Quitu*, as a Testament of my love to that Kingdom, but my Corps I would have carried to *Cozco*, there to be buried with my Kindred and Ancestours. In a particular manner I recommend my Son *Atahualpa*, whom I love with a tender Affection, bequeathing unto him my Kingdom of *Quitu*, with whatsoever additions he shall gain and acquire thereunto by his own Arms; commanding and enjoining you that are my Captains to serve him with all Fidelity and Allegiance, as your true and natural Prince, requiring you to perform all Obedience towards him in every thing; for I shall illuminate him with Revelations from my Father the Sun. I farther recommend unto you, and desire you to use Moderation, and exercise Justice towards our Subjects and Vassals, that so we may deservedly continue the Title of being Lovers of the Poor, and that in every thing you behave your selves as *Incas*, who are the true Offspring of the Sun. Having ended this Discourse to his Children and Kindred, he summoned all the Captains and *Curacas*, who were not of the Blood Royal, recommending to them faithfull and dutifull Allegiance to their King; and in the last place he told them, That there was an old Prophecy, derived by Revelation from his Father the Sun, That after the Reign of twelve Kings there should come a new Nation, never before known in those parts, that should gain and subject all those Kingdoms and Provinces, with many others, to their own Dominion: which I greatly suspect to be those who now sail upon our Coast,

being

being a valiant People, much surpassing ours in all points of Excellency. Likewise you are to observe, that in me the number of twelve Kings is completed; and I farther make known to you, that in a few Years after my departure out of this Life, that this new Nation will invade you, and then will be accomplished that which our Father the Sun hath revealed, that they shall become your Lords and Masters. Wherefore I encharge you to serve them as Men, for they in every thing have the advantage of you; their Law is better than yours, their Arms and military Discipline more warlike, and more invincible than yours; and lastly, I leave my Peace with you, for I am summoned by my Father the Sun to rest and repose with him.

Pedro de Ciega in the 44th Chapter of his Book, touches upon this Prophecy which *Huayna Capac* had delivered, concerning the Invasion of the *Spaniards*, and that after his Reign the Empire would be translated to a stranger people, which was like those that failed in the Ship. All which the *Inca* told his people in *Tamipampa*, which is a Countrey not far from *Quitu*, where, it is said, the news was first brought of the *Spaniards*, who were the Discoverers of *Pern*. *Francisco Lopez de Gomara*, in the 115th Chap. of his Book, relating the Discourse which intervened between *Huascar* and *Hernando de Soto*, (who was afterwards Governour of the *Florida*), and *Pedro del Barco*, faith, that when they two travelled alone from *Cassamarca* to *Cozco*, (as we shall relate in its due place,) *Huascar* being then a Prisoner, amongst other Discourses which he recounts of him, reports farther of him in these Words which follow, "And lastly he assured them, that he was the true and lawfull Lord and Heir of these Kingdoms, and that *Atabaliba* was a Tyrant and Usurper; and that he would see the Captain of the Christians, and inform him to much, that so he might revenge his Injuries, and restore him to his Liberty and Kingdoms; for that his Father *Huayna Capac* had at the time of his Death commanded him to be a friend to the people who were white and fair, wearing Beards, for they were to be Lords of those Countries, &c. So that this Prophecy was commonly known in all *Pern*, as all Historians write.

All the preceding particulars delivered by *Huayna Capac*, were esteemed to be his last Will and Testament, and held by the *Indians* in high estimation, and therefore they complied most punctually with his Commands. I remember that one day the old *Inca* formerly spoken of, discoursing before my Mother, and relating these particular matters, and of the coming in of the *Spaniards*, and how they gained the Countrey, I took an occasion to ask him, how it came to pass that this Countrey, being so rocky and mountainous as it is, and the people warlike, so that they could make Conquests of many Provinces, and form a mighty Empire, how, I say, it came to pass that they should submit, and render themselves to so small and so inferiour a number as the *Spaniards* were? In answer unto which he repeated the old Prophecy concerning the *Spaniards*, telling me, that the *Inca* had commanded them to obey and serve them, as a people endued with many more Excellencies than they; and having said this, he turned to me, and with anger in his face, reproved me for having termed them Cowards, and unwise; and in answer to my demand he told me, That the last Words which our *Inca* uttered, whereby he commanded us to resign our Empire, and subject our selves to a stranger Nation, were much more powerfull and available than all the Force and Arms which your Father and his Companions brought into this Countrey, but this he said to shew the validity which the Commands of their own Kings had with them; and how much more the Sayings and Injunctions of *Huayna Capac*, delivered at the hour of his Death, who was the dearest and most beloved Prince to them of any.

Huayna Capac being dead, his Servants, in compliance with his Commands, embowelled and embalmed his Body, which they carried to *Cozco*, but his Heart they buried in *Quitu*. In all parts through which his Corpse were carried they celebrated his Funerals with extraordinary Sorrow, crying and lamenting for the love and affection which all sorts of people bore towards him; being arrived at the Imperial City, his Obsequies were celebrated in the most solemn manner, which according to the custome of those Kings continued for the space of a whole Year. He left a numerous Race behind him of above two hundred Children, and as some say, three hundred, which serves to aggravate the Cruelty of *Atahualpa*, who murdered the most part of them. And now because our design is to shew what Animals were not found in *Pern*, untill they were brought thither. We shall make it the Subject of this following Chapter.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Mares and Horses; and how they were bred at the beginning; and of the great price and value of them.

FOR the better Information and Satisfaction, as well of the present as of future Ages, it will be necessary to know what things were not in *Peru* at the time when the *Spaniards* first entered into *Peru*; and therefore I have thought fit to make a particular Chapter thereof, to enumerate how many things these people wanted, which we esteem necessary for the welfare and convenient living of Mankind, and yet notwithstanding they lived happily, and contented without them. In the first place we must know that they neither had Horses nor Mares for their service in War, or for their delight and divertisement, they had no Cows, nor had they Oxen to plow their Lands, and prepare them for the seed; neither had they Camels, nor Ases, nor Mules for their Carriages or Burthens; nor had they Sheep, as we have in *Spain*, which yield us both Food and Clothing; nor had they Hogs, which yield us Salt-flesh, and Bacon, and Leather to make our Bottles; nor had they Dogs of any good race, such as Grey-hounds, Beagles, Spannels, Water-dogs and Tumblers; nor had they Mastiffs to keep their Flocks, or Lap-dogs for pleasure of the Ladies, but onely a company of Curs of all sorts and sizes, which were good for nothing.

Nor had they Wheat, or Barly, or Wine, or Oil, nor Fruit, nor Pulse, as we have in *Spain*; of all which things we shall treat distinctly, and of the manner how, and when they were brought out of *Spain* into those parts. As to the Horses and Mares, the *Spaniards* brought them over with themselves, having been very serviceable and usefull to them in making their Conquests in the new World, of which the *Indians* had no great necessity; for being born and bred in the craggy and steep Mountains, they became naturally hardy, and nimble of foot, being very active in climbing ascents, and descending again down the steepest Precipices. All those Horses and Mares which are in the Kingdoms and Provinces of those *Indies* which have been discovered by the *Spaniards* since the Year 1492. until this time, are of the race of those which were brought from *Spain*, and particularly from *Andalusia*. The first were landed in the Isle of *Cuba*, and *St. Domingo*, and the other Islands of *Barboulento*, as they were discovered and subdued; where they increased, and multiplied abundantly, and thence they were transported to *Mexico* and *Peru*, for their service and use in those Conquests. At first, for want of care in the Masters, who put their Horses out to pasture loose, and into places without fences they could not easily be caught again; and so roving in the Mountains, they became wild, flying like Deer, at the sight of a Man, and not being seized or preyed upon by any fierce Creature, they increased and multiplied in great abundance.

The *Spaniards* who inhabited the Islands, observing how necessary Horses were for the Conquests; and their Countries produced such as were very good, enhanced the prices of them to a considerable rate. There were certain Men who kept thirty, forty, fifty Horses in their Stables, as we have mentioned in our History of the *Florida*. The way of taking the Colts was in a certain Park, which they had encompassed with Pales, raised at some convenient Avenues of the Mountains, where are Coves, called *Cavanau*, of three or four Leagues wide, where the Horses and Colts defending towards the Evening to feed, some persons who keep watch in Trees give notice thereof; and then fourteen or fifteen Men on Horseback, riding in amongst them, drive them within the pale, which then they enclose, and casting Halters about the Necks of those Colts which are about three or four Years old, they tie them to trees, letting the Mares go and escape as they please; the Colts remain tied in this manner for three or four days, jumping and leaping untill being weakened with weariness, and Hunger, they yield themselves

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to the Saddle and Bridle; but many, before they are thus broken, throttle themselves with the Halter, but then on such as become tame, they set Boys on their backs, leading them with the Bridle, in this manner they accustom them morning and evening, for fifteen or twenty days, untill such time as they are thoroughly broken, and then they become very gentle, and serviceable to their Masters; and in a few days are so well managed, that they can throw the Dart upon them, and prove most excellent Horses. After all parts of the *West-Indies* were subdued there was no such occasion for Horses as before, nor encouragement given for breeding and managing of them, as formerly; so that the Inhabitants of those Islands turned their Traffick another way, and began to trade and deal in Hides, as we shall declare in its due place. Considering often with my self at how great a price good Horses are held in *Spain*, and what an excellent race these Islands yield, both for their size, shapes and colour. I have much wondered at the reason why they have not been transported thence into *Spain*, though it were onely in acknowledgment of those which *Spain* did first send thither; and which were the Sires and Dams of that new Race, especially since they may be transported with so much facility and ease from the Island of *Cuba*, which is one great part of the way, and many Ships come empty thus far. The Horses of *Peru* are much more forward than those in *Spain*; for the first time that I darterd on Horseback in *Cocco*, was upon a Horse newly broken, and which had scarce arrived to three years of age.

When the *Spaniards* were first employed in the Conquest of *Peru*, no Man would spare his Horse, or set any price upon him; but in case it happened by the Master's Death, or his departure for *Spain*, that a Horse was set to sale, the price was four, five or six thousand pieces of Eight. In the Year 1554. when the Marshal *Don Alonso d'Alvarado* went in pursuit of *Francisco Hernandez de Giron*, which was before the Battel of *Chunquina*. A Negro Boy leading a very handsome Horse in his Hand, well managed, a certain rich Gentleman calling his Eyes upon him, and being much taken with him, said to the Owner of him, *Sir, for the Boy and Horse, as they now are, I will give you ten thousand pieces of Eight*, which is as much as twelve thousand Ducats; but the Owner refused the Offer, telling him that he had occasion for the Horse to charge upon in the next Battel, which was shortly expected; the issue of which was, that the Horse was killed, and the Master mortally wounded: But that which is observable herein is this, that he who would have bought the Horse was rich, having a considerable Colony of *Indians* in the Countrey of the *Charcas*; and the Owner was a famous Souldier, who, to signalize himself in that day of Battel, refused to sell his Horse at any rate, though never so advantageous; I knew them both to be Gentlemen, and Persons of Noble Quality: But since that time the price of Horses is much abated in *Peru*, because the breed is much increased; so that a good Horse may be worth three or four hundred Pieces of Eight, and an ordinary Jade may be sold at twenty or thirty. The *Indians* are very commonly fearfull of an Horse, for when they see him gallop, or run in any Street where they chance to meet him, they are so affrighted, that they think they can never crowd near enough to the Wall to avoid him, fearing lest he should run over them, and trample them under foot; wherefore when they meet a Horse in the Streets, they will cross the Street three or four times from one side to the other, and being so scared (as it were) out of their Wits, they have run blindly (as I have seen) into the very way of the Horse, whom they have endeavoured to avoid, and have never thought themselves out of danger, unless they could get a *Spaniard* to stand before them, nor would that guard neither acquit them from all fear; and though now by custome and conversation the dread of them is not so great, yet never could any *Indian* be persuaded to take upon him the Trade of a Blacksmith, because he would not be concerned in shoeing Horses, though in all works of Metal they are excellent Artificers. And though the *Spaniards* have bred up some *Indian* Boys, and taught them to dress and curry Horses, yet I never knew or saw an *Indian* that durst adventure to mount upon their Backs; if any of them were so bold as to lead a Horse by the Bridle, it was some tame, gentle Jade, as quiet as a Mule; for indeed that which scared the *Indians* most; was to find most of the Horses wanton and skittish; for as yet the *Spaniards* did neither use them to the Martingale, nor to covers, or, as they are called, Spectacles, for their Eyes, which was a great neglect, and was the cause of much more labour and trouble to the Master in the breaking and ma-

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nagery of them; for these Horses are of that docible and tractable Nature, that with good dressing and management they will in every thing incline to the will and pleasure of the Master. At the beginning when the Conquest was first made in *Pern*, the *Indians* believed that the Man and the Horse were all of one piece, or the same Creature, fancying, like the Poets, that they were *Centaures*. They tell me now, that some *Indians* have adventured to shoe Horses, but that there are very few so hardy. And having said thus much concerning Horses; let us now proceed to give an account of what other things were not found in my Country.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their Cows and Oxen.

IT is believed that Cows were brought into *Pern* presently after the Conquest, which soon increased, and multiplied in those numbers, that they supplied all the Kingdom; the same also is probable of the Hogs and Goats, for I remember to have seen numbers of them in *Cusco* when I was a Child.

It cannot be expected that a price should be set for a Cow in the first beginning when the *Spaniards* planted themselves, they being brought over onely for breed; but afterwards by increasing they became common, and were sold at moderate rates. The first Man in *Cusco* that was Master of Cows, was *Antonio de Alcamirano*, the Father of two Sons, *Peter* and *Francis*, which he had by an *Indian* Woman, and were my School-fellows; and both dyed young, to the great sorrow of the whole City, by reason of the great hopes and expectation was of their Understanding and Vertue.

The first Oxen that I ever saw at plough were in the Valley of *Cusco*, about the Year 1550, belonging to *John Rodriguez de Villalobos*; they were in all but three, one they called *Chaparro* another *Naranco*, and the third *Cafillo*: I was carried to see this sight, with great numbers of *Indians*, who flocked from all parts, with astonishment and wonder, to see this prodigious Novelty, which I amongst the rest did much admire. They said that the *Spaniards* who were drones, and would not work themselves, had made these great Animals labour, and doe that work which they ought to have performed themselves. I have reason to remember these particulars; for when I was a Boy, and plaid the Truant to see the Oxen Plough, it cost me two dozen of good stripes, one half of which I received from my Father, and the other dozen from my Schoolmaster; the piece of land which they ploughed was a very pleasant field, which is situated a little higher than that ground where now the Convent of St. *Francis* is built; the which part of the Convent, where the Body of the Church stands, was erected at the charge and cost of the aforesaid *John Rodriguez de Villalobos*, and dedicated by him to St. *Lazarus*, to whom he was greatly devoted; the remainder of the Church the *Franciscan* Friars purchased with the two pieces of Land some years after, for when the Oxen ploughed there was no House or Buildings there, either belonging to *Spaniards* or *Indians*, as we have at large declared in that part where we make a description of the City and situation of *Cusco*. The Ploughmen that tilled the Land were *Indians*, and the Oxen were taught and broken to the Yoke in a certain Inclosure without the City, and then when they had learned their work, they were brought to *Cusco*, where they had as many Spectators and Admirers that day, as had the Triumphs at *Rome* in its mightiest grandeur. When Cows were first brought to the Market, one might be worth two hundred Pieces of Eight, but afterwards, as they increased, and became more common, they fell by degrees to that price at which they are now valued. In the beginning of the Year 1554. a Gentleman of my acquaintance, called *Rodrigo d'Esquivel*, an Inhabitant of *Cusco*, but born at *Seville*, bought

bought at *Ciudad de los Reyes* ten Cows for a thousand Pieces of Eight, which makes one thousand two hundred Ducats; then in the Year 1559. I have seen them sold at seventeen Pieces of Eight a head; according to the same proportion the price of Goats and Hogs abated, as we shall mention hereafter, by which we may observe, how fruitfull this Country is: Since the Year 1590. they write me, that a Bullock bought singly in the Market is not worth above six or seven Ducats, and being bought in a Drove together, may be had cheaper.

The Cows in the Isle of *Barlovento* running in the Mountains, became all wild, as also the Horses and Mares, excepting onely such Cows as they kept up in their Inclosures, for the conveniences and benefit of Milk, Butter and Cheese, which they made of them; but such as ran wild in the Mountains, multiplied and increased to such a number, as would be incredible; did not the Hides of them, which are yearly brought thence into *Spain*, give us clear and demonstrative proofs thereof, as *Aesha* verifies in the 33d Chap. of his 4th Book, wherein he reports, That in the Year 1587, there was then brought in the Fleet from St. *Domingo*, onely 3444 Hides; and in the same Year, from *New Spain*, 64350 Cow Hides, making in all 99794.

In St. *Domingo*, *Cuba*, and the other Islands, their increase would have been much more, had they not been worried and destroyed by Greyhounds and Mastiffs, with which at first they did usually take them, which also living in the Mountains, became wild as the Cows, and so fierce, that unless ten or a dozen Men went together, there was no security; and those that killed those Dogs received the same reward as for killing a Wolf. The manner of killing these Cows was this: They watched when they came down into the low Lands to feed, and then they ran upon them with their Horses, and having an Iron with sharp prongs, in form of a half Moon, with which they struck them, and then with a Cord they ensnared them about the Horns; but the Horseman who uses this sport, had need take care in what manner he goes to work; for if the Beast be before him, he must take the right side of him, and wound him on that side, or else, if he be on the left, to wound him on the left, but not to meet just before him, but turn as he turns, lest he butt and wound the Rider with his Horns, and give him no time to avoid his blow. There are some Men so dextrous in this Art, that in one career of their Horse, and twice discharging their Gun, they will kill and knock down twenty, thirty or forty Beasts; and therefore in these Islands which yield such quantities of Beef, they might in my opinion victual the *Spanish* Fleet with sufficient provisions thereof for their Voyages, unless by reason of the heat and moisture of the Country, which are the causes of corruption, the flesh will not easily receive the salt and pickle which are to preserve it. I hear now in these times that there are Cows in *Pern*, which wander about in the dispeopled Countries, and that the Bulls are so fierce, that they will assault Men as they travel in the way, and that there are almost as many wild Cattel there on the Continent, as in the Islands; which in gratefull remembrance to *Spain*, for the benefit they received by the Stock of Cattel sent from thence, do now, by the great numbers of Hides which yearly they send, make their due acknowledgements and returns for the same.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Camels, Affes, Goats; of the prices of them; and of their great Increase.

NOR were Camels in *Peru* at that time, and novv also there are very fevv; the first Man (and as I think the last) that brought them thither, vvvas *John de Reynaga*, a Noble Person, born at *Bilbo*, I vvvas vvell acquainted vvith him, vvhen he vvvas Captain of a Foot Company against *Francis Hernandez Giron*, and his followvers, and did his Majesty good Service in that Action; for one Male and six Female Camels *Don Pedro Portocarrero* gave him seven thousand Pieces of Eight, vvwhich make 8400 Ducats; but the Camels have made little increase there.

The first Ass that I ever savv vvithin the Dominions of *Cozco* vvvas in the Year 1557. he was sold in the City of *Huamanga* for four hundred and eighty Ducats, and bought by my Master *Garcilasso de la Vega*, with intention to get Mules by him upon his Mares. In *Spain* such an Ass would not have yielded six Ducats, for he was lean and little; but afterwards *Gasper de Sotelo*, with whom I had acquaintance, bought another, which cost him eight hundred and fourty Ducats; but after that time many Mules of both Sexes have been bred there, which have been spoiled and jaded upon the sharp rocks of those ways.

At what price the Goats were valued, when they were first brought thither, I cannot tell, yet some years afterwards I remember they were sold for an hundred and an hundred and ten Ducats a Goat; but these were not commonly brought to market, but sold by one friend to another at their instance, and desire to oblige them therewith; and then they would tie ten or twelve of them in couples together, that they might not stray from each other. That which I speak of now was in *Cozco*, in the Year 1544. and 45. but since that time they have so increased, as to become of small value, unless for their Skins; for the She-goats did often bring forth three or four Kids at a time, as I have seen; and a certain Gentleman, who lived in *Huanacu*, did assure me, that he had seen several that brought forth five Kids at one yeaning.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Hogs, and their great Increase.

AT the beginning Hogs were much dearer than Goats, though there was no set price made for them. *Peter de Ciega* in his 26th Chapter of the Remarks or Observations of the Provinces of *Peru*, saith, That the Marechal *Don George Robledo* bought amongst the Goods of *Christopher de Ayala*, a Sow and a Pig at the price of one thousand six hundred Pieces of Eight. And farther he saith, That this Sow was eaten some few days after in the City of *Cali*, and was the chief Entertainment at a great Feast; and that it was ordinary to buy Pigs in the belly of the Sow at a hundred Pieces of Eight a Pig, and sometimes more.

He that is desirous to know the excessive prices which the Spaniards gave for things in those days amongst themselves, let him reade the fore-mentioned Chapter, and then he will see at how mean a rate Gold and Silver were esteemed in comparison with the Commodities of *Spain*: which proceeded from the great affection which the Spaniards bore to their Native Soil, when first they planted themselves in the New World; for then they never scrupled the giving any price for the things which came from *Spain*, that they might eat them, or breed them, as if they had been so necessary to humane life, that no subsistence could be without them.

In the year 1560, a good Hog was worth ten Pieces of Eight at *Cozco*, and now may be had for six or seven; and were it not for the Lard, which, they say, is good to cure the Scab, or Murrain, to which the Cattel in that Countrey are much subject, they would be much cheaper: And also the Spaniards, for want of Oil in those Countries, have licence to dress their Meat with it on *Fridays*, and in *Lent*.

The Sows in *Peru* are strangely fruitful; for in the year 1558, I remember to have seen in the Market of *Peru* two Sows, with thirty two Pigs, each of them having brought forth sixteen Pigs at one farrowing; and when I saw them, they might be of a Month old; and yet they were so fat and slick, that one would wonder how it were possible for the Dams to maintain and suckle so many of them in such good plight and condition.

The Indians give the Name of *Cuchi* to the Hogs, which is a word they have framed from *Coche*, *Coche* which the Spaniards utter, when they speak to their Hogs.

CHAP.

C H A P. XX.

Of Sheep, and Tame Cats.

THE Sheep of *Casile*, which we call so, to distinguish them from those of *Pern*, to which the *Spaniards* improperly give the Name of Sheep, since they are neither like them in shape, nor colour, nor any thing else, as we have shewn in its due place: These Sheep, I say, of *Casile*, I know not when they were first imported into *Pern*, nor by whom; the first that I ever saw were in the Fields about *Corco*, in the year 1556, and were then sold, one with another, at the rate of forty Pieces of Eight a head, and some of the prime sort at fifty; and were bought then both for love and money, as the Goats at first were.

In the year 1560, when I departed from *Corco*, Mutton was not as yet sold in the Shambles by weight; but since by Letters from thence dated, in the year 1590, they write me that a Sheep was then sold in the Market for eight Ryals of Eight, or ten at most; and in eight years time since, Sheep are fallen to four Ducats a head, and under; and now at present are so common, and in such numbers, that they are worth very little; for an Ewe commonly brings forth two at a time, and often three: their Wool also is produced in that quantity, that it is of little value, and is not worth above three or four Ryals a quarter of a hundred; I know not if they have learned as yet to make Weathers of them. There are no Wolves in those Countries, nor ever were; nor will they be thought worthy to be transported thither, unless they were more profitable, and better conditioned.

Nor had the *Indians* Houle-Cats before the coming in of the *Spaniards*, though now they have them, and call them *Micinu*, which is a word they have framed from the *Spaniards*, whom they have heard to call them *Miz, Miz*. This, I say, to rectify the mistake of some *Spaniards*, who were of opinion, that the *Indians* had Cats before the time that the *Spaniards* came amongst them, because they had in their Language a proper Name for them: And in like manner a certain Historian argues, that they had Hens before the time of the *Spaniards*, because they gave them the Name of *Gualpa*: And this would seem a most convincing Argument to such who know not the deduction, or occasion, on which this Name of *Gualpa* was given, which indeed is not *Gualpa*, but *Arabualpa*; and hereon depends a most pleasant Story, which we shall recount, when we come to treat of Tame Fowl, which were not in *Pern* before the time of the *Spaniards*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXI.

Of Conies, and Dogs of Game.

NOR had they Wild, or Tame Rabbits, as we have in *Spain*, for they have been brought thither since I departed from *Pern*: The first that brought them to *Corco*, was one of the Clergy called *Andrew Lopez*, born in the *Estremadura*, but in what Village or Town I know not. This Priest brought over a Buck and a Doe in a Cage, and in passing over a stream, which is about sixteen Leagues distant from *Corco*, and runs through the Countrey of *Chinchaypu*, where the Estate of my Lord and Father *Garcilaso de la Vega* lyes; it happened out, that whilst the *Indian* which carried them, had set down the Cage to rest himself, and eat a bit of bread, that the Doe escaped out through a hole of the Cage, where one of the Rods was broken, and ran out amongst the Rocks and Mountains, and amongst the Willows and Others which grow by the banks of the River; the Doe being then big with Young, brought forth a great many, which being conserved afterwards by the care of the *Indians*, have increased to that degree, that they have made a Warren, and now cover the ground with their Numbers. From thence they have stocked other Grounds in many parts; the Land being barren, and the Grass short, they have thriven so well, as to become of a larger size than ours; as have also other Conies which have been brought from *Spain* into other parts.

It was the fortune of that Coney to get loose in a temperate Climate, which was neither over hot, nor very cold; but as they spread farther up the River, the Countrey grows cooler, untill at length they come to places of perpetual Snows: Such as took their downwards as the stream runs, those were subject to greater heats, untill they came to the River *Apurimac*, which is the hottest Climate of all *Pern*. This Story of the Conies was told me by an *Indian* of my Countrey, who knowing that I was writing the History of *Pern*, gave me this information; for the truth of which, I refer my self to the banks of that River; which if they be so well stocked with Conies, as he relates, it may serve for an undeniable proof. In the Kingdom of *Quitu* there are Conies like those in *Spain*, onely they are less, and of a darker colour, having a black streak along the top of their backs, in every thing else they are like the Rabbits we have in *Spain*: they have no Hares, nor do I know whether they have brought any thither as yet.

The Dogs of game, or of good race, such as we have formerly mentioned, were not in *Pern*, untill the *Spaniards* brought them thither. Mastiffs were the last of any transported to those parts, by reason, that having no Wolves, nor other beasts of prey which might hurt their Cattel, they had no need of such Dogs for their defence, or guard. Howsoever, when they were come thither, such as were Masters of great Flocks and Herds, would not want, or be without them, not that they had any need, or occasion for them, but onely because they would have their Flocks and Herds be like those in *Spain*: And so passionately was their fancy at the beginning inclined hereunto, that in every thing they affected the Manners and Customs of *Spain*; for which reason, and not for any need, a *Spaniard* carried a Mastiff Whelp, that was not above a Month and a half old, in a Wallet, which he hanged at his Saddle-bow, from *Corco* to *Los Reyes*, which is a hundred and twenty Leagues through a mountainous and craggy Countrey, being every day troubled to find Milk for this Whelp; the which I saw, and can testify, having been a Companion with that *Spaniard* in the Journey; who told me, that he carried that Whelp for a present to his Father-in-law, who was a Graier, being Master of great Flocks of Cattel, and lived fifty or sixty Leagues on this side of *Cindad de los Reyes*, by whom he would be esteemed as a Jewel of mighty value. These and greater pains have the *Spaniards* taken at the beginning to procure such Creatures as are used in *Spain*, which afterwards they have neglected and conserved in little esteem.

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CHAP. XXII.

Of Rats, and to what Multitudes they have increased.

WE must speak something of the Rats which came over with the *Spaniards*, for before their time there were none in the Country. *Francis Lopez de Gomara* in his General History of the *Indies*, (which was not very faithfully wrote) says, that untill the time of *Blasco Nunez Vela*, Rats were not known in *Peru*; but now they are in great numbers, and of so great a proportion and size, that no Cat dares to contend or deal with them: Howsoever they are not as yet come so high as to the Hilly Countries, by reason of the cold, and Snows, nor can they find covert, or shelter, under which they may convey themselves thither.

Howsoever, they have great numbers of Mice, which they call *Uuccha*. In *Nombre de Dios*, *Panama*, and other Cities on the Coast of *Peru*, they have such an infinite number of Rats, that they are forced to destroy them with Poison of Rats-bane, which they lay for them at a certain time of the year by agreement of all the Neighbourhood; when proclamation is made that every House should lay its Arnick for destruction of the Rats, that so at this notice every person should be warned to cover their Provisions of meat and drink from the Rats, and especially the water, for so soon as the Rat hath taken his dose, he presently runs to the water, and therewith bursts and dyes; and then every House lays its baits of Fruits, of such things as Rats commonly eat, which being empoisoned with Arnick, destroy them in infinite numbers.

When I arrived at *Panama* from *Spain*, presently after the time that the poison had been laid, I remember that one Evening as I walked by the Sea-side, I found just at the brink of the water such quantities of dead Rats, that they covered the ground for above a hundred Paces in length, and above three or four in breadth.

And now upon occasion of this discourse, concerning the infinite numbers of Rats, I shall adventure to tell a strange Story of this kind, upon the credit of a Noble Gentleman, call'd *Hernan Bravo de Laguna*, one who was Lord of *Indians* in *Cosco*, and had the honour to be mentioned in the History of *Peru*: the relation he made, which he attests to have seen, was this: A Ship sailing from *Panama* to *Los Reyes*, touched in the way upon the Coast at a Port called *Trugillo*, where the whole Ships company agreed one day to go ashore, and be merry, leaving only one sick Man aboard, who, by reason of his indisposition, was not able to walk so far as from the Sea-side to the City, which was two Leagues. Nor need we here to wonder, that they should leave their Ship so ill provided, for in those Seas storms and tempests do seldom arise, nor was there any fear of Pirates, or Enemies, for as yet *Sir Francis Drake* had not opened the Navigation into those Seas. Now so soon as the Rats perceived that the Ship was freed of its company, they all falled out to partake freely of the spoil, where finding the sick Man upon the Deck, they all joined to give him battel, that they might kill and eat him: the which hath oftentimes happened in these Voyages, in which sick Men have over night been alive, and next morning have been found dead in their beds, with the flesh of their Faces, Armes, Legs and Thighs, gnawn and torn from the bones. In this manner this hungry crew would have dealt with our sick Man, against whom they formed their Army, and came to combat him, who finding himself so hardly beset, got up, and taking a Spit from the Cook-room, returned to his bed, not to sleep, but to watch, and stand upon his guard; which he did that whole day, and the night following, and the day after, untill late in the Evening, when his Companions returned to the Ship; vvho having heard the Story, gave credit to it, vvhen they found behind his Bed,

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and upon the Deck, and in corners of the Ship, so many of his Enemies slain, which appeared upon account to be three hundred eighty, and odd, which he had killed with his Spit, besides others which had been wounded.

The sick Man, either out of fear, or joy of his victory, recovered his health, being much pleased afterwards to recount the particulars of this success. In divers places upon the Coast of *Peru*, and in divers years, untill 1572, and 73, there were great Destructions, and even Plagues, caused by the incredible multitudes of Rats and Mice; which swarming over all the Land, ate up the Seeds which were thrown into the ground, as also the Fruit-trees, which they pill'd of their bark from the roots, to the very buds and sprouts; so that the Trees dying, the Inhabitants were forced to make new Plantations in their places; and feared that they should have been forced to abandon their Dwellings, had not God in mercy caused that Plague to cease on a sudden, when it was just at the extremity of destruction. The particulars of which incredible damages, we shall, for brevity sake, omit.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of their Hens and Pigeons.

WE come now, in the next place, to speak of Fowls, of which few others have been transported into *Peru*, unless Poultry, such as Cocks, and Hens, and tame Pigeons, or Houle-doves. As for Stock-doves, or Wood-Pigeons, I know not whether any have been as yet brought thither. As to Hens, there is a certain Authour, who writes, that they were found in *Peru*, before the time that the *Spaniards* conquered it; and for proof thereof he alledges, that the *Indians* have a proper Name for a Hen in their own Language, which is *Gualpa*; and for an Egg, which is *Ronto*; and that the *Indians* have the same propriety in their speech for a Coward, whom they call a Hen, or Hen-hearted, as the *Spaniards* have: To which Argument we shall give this satisfactory answer.

We shall leave the Name of *Gualpa* untill the end of this Chapter, and shall begin with the word *Ronto*, or *Runtu*, which signifies an Egg, not of a Hen in particular, but in general of any Fowl, vvwhether tame or vvild; and vvhen they mention an Egg, they add the Fowl or Bird from vvvhich it is produced, as of a Hen, Partridge, or Dove, &c. And so much for *Runtu*, or the Egg.

As to the expreffion of *Gualpa*, or Hen, to signifie a Coward, the *Indians* may have deduced, or taken it up, from the *Spaniards*, as is ordinary for people vvho have entertained a familiarity and conversation vvith another to borrow their phrases and proprieties of their Language; as is commonly seen, howv our *Spaniards*, that travel into *Italy*, *France*, *Flanders* and *Germany*, do frequently make use of the Proverbs and Expressions vvvhich they have learned from stranger Nations; so also the *Indians* have taken this vvord from the *Spaniards* to denote a Coward, for othervvise, in their ovvn Tongue, they vvant not vvords more significant than this *Spanish* Saying; for they sometime call him *Huarmi*, vvvhich is Woman; and have the proper vvord *Campa*, vvvhich signifies a Man of a pusillanimous Spirit, and one vvithout Heart or Courage, as also they have the vvord *Llancla*; so that the Metaphor of a Hen is borrowed from the *Spaniards*; in vvvhich I may be credited, considering that I my self am an *Indian*.

The word *Gualpa* is corrupted by contraction of the Syllables, and is instead of *Athalpa*, which doth not signifie a Hen, but was the Name of the last *Inca* that reigned in *Peru*, vvhole Life was so bloody, as we shall relate in its due place, that he exceeded in cruelty all the fierce and vvild Beasts and Bafilisks in the World; for he being a Bastard by vvsubtle artifices and contrivances, Murdred his Elder Brother *Huascar*, vvho was lawfull Heir, and vvstirped his Kingdom; and vvith cruel torments, never before known or invented, he destroyed the vvhole

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Bloud-Royal, both Men, Women and Children, over which more tender Sex, that his cruelty might triumph, he subjected them to the most exquisite torments that his tyrannical malice could invent; and not satiating himself sufficiently with his own flesh and bloud, his unhumane rage proceeded to a destruction of all the Servants and Dependants on the Royal Court, which (as we have said) were very numerous; for Offices were not confined to single persons, but to Villages and Towns, which were obliged to serve, in their turns, such as Porters at the Gate, Sweepers, Water-bearers, Gardiners, and the like; all which by their Villages and Communities being employed in these services, had their Habitations for the space of five, six and seven Leagues round *Cusco*, whom he totally destroyed; and not being contented with a Massacre of the Inhabitants, he demolished their Dwellings, and put all to a miserable devastation; and yet his cruelties had proceeded farther, had not the *Spaniards*, who in the furious progress of his Tyrannies, entered that Country, given a stop to his farther executions.

Now whereas the *Spaniards* in a short time after their coming took this Tyrant *Atahualpa*, and in the publick Market-place putting him to the Wrack, executed him before the people in the most exemplary manner of punishment; which when the *Indians* observed, they praised their God the Sun, who had sent the *Spaniards* to perform justice, and revenge himself of the Tyrant, who had destroyed his Children, and all those of his Bloud and Family: For which reason the *Indians* looking upon the *Spaniards*, as those who were sent from their God, did yield entire obedience to them, surrendering themselves absolutely to their disposal, which was a means to facilitate their Conquests; for they adored them as the Progeny which was descended from their God *Viracocha*, who appeared in a dream to one of their Kings, and therefore they gave the Name of *Viracocha* to the *Spaniards*.

On this false supposition they conceived this simple fancy, that when they heard the Cocks crow, which the *Spaniards* brought in, and were the first that were ever seen in *Peru*, they imagined that the Cocks pronounced the word *Atahualpa* in abhorrence of his detestable tyrannies; whence contracting the word, they called Cocks and Hens by the Name of *Gualpa*: And whereas the *Indians* recounted these Fables to their Children, whereby they defended by way of tradition to after Ages; the Boys, when they heard the Cocks crow, would answer in the same tone, crowing out, *Atahualpa*; and I must confess, when I was a Boy, that I used, amongst the other young *Indians*, to imitate the same tune when I ran about the Streets.

And thus we Children quavered out *Atahualpa*, imitating, as near as we could, the voice of the Cock: Nor did we onely tune his Name to our Song, but we brought the Names of his principal Captains into the Air of our Musick, as *Chalchichima Quilliscacha*: And *Ruminavi*, which signifies the Eye of a Stone, because he had a Pearl (as we call it) on one of his Eyes. *Blas Valera* having in his loose and scattered Papers given an account of the sudden Death of *Atahualpa*; farther saith, that though he had been cruel to his Relations, and those of his Bloud, yet in the Government of his own people he was endued with incomparable Excellencies; endearing them to him by many obliging circumstances, and at last in Elegant Latin uses these words: "Hence it was, that so soon as his Death was divulged amongst his Subjects, they would comfort themselves in saying, that the very Cocks which the *Spaniards* had brought over would not suffer the Name of so great a Person to perish, or be forgotten, lamenting in their dolefull tone the Name of *Atahualpa*; and therefore they gave the Name of *Atahualpa* to all Cocks, which word the *Indians* of all Nations vulgarly received, as did also the *Spaniards*; and Preachers take up that word, when they would express the Name of a Cock to the *Indians*. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*, who received this Relation in the Kingdom of *Quinn*, from the Subjects of *Atahualpa*, who were as well inclined to him, as good Subjects are to their natural King: And on the contrary, such as lived in *Cusco*, and were of a different faction, interpreted the crowing of the Cock with *Atahualpa* in his voice, to be by way of abhorrence and detestation of the many cruelties and tyrannies of which he was guilty. By which I suppose, that I have sufficiently now confuted the three former Conjectures; and that I have clearly proved, that there were no Cocks or Hens in *Peru*, before the Conquest which the *Spaniards* made of it.

As the *Spaniards* brought Hens and Pigeons first into *Peru*, so also they brought Peacocks thither from *Mexico*, for before that time none of that kind had been

seen

seen in my Country. It is a thing very remarkable, that Hens did not hatch their Chickens in *Cusco*, nor yet in the Vallies neighbouring to it, though they fed them with the best nourishment they could contrive to give them; which defect they attributed to the chulness of the Air. Such as have mentioned this particular, have given for a reason hereof, that Hens were strangers in that Country, and their constitution and temperament not agreeable to the Climate; because in parts more warm, as *Tucay* and *Myna*, which are not above four Leagues distant from the City, the Hens hatch their Chickens as in other places; but in *Cusco* for above thirty years the Eggs proved all addle, and so continued in the year 1560, when I departed from that City: but some years afterwards, amongst other advices, which a certain Gentleman called *Garcí Sanchez* wrote me, I was informed that the Hens began to hatch Chickens in *Cusco*, as freely and plentifully as in other places.

In the year 1556, a Gentleman Native of *Salamanca*, call'd *Don Martín de Guzman*, who had been in *Peru*; returning from *Spain* a second time thither, carried very fine furniture for Horses with him, and other curiosities, amongst which he had a little Canary-bird in a Cage, which sang to admiration, and was the wonder of all, how so little a creature should be able to endure the long Voyage over two great Seas, and the Travels by Land both in *Spain*, and in *Peru*, from the Sea to *Cusco*. Thus we mention small and inconsiderable Birds, that so it may be an inducement to transport Birds and Fowl of greater benefit and use, such as Partridges, and other tame Fowl, which we breed up in our Yards, and feed at our Barn-doors.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of their Wheat.

FROM the Relation of Birds and Fowl, we are next to pass to Corn, Plants, Lentils, and such other things as were wanting in *Peru*: And as to this point we must note, that the first person that imported Wheat into my Country (for so I call the whole Empire of the *Incas*) was a certain noble Lady, called *Mary of Escobar*, who was married to *Diego de Chavez*, both Natives of *Truxillo*; I was well acquainted with her, when I lived at my own Plantation, but many years after she came to *Peru*, she removed to *Cusco*; but her Husband I did not know, for he dyed at *Los Reyes*.

This Lady, worthy of all good fortune, was the first that imported Wheat to the City of *Rimac* in *Peru*; for which great benefit she received no thankfull returns from my Country, though for a less valuable consideration the Gentiles adored *Ceres* for a Goddess: I know not the year precisely in which it was brought; but this I am sure, the quantity was so small, not exceeding half a Bushel, that they sowed the Corn three years for its increase, dividing it into small parcels of thirty and forty Granes to a neighbour; which was given also for friendship sake, that so every one might enjoy something of the new Harvest.

For this great benefit which this worthy Woman did to *Peru*, and for the many services performed by her Husband, who was one of the first Conquerours, a Plantation of *Indians* was bestowed upon her in the City of *los Reyes*. In the year 1547; Wheaten bread was not as yet eaten in *Cusco*, though there was some Wheat found in the Country: And I speak it upon this ground, because I do remember, that when *Don Fray Felasco Dominico*, Bishop of that City, fled from the Battel of *Harina*, he quartered in my Father's house with fourteen or fifteen of his Companions, and my Mother entertained them with Bread of *Mayz*; and the *Spaniards* were then so famished with hunger, that they had not the patience to stay until the Dinner was made ready, but taking whole handfulls of the raw *Mayz*, devoured them as if they had been sugred Almonds. It is not certainly known who was the first that imported Barley, it is probable that some Granes of it being mixed with the Wheat, might grow up with it, for we observe that they are never purely and entirely separated.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Vine, and of him who first planted Grapes.

HE who had the honour to be the first Importer of *Noah's Plant* was *Francis de Caravantes*, a Nobleman of *Toledo*, and one of the first Conquerours of *Peru*. This Gentleman considering the Countrey to be in some tolerable state of quiet and repose, sent for Vines to the *Canaries*, as being the nearest place; from whence they brought the black sort of Grape, which produces a red Wine, but not of the deepest red, or Tent-colour; and though they have since planted several sorts of Vines, such as *Muscadel*, and others, yet there is none of a pale or whitish colour.

Bacchus was adored by the Gentiles, and worshipped for a God in reward of a lesser piece of service than this Gentleman had done for the *Indians*; for though Wine be now plentiful in *Peru*, yet the Natives thereof have so ungentle a palate, that they know not how to relish it, contenting themselves with their ancient Beverage made of *Cava* and Water. Moreover, I have heard in *Peru*, from the report of a Gentleman of good repute, that a certain *Spaniard*, who was very curious, and a great *Vinifol*, had extracted a sort of Wine called *Almacigo* from Raisins which he had brought from *Spain*; and that having sowed some of the Raisin-stones, they produced a kind of Vines, but were so tender, that he was forced to conserve them three or four years in *Almacigo*, untill such time as they were strong enough to be planted; and that from thence the Grapes have taken so high a colour, that all the Wine in *Peru* became like the Tent-wine in *Spain*, though not altogether of so deep a colour. It is probable that the Grapes of *Peru* have had their Original from both of these ways; for the *Spaniards*, who were always passionate for their Countrey, and desirous to see the same Fruits growing in the *Indies*, as were in *Spain*, did omit no experiments or trials to bring the same to their desired intent. Captain *Bartholomew de Terrazas*, who was one of the first Conquerours of *Peru*, and one of those who entred *Chili* under the Admiral *Don Diego de Almagro*, was the first that planted Grapes in his own Vineyard in the City of *Cusco*; I was well acquainted with this Gentleman, and esteemed him for a most generous person, and well accomplished in all points of most virtuous Endowments. He planted a Vineyard in his Lands, situated in the Province of *Cuntisuyu*, which he manured by *Indians*, being called *Achanquillo*; from whence in the year 1555, as an evidence and proof of his good Husbandry, and greatness of his liberal Soul, he sent thirty *Indians* laden with fair and goodly Grapes to his intimate and familiar friend *Garcilasso de la Vega*, my honoured Lord, with order that he should divide amongst the Gentlemen of that City an equal share and proportion, that every one might enjoy the fruit of his labours. It was indeed at that time a great curiosity to have the Fruit of *Spain* growing in that Countrey, and a clear evidence of his munificent and liberal Soul; for if he would have made merchandise of those Grapes, he might have sold them for four or five thousand Ducats. For my part I did partake of those Grapes, for my Father having made me the Messenger to carry them, attended with two Pages, I delivered to every principal House two large bunches of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Wine; and of the first Man that made it in *Cozco*; and of the value of it.

ON the 21st of January, 1570. being upon my departure for *Spain*, I passed through the Plantation of *Peter Lopez de Casalla*, a Native of *Llerena*, a place not far distant from *Cusco*, he had been Secretary to the President of *Gasca*, otherwise called *Marcanhuasi*, about nine Leagues from the City, and there I met with a *Portugal*, called *Alfonso Vaz*, who was a great Husbandman, and skilful in Agriculture, and a very honest Man; he shewed me all his Ground and Plantations, which were full of most rare and excellent Grapes, but would not suffer me to gather one bunch of them, which would have been very acceptable to a Traveller, as I was, and to one who loved them so well, but he was not pleased to shew me so much kindness, which when he perceived that I took notice of, he told me plainly, that I ought to pardon that piece of discourtesie, for that his Master had encharged him not to meddle with so much as one Grape, because he intended to make Wine of them, as he afterwards did, pressing them in a trough, because he had no other convenience wherewith to tread or press them out; and as a School-fellow of mine told me afterwards in *Spain*, that this *Peter Lopez de Casalla*, resolved to gain the Jewel which *Charles* the 5th commanded to be given to the first *Spaniard*, who from any of the *Spanish* Plantations should produce, or be able to shew a certain quantity of Wheat, Barley, Wine or Oil, the which this great Emperour, and other Princes of glorious memory, were pleased to hold forth, as an encouragement to those who should well manure their Land, that it might produce the Fruits of *Spain*, which did not originally belong to that Countrey.

The quantity of Wheat or Barley which was required, was about a Seame; and of Wine, and Oil, about a hundred Weight of each, which is four *Arrabes* of *Spanish* Measure; and the Reward was to be of two pieces of Plate to the value of three hundred Ducats a piece; the gain and lucre of which was not the chief motive, that induced *Pedro de Lopez de Casalla* to be thus industrious in his Plantations, but rather the Glory and Honour he conceived of being renowned to posterity, for being the first who made Wine from his own Vineyards near *Cusco*; and thus much I shall serve as to the first Wines which were made in my Countrey, for other Cities of *Peru*, such as *Huamanga* and *Arequipa*, had them long before, but they were a sweet sort of *Haloca*, or *Muscadel* Wines. Discourfing once in *Cordova* with a Canon or Prebend of *Peru*, concerning these matters which we now relate, he told me that he was acquainted in the Kingdom of *Quinn*, with a certain *Spaniard*, who was a very curious Person, and one very skilful in Husbandry, especially in the manuring of Vineyards; for he was the first that brought Vines from *Rimac* to *Quinn*, and had planted a spacious Vineyard along the Banks of the River *Mira*, which being under the Equinoctial Line, is extremely hot; This Story is which he pruned every month in the year, and by that means had always fresh and ripe Grapes through all the months of the year. In all parts of *Peru* they water their Vines, because the Countrey is very hot, and the Weather always of the same temperature; so that when they would have their Vines produce their Fruit, they afford them Water, and when not, and that they would have the Sap fall of the Vine to the root, they withhold the Water, and afterwards having cast their Leaves, and again pruned them, they open the Water-banks, with which the root being frequently refreshed, they spring, and bud, and produce their Fruit: In the same manner Fruit is produced. when another is half a foot high in growth, and another is in the ear, and ready to be reaped; all which is effected by the natural situation of the Climate, which makes

makes no difference of Seasons, and is indeed the effect of Nature, rather than of Curiosity, or any other good Husbandry.

In the Year 1560. vvhich vvas about the time that I departed from *Coxco*, and some vvhile after, it vvas not the custome to afford Wine at the Table upon any invitation of the Neighbours, vvho vv ere such as vv ere Masters of *Indians*, and common Guests, unles one, or so, might require it for the sake of his Health, being accounted a point of Luxury and Vice for any one to drink it for other cause than for necessity. For vvhen the *Spaniards* laid their first foundations of this Empire, they acted it vvith great sobriety, and having began vvith hardship and temperance, they easily continued a moderate and frugal Table; so that their Guests, vvhen invited, vvould refuse Wine, though it vv ere offered them; for they knew the price to be very dear, being vvorth, vvhen cheapest, at least thirty Ducats the Arrove, (vvhich is but tvventy five pounds vveight) and continued at the same price untill after the Wars of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*. In the time of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and before, it vvas vvorth from three hundred to five hundred Ducats the Arrove; and in the Years 1554. and 55. the Vintage so generally failed through the vvhole Kingdom; and such scarcity there vvas of it in the City of *los Reyes*, that there vvas scarce sufficient for the Sacrament vvhich is celebrated in the Mass; vvherefore the Archbishop *D. Jeronimo de Loaysa*, ordered that half a Butt of Wine vvhich vvas found in a House should be conserved for the use and service of the Masses. In such scarcity and want of Wine they remained for several Days and Months, untill a ship arrived in that Port, belonging to two Merchants of my acquaintance; (whom, out of respect to their Noble Families, I forbear to name) importing two thousand Barrels of Wine, part of which they sold at first for three hundred and sixty Ducats the Barrel, and the latter parcel for no less than two hundred. This account I received from a Master of one of the Vessels on which I embarked in my Voyage from *los Reyes* to *Panama*; for which reasons Wine is not commonly drank. On a certain day a Gentleman who was Master of *Indians* invited another to dine with him, who was Master of none, and being in cheerfull conversation with five or six *Spaniards* more, he desired a cup of Water to drink; upon which the Master of the House sent him Wine, but he refusing it, said that he drank no Wine; whereupon the Master replied, that if it were so, he should desire his company to eat with him every day; intimating that the charge of Victuals was inconsiderable, provided that the reckoning were not inflamed with Wine, which yet was not refused so much for the dearness of it, as for the total want there was sometimes of it, being brought from so remote parts as *Spain*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Olive Plants, and who brought them first to Peru.

IN the same Year of 1560. *Don Antonio de Ribera*, an Inhabitant of the City of *los Reyes*, who had been Procurator General of *Peru*, and lived some time there; and going afterwards into *Spain*, and returning back again, he brought with him from *Segville* several Olive Plants, which he carefully saved, and put up in two great Jars, and of above a hundred which he had brought, there were but three slips onely that were alive, the which he planted in a fruitfull Soil and Valley, vvherein he having also other Fruits, such as Grapes, Figs, Pomegranats and Oranges, Limes, and the like, with Pulse, and Seeds of *Spain*, he sold them publickly in the Market-place of that City, which being new Fruit, were bought up at any prices, and as I am informed for certain, that he made above two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight thereof. *Don Antonio de Ribera* having planted these Olive Trees in his own Land, would not afford so much as one Leaf of them to be planted in any other Ground than his own; and for security of them he guarded them with at least one hundred Negroes, and thirty Dogs, which watched his rich Plantations both by day and night; but it happening out that some persons, more watchfull than his Dogs, and perhaps by the connivance or consent of the Negroes, (as is to be suspected) stole away in the night time one of the three Olive Plants, the which, in some time after, was seen to flourish and grow in *Chili*, being above six hundred Leagues from the City of *los Reyes*; and there for the space of three Years afforded many sprouts for divers Plantations, increasing with that prosperous success, that not the least twig was put into the ground, but which took, and in a short time became a fair Olive Tree.

Don Antonio de Ribera, for recovery of his Plants, having procured many Express communications against the Authours of this Theft; at the end of three years it came to pass, that the same Tree was again restored, and replanted in the very same place from whence it had been taken, with that secrecy, and with that dexterity returned, that the Master could never detect the Person who had robbed him of it. The Olive plantations have thrived better in *Chili*, than they have done in *Peru*; the reason whereof may be, because the Climate of *Chili* may be more agreeable to them, being situate from thirty to forty degrees, being almost of the same temperature with *Spain*; and in *Peru* they thrive better in the Hills than in the Plains. At first three or four Olives were a great Treat for a Stranger, but now at this time they bring Oil from *Chili* to *Peru*. And thus much shall serve to have spoken concerning the first plantations of Olives in my Country; let us proceed to other Plants, Pulse and Seeds, which were not originally in my Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of other Fruits of Spain, and Sugar Canes.

IT is most certain, that anciently in *Peru* there were neither Figs nor Pomegranates, nor Oranges, nor sweet or fower Lemons, nor Apples, nor Pears, nor Quinces, nor Nectarines, nor Peaches, nor Apricocks, nor Plumbs of any sort, like those in *Spain*; onely they have one sort of Plumb different from ours, which the *Spaniards* call *Malus*, and the *Indians* *Ullun*, nor had they Melons, or Cucumbers, nor Goards, which we dress and stew in our Dishes. Of all these Fruits which I have named, and many others which I cannot call to mind, there was not any sort found in *Peru*, when the *Spaniards* at first entred the Countrey, and yet now the abundance of them is so great, that they are not esteemed; and like the Cattel, the number is so increased, that the *Spaniards* themselves have admired the plenty.

When Pomegranates were first produced in the City of *los Reyes*, they carried one of them, of a prodigious greatness, in procession, laying it upon the Pageant of the most holy Sacrament, when that was carried in triumph on the Festival day of *Corpus Christi*. I dare not describe the bigness of it, lest I should be thought to tell a Traveller's Story, and offend the incredulity of ignorant People, who conceive the perfection of all worldly things to be contained within the compass of their own Village: Howsoever it would seem an imprudent caution, and too much nicety for a Man to forbear to relate the great Wonders of Nature, for fear of offending the ignorant sort of Mankind; and therefore I shall take the boldness to report with confidence, that the Pomegranate, of which I speak, was as big as the Vessel in which they ordinarily carried Oil from *Seville* into the *Indies*; and many bunches of Grapes have weighed eight or ten pound weight, and Citrons half a hundred, and Quinces as big as a Man's Head. And thus much for the Fruit. Now as to other Trees and Plants, we shall deliver that which is as strange and wonderfull as the former.

I should gladly know the Names and Conditions of those Persons who were so curious and industrious as to import them into these parts, that so I might specify and record them in this History, as worthy of due Praise and Honour. In the Year 1580, a *Spaniard* called *Gasper de Alcega*, who was a rich Merchant in the City of *los Reyes*, and had there a very fair Plantation, was the first that brought Cherries, and Mazards, into that Countrey, which, as they tell me, are all dead; by reason of the over great care they had of them, and the many experiments they tried to make them grow. Nor were there anciently Sugar Canes in *Peru*, though now by the industry of the *Spaniards*, and the fertility of the soil, they are increased to a loathsome plenty; that whereas formerly they were highly they esteemed, are now become of no value or estimation.

The first Sugar Works of *Peru* were made in *Huanacu* by the contrivance of a Gentleman, with whom I was well acquainted; a Servant of his who was a subtle and ingenious Person, observing the great quantities of Sugar which were imported from *Mexico*, by reason of which the Sugar of that Countrey would not sell to any Account, advised his Master to send one Ship's lading of his Sugar into *New Spain*, that they seeing thereby the plenty of that Commodity in *Peru*, might forbear to send any more thither; the project succeeded according to expectation, and now Sugar-works are erected in many places of that Countrey.

I have been told, that some *Spaniards*, who have been curious in Husbandry, have engrafted the Fruits of *Spain*, upon the wild Stocks of *Peru*, to the great admiration of the *Indians*, who have been astonished to see one of their own Trees to bear two, three, and four sorts of Fruit in one year, which being a curiosity beyond the fanning of their Understanding, they have contented themselves with the admiration of it, without farther search into the cause. I am of opinion that

Olives

Olives might be engrafted on those Trees which the *Indians* call *Quishuar*, for both the Wood and the Leaf is much like an Olive; and I remember when I was a Boy, that I have often heard the *Spaniards* say, that Olives and Oil did proceed from Trees like them; but the truth is, that Tree is barren, for though it casts out a Leaf like the Olive, yet it soon withers and falls: for want of Canes we did usually in *Cusco* make our Darts of that Wood; for Canes will not grow in so cold a Countrey as that.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of their Garden-Herbs, and other Herbs, and of the great-ness of them.

OF all the common Herbs, and Plants, and Roots, which are eaten in *Spain*, there was none in *Peru*; that is to say, Lettuce, Radishes, Turnips, Garlick, Onions, Beets, Spinage, Goards, Garden-Carduus, Asparagus, and the like, which grow in *Spain*, onely there was Pursloin and Pennyroyal; nor of Seeds had they Pease, or Beans, or Lentils, or Anniseed, or Mustard-seed, or Carroways, or Rice, or Lavander, nor many other Herbs and Plants; nor had they Roses, or Gillyflowers of various sorts, as we have in *Spain*, nor Jasmynes, nor other odiferous Flowers.

Of all these Herbs and Flowers which we have already named, and many others, which I cannot now call to mind, there are now such great quantities, and which do now abound to that degree, that they are cumbersome and pernicious to the ground, having so spread and rooted themselves in some Vallies, that they cannot be eradicated and destroyed by the Art and Industry of Mankind; and having so over-run some Vallies, that they have rooted out the ancient name, and caused them to take that of the prevailing Weed, witness that of *Rucma*, which is now called the Valley of good Herbs upon the Coast. In the City of *los Reyes* the first Spinage and Endive which they sowed grew to that prodigious height, that a Man could not reach the top of it with his Hand, and so thick, that a Horse could not pass through them; and all other Herbs grew to the like rankness and largeness at the beginning; in like manner Wheat in many parts yields three hundred Bushels for one.

In the Valley of *Huancu*, lately peopled by a Colony which the Vice-king *Don Hurtado de Mendoza* sent thither, the like abundance was observable; for in the Year 1560, being upon my Voyage into *Spain*, one of the Inhabitants of that Colony, called *Garci Vaquez*, who had been a Servant to my Father, carried me to his House, where at Supper he gave me some Bread, and told me, that it was of that Corn which had yielded him three hundred for one; and so much I tell you, said he, that you may report it of a truth in *Spain*; which when I seemed to admire, *Garci Vaquez* assured me that I might believe it, for that upon the Faith of a Christian he had sowed no more than two Bushels and a half of Wheat, and that they had produced 680 Bushels, which were heaped in his Granary, and that he thought he had lost as much more for want of people to gather it in.

Once I remember, that telling this story to *Gonzalo Silvestre*, of whom we have made mention in our History of *Florida*, and shall have farther occasion to name him, when we shall have deduced our matter to his time, he confirmed the same, and farther assured me, that in the Province of *Chuquisaca*, which is near to the River of *Pillumayu*, and where he hath some Lands, that the first Year he sowed Wheat, it yielded him four hundred Bushels for one. In the Year 1556. when *Don Garcia de Mendoza* went Governour into *Chili*, and taking the Port of *Arica* in his way, it was told him, that in a certain Valley, near to that place, called *Cu-*

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capa, there was a Turnip to be seen of that prodigious bigness, that five Horses might be tied to the top branches of it, and that if he pleased, they would carry him to see it. *Garcia* willingly accepted the proffer, and went thither purposely that he might say he had seen such a sight, which when he saw, he found the report true, for the Turnip was so big, that a Man could scarce encompass it with both his Arms; and so tender, that being brought to *Don Garcia's* quarters, many people ate of it. In the valley which is called the Vale of good Herbs, there are some Herbs of two Yards and a half long, for I keep the measures of some of them, and upon that assurance I give this Relation.

In the Year 1595. and in the Month of *May*, being in the Cathedral Church of *Cordova*, and there discoursing with *Don Martin de Contreras*, and telling him, that being now to write these particulars in my History, I was a little scrupulous to deliver the truth of the strange increase of Corn, and the prodigious growth of Herbs in my Country, lest to many, who had never gone out of their own, it should seem incredible, or that I took the privilege of a Traveller, which is to lyes; but he desired me not to forbear to give a true account on such considerations, leaving to them to believe what they pleased; for my part, I can testify that I was an Eye-witness of the great Turnip in the Valley of *Cacapa*, where I was that day with *Don Garcia de Mendoza*, and upon the Faith of a Gentleman I saw the five Horses tied to the tops of the Turnip, and that afterwards I ate some of it with several others; and farther I can add, that the same day I saw in the Valley of *Tca* a Melon which weighed an hundred and three pounds weight, the truth of which was attested before a publick Notary; and in the Valley of *Tucay* I ate of one Root of Lettuce, which weighed seven pounds and an half. Many other things of the like kind concerning Corn, Fruit and Herbs, this Gentleman related to me, which I omit to mention, that I may not seem tedious to the Reader.

Acosta, in the 19th Chapter of his 4th Book, where he treats of the Greens, Herbs and Fruits of *Pern*, hath these very Words, which I have extracted verbatim: "I have never heard, said he, that the *Indians* ever had Gardens for Herbs, "only that they digged some little pieces of ground to sow Herbs, Pease, Beans "and Fitches; nor have I learned, that ever any kind of these several sorts of "Pulse which grow in *Europe* were found in *Pern*, until they were first imported "by the *Spaniards*, which since have grown and increased in a wonderful manner; "for the fertility of those Countries far exceeds the soil of *Spain*, as we have given "an example of the Melons which grow in the Valley of *Tca* in *Pern*, which are "not sown every year like ours, but take a root which produces Melons for "many Years, and are cut and pruned at the Seasons like a Tree, which is a thing "that never happened in any part of *Spain*, &c. Thus far are the Words of *Acosta*, upon whose Authority I adventure with much confidence to report the great fruitfulness of this Country; and how wonderfully at the beginning the Fruits of *Spain* thrived and increased to an incredible greatness; to which also I shall add another Excellency which *Acosta* mentions, which is, that the Melons did all prove good, provided that time were given them to ripen, which gives a farther indication of the fertility of this Soil. And in regard the first Melons which were seen in the parts adjacent to *los Reyes*, gave occasion to a pleasant story which we shall not omit in this place, because it is a farther evidence of the ancient simplicity of the *Indians*, which is this: A certain Inhabitant of the City of *los Reyes*, who was one of the first Conquerours, and a Person of Noble Blood, named *Antonio Solar*, having a Plantation in *Pachacamac*, about four Leagues distant from the City, maintained a *Spaniard* for his Bailly, to oversee and manure his land; who sent two *Indians*, laden with five Melons apiece, being ten in all, to his Master, that he might taste the fruit of his ground; and therewith sent a Letter in one of the Baskets, telling them, that in case they ate any of them, that Paper would discover it. With this charge they departed, and being half a days Journey on their way, they fate down to rest, and repose themselves; during which stay, one said to the other, *Let us taste of this Fruit which we carry to our Master*, but the other made some scruple, saying, *The Paper will discover all, as our Steward told us*; but the other replied, that if they threw the Paper behind the Hedge, it could not see them, nor arise up in witness against them; which contrivance pleased the Companion, and the Paper being laid aside, they cut the Melon, and devoured it. For the *Indians* at first not understanding the Mystery of Letters, imagined that

that Papers were Messengers, to whom the *Spaniards* had declared their minds, and spoken those words which were delivered to them, and that they were as Spies to tell whatsoever they saw in the way where they travelled; and therefore when they fell to their treat, they laid the Paper behind a bank, that it might not see them. As they travelled on their Journey, he that carried the five Melons said to him that had the four, if we go with this odd number, our Master will suspect that we have eaten one, and therefore let us eat another, to make them equal; this witty Counsel pleased well, and so by agreement they fate down and ate the other: And being now come to their Master, they presented him with eight Melons onely, who reading the Letter, asked them what was become of the other two Melons, for that the Letter specified ten. No Sir, said they, the Steward gave us but eight. Why do you lie, said *Antonio Solar*, for the Paper speaks of ten: Wherewith the poor Fellows became so affrighted and confused, that they knew not what to reply, but onely to confess the truth, saying, that with great reason the *Spaniards* were called *Viracocha*, since they were able to penetrate into such hidden Secrets. A Story of the like nature *Gomara* relates to have happened in the Island of *Cuba*, when it was at first possessed by the *Spaniards*; and indeed it is no wonder that the same ignorance should be common in all parts of the new World; for the simplicity of the *Indians* was such, as that whatsoever was new, and not seen to them before, could never enter into their capacities, and onely served to fill them with wonder and admiration; for whatsoever they observed to be extraordinary in the *Spaniards*, such as running on Horseback, and building Arches for Bridges, shooting with Guns, and killing at an hundred and two hundred paces, and the like, were all such miracles to them, as could not be effected by other means, than some Divine Power; and for that reason they called the *Spaniards* Gods; as they did in the evidence which the Paper gave against them.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Flax, Asparagus, Visnagas, with which they cleanse Teeth; and Anniseeds.

NOR was there Flax in *Pern* at first, but *Donna Catalina de Reter*, who was a Native of *St. Lucar*, and Mother-in-law to *Francis de Villafuerte*, a noble and religious Lady, and one of the first Nuns of the Convent of *St. Clare* in *Cusco*, expected in the Year 1560. to receive some Flax Seed from *Spain*, to sow in that Country, together with Looms and Instruments to spin and weave Linen for their Houses; but in the Year that I departed from *Pern*, I cannot say that those things were as yet brought; but since I came from thence, I have heard that considerable quantities of Linen are made there, though I cannot avouch how great Spinsters the *Spanish* Women have been, nor how good Huswives my Country Women are; for I did never see them spin Linen, though I have seen them sow, and weave Cotton and fine Wool, which the *Indian* Women spin with great curiosity, though they combed it with their Fingers, for want of Cards wherewith to card it, and therefore they may be excused, if they be not as yet become such excellent Spinsters of Linen as our *Spanish* Housewives are.

But to return to our former Discourse, relating to the great esteem which the Fruits and Commodities of *Spain* had gained in the *Indies* at first, when the *Spaniards*

niards had newly planted themselves in *Peru*; I remember that in the Year 1555. or ---56 *García de Melo*, who was then Treasurer for his Majesty in *Coco*, sent to my Lord *Garcilasso de la Vega* a present of three Asparagus, where he had them, or where they grew, is not known; only he desired him to accept and eat that curiosity of *Spanish* Fruit; the Asparagus were very fair ones, two of which were as big as a middle Finger, and the third of a yard long, the other was thicker, but shorter, but all of them so tender, that they were easily broken. My Father, that he might doe the greater honour to this *Spanish* Plant, ordered that the Asparagus should be boiled on a Pan of Coals in his own Chamber, in presence of seven or eight Gentlemen, who were at Supper with him. When the Asparagus were boiled, and a sauce for them made with Oil and Vinegar, *Garcilasso* divided the two largest among the Guests at his Table, and the third he took wholly to himself, desiring them to pardon him for that time, if he carved himself the largest portion of the *Spanish* Fruits. In this manner the Asparagus were eaten with great cheer and mirth, as if the Phenix had been to be divided amongst them; and though I served then at the Table, yet nothing thereof fell to my share.

About that time also Captain *Barbolomeu* of *Ferrazas* sent my Father three *Vinaga* stalks, (which grow like our Fennel Seeds, and are for picking the Teeth,) the which being brought from *Spain*, were accepted with much thankfulness, and were served at the Table to a Stranger after Dinner, one of the Straws being given him with much Ceremony.

About this time also Anniseeds were produced in *Coco*, and strewed in all their Bread, which was of greater esteem than all the Nectar or Ambrosia which the Poets mention; at this rate the inconsiderable things of *Spain* were esteemed in *Peru* at the first, which may serve to please the curiosity of after Ages, when they read the History of the first actions and humours of their Forefathers. Howsoever I do not find that either Asparagus have thrived, or that *Vinagas* have been produced in that Countrey, though other Plants, Corn, Herbs and Cattel have multiplied in exceeding abundance.

In like manner they have planted Mulberry Trees, and brought over Silk-Worms, which before that time were not in *Peru*; but the Silk which they produce will not hold Winding, or Spinning, by reason of some great defect in it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the new Names given to distinguish their several Tribes, or Generations.

BUT the best and most to be esteemed of all those things which were transported into the *Indies*, were the *Spaniards* themselves, and the *Negros* which are their Slaves and Servants. From these two Nations others have been derived, which are a compound of these, and different mixtures which are distinguished by divers Names. And though in our History of *Florida* we have mentioned this particular, yet it being to our present purpose, it may be convenient to repeat it again in this place: the matter is this: A *Spanish* Man, or Woman, born in *Spain*, and come into that Countrey, is there called a *Spaniard*, or a *Castilian*; but the Children born in the *Indies* from *Spaniards*, are called *Criollos*, which signifies one born in that Countrey; which word was made by the *Negros*, for so also they call their own Children born in those parts, and thereby distinguish them from those of *Guin*, who are of more esteem for having been born free in the Countrey of their Fathers, than those who were born in the land of Bondage; so that the Name of *Criollos* is common to the race of the *Spaniards*, and of the *Negros*: the blood of a *Negro*, and an *Indian*, being mixed together, is called a *Mulata*, or *Molala*: To the Children of this kind of mixture they give the Name of *Cholo*, which is a word framed in the Isles of *Barlovento*, which is as much as a Dog, and not a Dog neither of the best kind or race, but of a Cur, or Mongrel, giving them the most detestable, and most villanous Name they could invent; but the Children between a *Spaniard* and an *Indian* they call *Mestizos*, which signifies such as come of *Spanish* and *Indian* blood, which is a word formed and framed by our Forefathers the *Spaniards*, who first conquered this Countrey; and for this reason I am not ashamed to own that honourable denomination, and with a full mouth pronounce my self to be one of them; though in the *Indies* they take it for a great disparagement for any Man to say to one of them, Thou art a *Mestizo*, or he is a *Mestizo*, and for that reason they take it to be a more honourable Name to be called a *Mountainier*, which at first was given them for an affront or disparagement, in regard that *Mountainier* is one born and bred in the Mountains: But afterwards in consideration that those who live in the Mountains of *Biscay* and *Asturias*, do under the Title of *Mountainiers* assume to themselves great Honours and Privileges, the *Mestizos* were pleased with that Appellation, though indeed it is only honourable to those who are Natives of those Provinces of *Spain*, and not to those who are born in the Mountains of *Peru*; as *Antonio de Lebrixa* attests, to whom *Spain* owes much for the Eloquence of his Latine Tongue. In the vulgar Language of *Peru*, *Sacharuna* signifies a *Mountainier*, and which more properly is a Savage; and so when they called them *Mountainiers*, it implied that they were a kind of Beasts, or wild Men; though our silly Parents not understanding the true propriety of the word, were pleased, and gloried in their own ignominy: the Children of *Mestizos* they call *Quatrals*, which is to say, that they are three parts *Spanish*, and but one *Indian*; but the Children of a *Mestizo*, with an *Indian* Woman, they call *Tresalums*, which is three parts *Indian*, and but one *Spanish*. All these Names, and many others, which for brevity sake I omit, were framed in my Countrey for distinction of the several generations, and mixtures of blood, which have been compounded since the time of the *Spaniards*, and who were the Authors of them, as they were of many other particulars which we have formerly noted. And so let us return again to our History of the *Incas*, who were descended from *Huayna Capac* the Great, whose memorable Actions require our attention.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXII.

Huascar Inca requires his Brother Atahualpa to doe him Homage.

Huayna Capac being dead, the two Brothers reigned peaceably together for four or five years in quiet possession of their respective Jurisdictions, without invading the Rights, or Limits, of each other, or attempting new Conquests. For the King Huascar had his Territories bounded to the North with the Kingdom of *Quinu*, which belonged to his Brother; and all the other three quarters were already subjected to his Dominion, as far as from the lofty Mountains of the *Andes*, to the Sea-coast, which extend East, West and South, comprehending therein the Kingdom of *Chili*. The *Inca Atahualpa* on the other side lived peaceably, not aspiring to new Conquests, but onely inclined to enjoy himself, and consult the good and benefit of his people, but Dominion and Rule can admit no Rival or Equal; so this Tranquillity continued not for above five years before that Huascar repenting of his easie assent to the desire of his Father, imagined that he had, to his own great damage quitted his Right to the Kingdom of *Quinu* unto his Brother *Atahualpa*; for besides the prejudice he suffered by having for considerable a branch lopped off from his Empire, he also found himself disabled from farther progress in his Conquests, or making additions to his Dominions, being shut up on that side by his Brother, where onely there was way to farther Conquests; the glory of which were now onely belonging to the fortune of *Atahualpa*. And in regard, that as by such acquisitions he was in a possibility of making his Empire greater than his, so it was probable he might become equal, if not superiour to him: And seeing that this his Brother was of an ambitious, and an unquiet Spirit, he had just cause to suspect, that finding himself strong and powerfull, he would attempt to take the Diadem from his own Head.

These melancholy Considerations increasing daily in the breast of Huascar, he grew so sad and pensive, that not being able to support longer the burthen of his jealousy, he dispatched a Messenger to his Brother *Atahualpa*; giving him to understand, that according to the ancient Constitution and Canon of the First *Inca Manco Capac*, which had been observed by all generations descended from him, the Kingdom of *Quinu*, and all the dependencies belonging to it, were properly, and of right inherent in the Crown, and Imperial Seat of *Cusco*. And though he had quitted his claim thereunto, in respect to that forced obedience he owed to his Father, yet by the strict Rules of Justice he was not obliged thereunto, nor was any such Resignation lawfull, being to the damage of his Crown, and to the right of his Successors, which his Father had neither power to enjoin, nor he to perform: But in regard his Father had so commanded it; and he assented, he was willing to confirm the same Grant to him on two Conditions: First, that he do not add one Foot of Land to his present Dominions, for that all his Conquests do of right belong to the Empire; and, secondly, that as a Feudatory he perform towards him Homage and Vassalage.

This Message *Atahualpa* received with all the submission and humility imaginable; and having taken three days time to return his Answer, he with all the feigned affection, and subtle dissimulation, he could contrive, made this Reply: That he had always in his heart entertained obedient thoughts towards his Lord and Sovereign the *Capac Inca*; and that as an evidence thereof, he would never attempt to encrease, and enlarge his Dominions of *Quinu*, but by the order, and with the consent of his Majesty, to whose pleasure he was so entirely devoted; that in case he should think fit to dispose otherwise of his Kingdom, he would willingly resign all to his command, and live as privately in his Court, as any of his Uncles and Kindred, serving him both in Peace and War with faithfulness and diligence.

diligence. This joyfull Answer from *Atahualpa*, the Messenger returned with all expedition by the Post, remaining still at the Court of *Atahualpa* in expectation of Instructions from the *Inca* of what farther to act and negotiate therein. The *Inca* receiving this soft Answer with great joy and satisfaction, replied again, That he did not in the least repine at the Possessions which his Father had bestowed on *Atahualpa*; for that he did again confirm them to him, provided, that he did al-ways within such a term of years repair constantly to *Cusco*, and perform the Homage he had agreed. To which *Atahualpa* returned answer, That he was very happy to know the Will and Pleasure of his Lord the *Inca*, but much more to perform it; which that he might doe, he would speedily repair to the place appointed, to take the Oath of Allegiance; and for the doing thereof in the most solemn manner, he desired his Majesties licence and permission, that all the Provinces of his State might attend him thither, to join with him in the solemn celestome observed by the Kingdom of *Quinu*, and the Provinces depending on it; and that having accomplished that ceremony, both he, and all his Subjects, would take the Oath of Allegiance and Fealty. *Huascar Inca* easily consented to this grateful Proposition, which his Brother had made to him, giving him to understand, that he might take his time of coming to *Cusco*, when it seemed most convenient, and that he gave him leave to celebrate the rites of his Father's Funeral according to the custome of his Countrey: And so both the Brothers appeared fatished; the one rejoicing at the good correspondence he had with his Brother, little suspecting the malicious design that lay concealed under it of be-reaving him of his Life and Empire; and the other pleased himself with the thoughts and contrivance of his damnable Plot, which he had laid to make him-self Master both of one and the other.

C H A P. XXXIII.

The Subtilties which Atahualpa used to take suspicion from the mind of his Brother.

THings being thus prepared, the King *Atahualpa* published a Decree through all his Kingdom and Provinces, that all people who were able to travel unto *Cusco*, should within the space of so many days prepare themselves to take a Journey thither, that they might according to the ancient custome of their Nation celebrate the Funeral Rites of the Great *Huayna Capac* his Father, and take the Oaths of Homage and Allegiance to their Supreme Monarch *Huascar Inca*; and that for the greater glory and splendour, every one should appear in his best Ornaments and Garments besitting such a Solemnity; but secretly he intimated his instructions to his Captains, that in their respective Divisions they should take care to chuse such select Men as were Souldiers, and better armed for War, than accoutred for performance of the Obsequies; and that they should march in divers Divisions of five and six hundred in a Squadron, and so disguise the matter as to appear in the outward shew, rather like Servants and Attendants, than like Souldiers; and that every Division should march at two or three Leagues distance each from the other.

And moreover, he gave Orders to the Captains, who led the Van, that when they were come within ten or twelve days March of *Cusco*, that then they should shorten their pace, that the Rere might come up to them, who were commanded to double their March, that so they might overtake those in the Van. In this order the Troops of *Atahualpa*, consisting of above thirty thousand select Men, most being old veterane Souldiers, proceeded in their March; who also were Com-

Commanded by those famous and experienced Captains which his Father had left, and recommended to him; two of which Officers were especially famous above the rest, one of which was called *Challchuima*, and the other *Quizquic*; and *Atahualpa* gave out, that he would himself in Person bring up the Rere.

Huascar placing great confidence in the words of his Brother, and much more in that untainted Loyalty which the *Indians* had ever born to their *Incas*; a testimony of which faithfulness is given by *Acosta*, in these words, taken out of the twelfth Chapter of his sixth Book: "Without doubt, said he, great was the reverence and affection which this people shewed to their *Incas*, it having never been known that any one of them was ever guilty of High-Treason, &c. For which reason *Huascar* suspecting nothing less than such a faithless and treasonable design, did with all freedom and generous liberty give order, that they should be supplied with all Provisions in their way; and all kind treatment shewed them, as befitting Brothers, who were travelling to perform the Funeral Rites of their Father; and to take the Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance." Thus both Parties moved on different considerations; that of *Huascar* with all the simplicity and sincerity imaginable, and the other of *Atahualpa*, with all the subtle artifice and cunning that could be contrived and learned in the Schools of Malice.

For *Atahualpa* being inferior in Power and Strength to his Brother *Huascar*, durst not adventure on an open War; but covertly managing his designs, made sure of his game, which he had certainly lost, had he professed an open enmity.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Huascar being advised of the Treason, assembles his Forces.

IN this order the people of *Quinu* marched for the space of four hundred Leagues, untill they came within a hundred Leagues of *Cusco*: In which March, several experienced Governours of Provinces through which they passed, observing that the order which these people kept, looked more like the Discipline of an Army, than the Rule of Mourners going to a Funeral, or of Vassals going to take the Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance; for that on either of these occasions five or six thousand Men were sufficient; and that for giving Fealty, the intercourse of Captains and great Men was only requisite and necessary, rather than such a croud and multitude of common Souldiers: And farther reflecting on the turbulent and unquiet temper of *Atahualpa*, which was always false, and his humour Martial, they could not but suspect, that there was something more intended by this warlike Preparation, than what tended to Peace, and the professions of a Brother and a Subject; on which suspicion a jealousy they dispatched secret intelligence to *Huascar*, beseeching him not to trust to his Brother *Atahualpa*, who certainly came with other designs than what he outwardly pretended.

Upon this information *Huascar* awakening himself from that dream of security in which he slept, dispatched Messengers with all diligence possible to the Governours of the Provinces of *Antisuyu* and *Collasuyu*, commanding them immediately to march to *Cusco* with what Forces they were able to levy: But to the Division of *Chinchasuyu*, which was of the greatest extent, and which was the most warlike Nation of all the others, he omitted to send his Orders, because they were already joined with the Enemies Army as they passed through their Country. The people of *Atahualpa* growing confident, and emboldened by this negligence and security of *Huascar*, and his Subjects, arrived within forty Leagues of *Cusco*; and then

then those in the Van shortning their days Marches, as the others enlarged them; they came at length, in a few days, to make a body of twenty thousand Men, and to pitch their Camp at the bank of the River *Apurimac*, which they passed without any opposition; and thence began to proceed like declared Enemies, with open Arms in their hands, and their Colours flying: And thus they marched fair and the Rere-guard over-took them, consisting of ten thousand Men more; and then proceeded in a body untill they came to the top of the Hill of *Villa canca*, being but six Leagues distant from the City; but *Atahualpa* kept himself within the Confines of his own Kingdom, not daring to adventure his Person farther, untill he had proved the success of the first Battel, in which he had placed all his hopes, availing himself much on the security and negligence of his Enemies, and on the Prowess and good Conduct of his experienced Captains.

The Enemy being thus near approached, *Huascar* made all the Levies of Souldiers, which the shortness of the time would admit; but the greatest number of his Army being to be fetched from the remote parts of *Collasuyu*, which was at least two hundred Leagues distant, could not possibly be brought together in time to make any resistance; and those of *Antisuyu* were but few in number, by reason that that Country being mountainous, is very ill peopled; but *Cuntisuyu* being a Province more compact, was very populous, so that the *Curacas* came in in great numbers, forming a Body of thirty thousand Men: But these being all new raised Men, and by reason of the long Peace unexperienced in War, they were timorous, and unable to fight and contend with an Army of veterane Souldiers. The *Inca Huascar*, with his Brethren and Relations, and as many as he could assemble, consisting in all of about ten thousand Men, marched forth to join the other Body of his Army, which came from parts lying Westward from the City; and having met them, they staid together in expectation of farther recruits.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Battel fought between the Incas, the Victory of Atahualpa, and his Cruelties.

THE *Atahualpians*, who were the best Souldiers, considering that delays were dangerous, and might hazard the success which quick execution would secure, marched with resolution to meet *Huascar*, and gave him battel before his other Troops were joined with him; and finding him encamped in an open Plain, about two or three Leagues to the Westward of *Cusco*, they assailed him with all their power; against which he on the other side made such stout resistance, that fortune seemed doubtful unto which side should give the victory; the *Atahualpians* excited with the glory of taking *Huascar* Prisoner, fought with spirit and malice; and his own Subjects being great Lovers of their King, contended with equal courage to defend and preserve him, so that the Battel continued that whole day with great slaughter on both sides: Howsoever, at length for want of the *Collas*, and by reason that the people of *Huascar* were a raw Militia, and unexperienced in War, so that one Souldier of *Atahualpa*'s was worth more than ten of those of the other party; it came to pass that the *Atahualpians* gained the victory: In the pursuit of which, aiming above all things to take *Huascar*, for that their victory would signifie little, in case his Person escaped their hands, they attacked his Life-guard of about a thousand Men, which surrounded his Person, and fighting in defence thereof, were all cut to pieces in his presence, most being slain by the Enemy, and others seeing their *Inca* Prisoner, killed themselves: besides whom, many other *Curacas* and Sovereign Lords were taken with great numbers of Captains

and Officers; the multitudes of common people which remained alive, fled, and strayed abroad like sheep without a shepherd; and many of them wandering about, and not knowing where to go, surrendered themselves to the Enemy, not being willing to enjoy their freedom when their *Inca* was a Prisoner.

With this victory and success, and with so great a Trophy of it, as the Person of *Huascar*, the *Atahualpans* were highly exalted; and for security of the prize, they committed him to the custody and charge of four Captains, and other Souldiers of great fidelity, who so narrowly watched him, lest he should make an escape, that he never was out of their sight either by night or day.

And now *Huascar* being in their hands, it was thought necessary to publish and blaze his Imprisonment through the whole Empire, that so in case any People or Armies should be coming to his assistance, or succour, they might upon such advices be diverted from their proceedings; but principally the news hereof was dispatched with all diligence to the King *Atahualpa*.

This was the sum of the most material passages of this War between the two Brothers, who were the last Kings of *Peru*; as to other Battels which the *Spanish* Historians relate, they were but Skirmishes which passed on the Confines of one Kingdom and the other, on occasion of Incursions, which the Captains and Governours of Garrisons made: And as to the Imprisonment of *Atahualpa*, it was a sham, or a false report, which he himself had given out to amuse his Brother *Huascar* and his Subjects, as was also that which he had divulged in saying, that when he was in Prison, his Father the Sun had turned him into a Serpent, that so he might escape by creeping through a hole, which was in the Chamber: which was onely the Story of a Miracle broached and framed to introduce his Father the Sun for an Authour and Favourer of his Tyrannies; the which report easily gained belief in the simple minds of that people, who were credulous of any thing which was mentioned in favour of that concernment which the Sun had towards his own Offspring. The use which *Atahualpa* made of this victory, was with all the cruelty and treachery imaginable; for publishing in all places, that his intentions were to restore *Huascar* again to the Government of his Empire; but yet under certain cautions and restrictions, which were to be agreed and capitulated between them, he summoned all the *Incas* of the whole Empire, together with the Governours, Major-Generals, Captains and Souldiers, to appear at *Cusco* at such a certain time, that so they might be Witnesses to those Articles which should be conferred between these two Kings for the mutual peace and quiet of each others Subjects. With these fair pretences and allurements all the *Incas* of the Bloud-Royal being deceived, failed not to make their appearance; which they performed with that readiness of mind, that neither sickness, nor old age, nor far distance did debar, or hinder their coming; nay, even those who might have excused themselves by reason of the remoteness of their Countrey, and which might have retarded their Journey by slow and dilatory Travels; and which were suspicious and jealous of what afterwards succeeded; yet even these against their own fears and inclinations, suffered themselves to be taken in the open and appearing snare: For so soon as *Atahualpa* had gotten them into his power, he commanded, that they should all be put to death; which Sentence was executed by various sorts of cruelty, which served to secure his Empire from all Insurrections, or Plots against him.



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CHAP. XXXVI.

The Causes which moved Atahualpa to exercise all his Cruelties, and the fatal effects of them.

BUT before we proceed farther; we are first to enquire into the Reason which moved *Atahualpa* to commit all those cruelties which he acted on those of his own Blood and Family. To understand which, we must know, that according to the ancient Laws and Statutes of that Kingdom, observed from the time of the First *Inca Manco Capac*, untill the end of the Reign of *Huayna Capac* the Great; *Atahualpa* his Son was as incapable of inheriting the Kingdom of *Quito*, which, like all the other Conquests, appertained to the Imperial Crown, as he was of the Kingdom of *Cusco*; for that the Inheritance of both indispensably appertained to such an Heir, as was descended from a lawfull Wife, who was to be Sister to the King; for that the Title to that Kingdom came as well by the Woman, as the Man's side: And if in case this strictness were not observed; yet to gain him some tolerable pretension, he ought at least to have been the Son of a *Palla*, that was descended of Royal Blood, for such were esteemed capable of the Succession; but those who had any mixtures of Foreign Blood, could never, without prophanation of all their holy Sanctions, be entitled to any share, or part, of the Empire.

Now *Atahualpa* being conscious to himself, that he wanted all the qualifications which might render him truly and legitimately an *Inca*; for he was neither the Son of a *Coya*, which signifies a Queen, nor yet of a *Palla*, which is a Lady of the Royal Blood; but the Son only of a Whore, that was a Native of *Quito*; and which the Kingdom neither, could not of right be dismembered from other parts of the Empire. Wherefore considering all these difficulties, and that though at present he were victorious, yet when with time that things were quieted and appeased, matters would return again to their ancient course, and the people set up one of the legitimate Line and Race in despite of him, or his posterity: For the opinion of legal Succession being fixed in the minds of the *Indians*, by their ancient Idolatry, and vain Religion, and taught and preached to them by that Doctrine which the *Inca Manco Capac* first instituted, and had ever since, to all Ages, been maintained; he concluded impossible to be unriveted from them, but by an utter extirpation of that whole Race; which therefore he resolved upon, and not only to destroy and extinguish the true and legitimate Issue, but even those of Bastard Families, lest they standing in the same capacity of Inheritance with him, should be induced by his example to become Rivals with him for the Empire.

To prevent which, no other remedy appeared, than that only which Tyrants and Usurpers have commonly used, which is to cut off all such who can have a Title, or lawfull Pretension, to the Crown; so that neither the People can cast their eyes upon any other Prince, nor yet the Usurper himself have obligations in conscience or justice to make restitutions: With many examples and testimonies of which, in the like nature, both ancient and modern Histories furnish us, which to avoid tediousness, we omit; it being sufficient to use that single instance of the *Ottoman* Family, whose common custome it is to secure the Empire to themselves and their posterity, by the Death of their Brothers, and their other near Relations.

But greater, and more thirsty of the Blood of his own Family, than any exercised by the *Ottoman* Kings, was the cruelty of *Atahualpa*, who not being sufficiently satiated with the Blood of two hundred of his Brethren, who were the Sons of the Great *Huayna Capac*, he proceeded to wade through deeper streams of all the Blood, shed from the Veins of his Uncles, Cousins, Parents and Relations, who were descended by the direct, or indirect Lines, even to the fourth degree:

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so that not one, whether Legitimate, or Bastard, escaped the cruelty of his Executioners; for he killed and destroyed them by various kinds of Deaths: of some he cut the Throats, others he Hanged, others he threw into Rivers and Lakes with weights about their Necks, that they might not save themselves by swimming, others were thrown down Rocks and Precipices; all which was acted with the greatest dispatch and diligence imaginable by the Executioners; for this Tyrant could never think himself secure, until he had seen them all destroyed, or heard that they were dead; for notwithstanding all his Victory, he durst not until then pass beyond *Sausa*, which the Spaniards call *Xauxa*, being ninety Leagues distant from *Cusco*: But as to the poor *Huascar*, they kept him still alive, reserving him for the suppression of insurrections, or tumults, which might arise against *Atahualpa*; for they well knew that the Word and Command of *Huascar* was so prevalent, and of that authority with his Subjects, that it was able to quell and calm any mutinies, or disturbances, amongst them: Howsoever, for his greater mortification, they would often bring this unfortunate Prince from his confinement, to be a Spectator of the slaughter and massacre of his Kindred, which afflicting sight was a more sensible torment to him than Death it self.

Nor did his Cruelty contain it self within these bounds, but extended to all the Prisoners, lest they being *Curacas*, and Men of interest in the Empire, and affectionate to the cause of *Huascar*, should contrive means for his delivery: Wherefore bringing them all forth with their hands tied into an open Plain in the Valley of *Sacahuana* (where the Battel was afterwards fought between the President *Gasca* and *Gonzalo Pizarro*) they were ranged in order on each side, and the poor *Huascar* clothed in Mourning with his hands tied behind him, was made to pass between them, with a Rope about his Neck; which when the miserable Captives saw, and their Prince in that despicable condition, they lifted up their cries to Heaven, and prostrated their bodies on the Earth, adored and worshipped him, which was all the honour they could testifie, or help they could give him in that unhappy state: In punishment for which respect they killed them all, either with Pole-axes, or short Clubs, which they call *Champi*; for a bigger sort of Clubs and Pole-axes they use in Fight, which they wield with both hands. In this manner they killed all the *Curacas* and Captains in presence of the King, that scarce any Noble Person escaped their Tyranny and Cruelty.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Cruelty which Atahualpa used towards the Women and Children of the Blood-Royal.

A *Tabualpa* having destroyed all the Men of the Royal Family, together with all the *Curacas*, Commanders and Subjects, of any note belonging to *Huascar*, his Cruelties, which were never satiated with humane flesh and blood, proceeded with new thirst and appetite to devour the Children and Women, being the unhappy Relicts of the Royal Race; and though the tenderness of their Sex and Age was sufficient to move compassion, and plead in their behalf; yet so odurate were the Bowels of this Tyrant, that he made search in all places for the Women and Children of the Royal Race, (excepting only the Wives of the Sun, which conferred themselves within the Walls of their Convent) and having gathered them together without the City, they practised such torments upon them, that they died with lingering deaths. After which these damnable Ministers of Cruelty made the strictest search they could through all the Dominions, for those of the Royal Blood, that so not any of them might escape their hands; so that in all parts they had collected great numbers both of Men and Women, as well illegitimate, as legitimate; for that the *Incas* having a greater liberty and licence granted them in the free use of Women, than any others, their Family became the most numerous and extensive of any in the whole Empire. And having thus sent to the Northward of the City; which Field hath been called *Tabuapampa*, or the Field of Blood, ever since the Fight which happened in that place between the *Chancas*, and the people of *Cusco*, as we have declared formerly in its due place.

These poor wretches being in this manner Prisoners in the Field, they encompassed them with three Files; the first was of Souldiers, who were to be a guard about them, and to oppose any Insurrection in case the City of *Cusco* should attempt it, and serve to bridle and subject their Enemies; and then the other two Files were Sentinels and Guards, lest any should escape, or any others enter in amongst them to bring them relief. Upon these sad wretches they practised their Cruelties in several manners; to some they gave only a little raw Mayz to eat, and a few crude Herbs, making them to continue the strictness of such a Fast as their Religion enjoyed them for a few days; the Wives, Sisters, Aunts, Cousins, Germans, and Mothers-in-law of *Atahualpa* they hanged upon Trees, the tallest and most lofty that they could find; some they hanged up by the hairs of the head, others under the armes, and others in that unhandsome manner, as becomes not our modesty to report; to some of them they delivered their Infants to hold in their armes, which when they fell from them, they knocked them on the head with Clubs; some they hanged by one arme, some by both, and others by the waste, that so they might be long in dying, for to kill them at once, seemed too much mercy, and which these poor wretches implored with their last cries and groans. The Boys and Girls they killed by degrees, bringing out a number to death at every quarter of the Moon, using them with no less cruelty than they had exercised towards their Parents; and amongst their other torments, starving was one way of killing. *Diego Fernandez* in his History of *Pern*, touching briefly on the Cruelties which *Atahualpa* used, hath these words: "Between *Guscar* and *Inga*, and his Brother *Atahualpa*, there happened a great dispute and controversy concerning the Government, and him who was to be the Supreme Monarch. *Guscar* *Inga* residing in *Cusco*, and his Brother *Atahualpa* in *Cuzco* and *Malca*, *Atahualpa* dispeeded two of his principal Captains, called *Chalchuciman*, and *Quisquiz*, who being valiant and stout Men, raised a great Army, and therewith marched against *Guscar*, with design, that having overcome and taken him Prisoner, *Atahualpa* should be declared King. In this March they sub-

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duced many *Caciques* and *Indians*, reducing them all to the obedience of *Atabalipa*; of which, when *Guscar* received intelligence, and of what they had acted, he presently put himself into a posture of defence, and with what force he could assemble in so short a time, he marched from *Coxco* to *Quipaypan*, which is about a League distant from thence, where joyning Battel with *Atabalipa*, *Guscar* was overthrown, and taken Prisoner. The Fight (as is said) was so bloody, that a hundred and fifty thousand *Indians* were slain in the Battel; and afterwards *Atabalipa* entering victorious into *Coxco*, they killed Man, Woman, and Child, sparing none who declared themselves for *Guscar*, and most especially made search for the Children of *Guscar*, and his Wives and Women, who were with Child by him: Howsoever one of his Wives called *Mama Varcay* made an escape with her Daughter *Coya Cuxi Varcay*, who is now Married to *Xayre Topa Inga*, of whom we have made mention in this History, &c. Thus far are Words of this Authour; and then afterwards in the sequel of this Story, he recounts the cruel treatment and hard usage of poor *Huascar*, during the time of his imprisonment, together with the dolefull complaints he uttered, which we shall rehearse in their due place. This *Coya Cuxi Varcay*, which he says, was the Wife of *Xayre Topa*, was called *Cusi Huarque*, of whom we shall discourse hereafter. The Field where this Battel was fought was called *Quipaypan* by corruption, though properly it had the Name of *Quepapa*, which signifies a Trumpet, as if from thence the Triumph of *Atabalipa* was trumpeted, and sent its sound into all parts of the Empire. I remember, that when I was a Boy, I went three or four times into those Fields with other Boys, who were my School-fellows, where we enjoyed the recreation of Hawking with some Hawks, which the *Indian* Faulconers managed for us.

In this manner, as we have related, was all the Bloud-Royal, and Family of the *Incas*, extinguished and extirpated in the space of two years and a half; and though they might in a much shorter time have exhausted the veins of Royal Bloud, yet to prolong their pleasure in Cruelty, they reserved some on which their appetites might feed, and still be delighted in new exercises of torment. The *Indians* say that the Field where the great effusion of this Bloud was made, was called *Tahuarpampa*, or the Field of Bloud; and that it rather took its denomination from the Bloud of the *Incas*, than from that of the *Chancas*; for though the quantity of the Bloud of the *Chancas* was greater, yet the quality of the *Incas* made theirs much more estimable; and the death of Women and Children being of tender sex and age, rendered the many Murthers more tragical and execrable.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

How some of the Bloud-Royal escaped the Cruelty of Atabalipa.

SOME, notwithstanding all this, escaped out of the City, some came not within their power, and others by the connivance of the people of *Atahualpa*, who being satiated with this slaughter, and touched with some remorse to see that bloud so plentifully shed, which they once adored for Divine, connived at the escape which some of them made out of the circle in which they were encompassed; and not only so, but some gave them opportunity to change their Apparel, which was the badge and distinction of an *Inca*, for disguises after the Habit of common *Indians*: For, as we have said before, the *Incas* were distinguished by their Garments; but those whom they permitted to make an escape were Infants, and Children under the Age of ten or eleven years, amongst which my Mother was one, together with her Brother *Don Francisco Hualipa Tupac Inca Tupanqui*, with whom I was acquainted, and who, since my abode in *Spain*, hath wrote me several Letters: besides which I knew very few who escaped from this miserable Outrage, from whom I received the Relation of all that I report concerning this execrable slaughter. I knew also two *Anquis* who were Princes, being Sons of *Huayna Capac*, the one called *Paulu*, who was one of those who escaped, as we have mentioned; the other was called *Titu*, and being a Child then, was afterwards baptized, whose Christian Name we have formerly signified. *Paulu* left a Son which descended from *Spanish* Bloud, whose Name was *Don Carlos Inca*, he was my School-fellow, and afterwards Married with a Noble Lady born in that Countrey, and from *Spanish* Parents, by whom he had *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, who in the last year, which was 1602, came into *Spain* to see that Court, but chiefly by the advice of some friends, who persuaded him, that he should receive great rewards for the Services which his Grandfather had performed towards the Conquest and Settlement of *Peru*, and afterwards for the resistance he made against those Usurpers and Tyrants, of whom we shall speak in our History of the Empire: but a more especial respect was due to him, for being the Great Nephew of *Huayna Capac*, and defended by the Male line, so that he is the Head, and chief Family of those few which remain of the Bloud-Royal. He now at present resides at *Valadolid* in expectation of rewards; which though they may be great and considerable, yet can scarce be such as may equal his merit.

I know not whether *Titu* had any Issue; but I remember two *Nustas*, or Princesses, which were the lawful Daughters of *Huayna Capac*, one of which was called *Beatriz Coya*, and was afterwards Married to *Martin de Mufcincia*, a Noble Person, who was Accountant of the Revenue of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth in *Peru*; they had three Sons which were called the *Bastinias*, and another called *John Sierra de Leguizano*, who was a fellow Student with me at School; the other *Nusta* was called *Donna Leonor Coya*; the first time she Married was with a *Spaniard* called *John Balsa*, with whom I was not acquainted, being then young; they had a Son of the same Name, who went also to School with me: But her second Marriage was with *Francis de Villacastin*, who was one of the first Conquerours of *Peru*, as also of *Panama*, and other Countries. There is a Story which goes of him, worthy to be noted, which I found in the History of *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, which is, "That this *Villacastin* was the first that planted Colonies in *Pedernias*, Nombre de Dios and *Panama*; that he opened a passage, and made a Road from one Town to another, with great pains and charge, through Rocks and Mountains, in which were infinite numbers of Lions, and Tygers, and Bears; and such multitudes of Monkeys of all sorts and fizes, that being disturbed, they would make such a hideous noise, as was sufficient to make Travellers deaf, and would climb up Trees with great Stones, to let them fall on the heads of such

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"as came within their reach. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*. But I have seen some Marginal Notes in a Book wrote by one of the Conquerours of *Peru*; in which is this passage: "That a Monke threw a stone at a person armed with a Crofs-bow, named *Villacastin*, and beat out two of his Teeth; he was afterwards one of the Conquerours of *Peru*, and Lord of a great Countrey, called *Ayaviri*; but being taken Prisoner, he dyed in *Coxco*; he was one who took part with *Pizarro* in *Xaquixaguana*, where one that owed him a displeasure gave him a cut over the face after he yielded to quarter: He was an honest Man, and did good to all, though he dyed poor, after he was depouled of his *Indians*, and of his Estate. This *Villacastin* killed the Monke with his Crofs-bow, he chancing to shoot at the same time that the Monke threw his stone. Thus far are the Remarks of the Conquerour; the vvvhich I can in part confirm, because I knew the person, and saw that he vvanted two Teeth in the upper rowv of his Mouth; and it vvvas the common report in *Peru*, that they vvve beaten out by a Monke. I have thought fit to insert this Story as I do others of like nature, for the truth of vvvhich I refer my self to divers Witneses. Other *Incas* and *Pallas* I knew, to the number of two hundred, vvvhich vvvere all of the Royal Bloud, but of less note than those vvvhich I formerly mentioned, vvho vvvere the immediate Sons of *Huayna Capac*. My Mother vvvas his Brothers Daughter, vvvhose Name vvvas *Huallpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui*.

I vvvas acquainted vvwith one Son and two Daughters of King *Atahualpa*, one of them vvvas called *Angelina*, of vvvhom the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro* begat a Son, called *Francisco*, vvho vvhen vve vvvere of the Age of eight or nine years, vvvas a great Antagonist and Competitor vvwith me for running and leaping, his Uncle vvvas *Gonzalo Pizarro*. This Marquis had also a Daughter called *Francisca*, vvvhich vvvas very beautifull, and Married afterwards to his Uncle *Hernando Pizarro*; her Father begat her upon a Daughter of *Huayna Capac*, called *Tues Huallas Nusta*, vvho vvvas afterwards Married to *Martin de Ampuero*, an Inhabitant of the City of *los Reyes*. The Son of the Marquis, and another of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, coming into *Spain*, dyed young, to the great grief of those vvho knew them, being the hopefull Off-spring of such renowned Fathers: But as to the other Daughter of *Atahualpa*, I may mistake her Name, vvvhich vvvas either *Beatriz* or *Isabel*, the Married vvwith a Spaniard called *Blas Gomera*; and Wedded a second time vvwith a Gentleman, who vvvas of *Spanish* and *Indian* Bloud, called *Sancho de Rojas*, but he dyed young. We shall shortly mention him on occasion of a Story which my old Uncle, the Brother of my Mother, told me, when he related the Cruelties of *Atahualpa*. There vvvas another Son of *Huayna Capac* remaining, vvwith vvvhom I vvvas not acquainted, he vvvas called *Manco Inca*, and vvvas the lawfull Heir to the Empire, for *Huascar* dyed vvwithout Issue Male, of vvvhom we shall make mention hereafter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of what farther Cruelty was used towards the Servants of the Court.

BUT to return to the Cruelties of *Atahualpa*, who not content with the death and slaughter of all the Royal Family, together with the Lords, Captains and Nobility, proceeded to Massacre all the Servants of the Court, who were Domesticks within the House; of vvvhose Function and several Ministries we have given a particular in its place, for these vvvere not particular persons, but whole Villages, to vvvhose care it belonged to provide Servants for the Court, and to change and alter them according to their times of waiting; vvwith these also *Atahualpa* had a quarrel for the Relation they had to the Court, as also because they bore the Name of *Inca*, vvvhich vvvas conferred on them by that privilege and favour vvvhich the first *Inca Manco Capac* conferred on them. Upon these *Atahualpa* vented his Cruelties, but vvwith more exquisite torment on such vvwho vvvere more near Attendants on the Person of the King, such as Porters, Keepers of the Wardrobe, and Jewels, Butlers, Cooks, and the like; vvwith vvvhose lives not contenting himself, together vvwith the bloud of their Wives and Children, he proceeded to burn and destroy their Houses and Villages vvvhich they inhabited; but such as vvvere Servants at a farther distance, such as Cleavers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, vvvere more gently treated; for some of those they decimated, killing every tenth or fifth Man, in some places every third Man; so that all the Villages vvwithin six or seven Leagues of *Coxco* suffered a particular and extraordinary Persecution, besides the general calamity in vvvhich the whole Empire vvvas involved, being filled in all places vvwith Slaughter, Fire, Robberies, Rapes and Violences, vvwith vvvhose misery and devastation the licence of an unbridled Souldiery can exercise upon a Nation. Nor vvvere the Cities and Towns vvvhich vvvere remote from *Coxco* exempt from the like calamities; for so soon as *Atahualpa* heard of the Imprisonment of *Huascar*, he entred all the Countries vvvhich vvvere bordering on his Frontiers vvwith Fire and Sword, and particularly that vvvhich is called *Cannaris*, because at the beginning they refused to yield him Obedience: In revenge for vvvhich, so soon as he gained power he treated them vvwith all the severity imaginable; vvvhich *Augustin Carate* in the 15th Chapter of his Book, expresses in these Words: "Coming into the Province of *Cannaris* he assassinated sixty thousand Men, being "they had made opposition against him, and putting all to Fire and Sword, he "laid wholly waste the Plantation of *Tumibamba*, vvvhich is situate in a Plain, and "watered vvwith three streams; and thence proceeding in his Conquests, left not "one Man alive of all those vvwho defended themselves, &c. the like *Francisco Lopez* reports almost in the same Words. But *Peter de Cieza* is more large in his Relation, saying that the want of Men, and the abundance of Women in his time belonging to the Province of *Cannaris*, vvvas the cause, that in the Wars of the Spaniards, the Writers thereof mentioned Indian Men for Indian Women, for to them they gave Commands in the Army. And in giving the reason for it, he useth these Words in the 44th Chapter of his Book. "Some Indians tell us, saith he, "that by reason of the great numbers of Women vvvhich remained, after that "Atahualpa had destroyed all the Men of this Province, vvvhom he unhumanely "butchered; and after he had routed and destroyed in the Countrey of *Ambaro*, the Brother of *Huascar*, called *Amaco*, vvvhom vvvas the Captain-General of that "people; and had put to death all the Men and Children of that Province, coming "vvwith green Boughs and Palms in their hands to implore his Mercy; yet not being "moved vvwith such a spectacle of compassion, he vvwith a cruel and severe countenance commanded his Captains and Souldiers to fall upon them, and slay them "all, by vvvhich a miserable slaughter vvvas made of multitudes of Males, as we "have related in the third Part of this History; so those vvwho are now living

" say, that there are fifteen Women in that Countrey to one Man. Thus far are the Words of *Peter de Cieça*; with which we shall end this unpleasing Story of the Cruelties of *Atahualpa* for the present, and reassume the particulars again in their proper places. And now occasionally upon these Cruelties, I was put in mind of a Story of *Don Francisco*, the Son of *Atahualpa*, who dyed some Months before I went for Spain, which is this: The day after his Death, very early in the Morning before his Burial, those few *Incas*, who were remaining, made a visit to my Mother; and amongst the rest came the Old *Inca*, whom I have formerly mentioned; who instead of condoling and saying, *I am sorry for your loss, because the party deceased was my Mothers Brothers Son*; he said to my Mother, *I am glad that the Great Pachacamac, or Maker of the Universe, hath conserved you unto this day, in which you have seen the end and destruction of all your Enemies*; adding many other expressions full of joy and contentment on this occasion: But I not well understanding the meaning of this Drollery, replied to him, and said, *Uncle, why should we rejoice for the Death of Don Francisco, since he was our Kinsman and Acquaintance*? With which turning towards me with great anger and passion, and taking the end of his Mantle, and biting it with his Teeth, as the manner is amongst the Indians, when they are in a rage, retorted upon me, and said, *What, you have a mind to be a Kinsman to an Auca, the Son of another Auca (which signifies a Tyrant and Traitor) who destroyed our Empire, and killed our Inca; who exhausted our Blood, and extirpated our Family; who committed so many outrages unnatural to our Kindred, unknown and abhorred by our Forefathers: Give me but this dead Rascal into my hand, and you shall see me eat him raw without Pepper or Salt. Oh that Traitor his Father was surely no Son of Huayna Capac our Inca, but some mean Bastard of an Indian of Quito, with whom his Mother plaid the Whore, and abused our King; for if he had been an Inca, he could never have been guilty of those horrid Cruelties and Abominations he committed, nor could such execrable designs have entered into his imagination; for considering that it was a fundamental Doctrine of our Ancestours never to do hurt or damage unto any, no not so much as to their Enemies: What Monster then of iniquity must this Man be, who violating all the Rules of Humanity, hath imbrued his hands in the blood of all his Relations? Then do not say, that this person can be descended from our Lineage, whose disposition was unnatural, and different to the temper and constitution of our Forefathers. Consider what an injury you do to them, to us, nay to your self, in styling us the Kinsmen of a most cruel Tyrant, who from the degree of Kings reduced those few of us, who escaped his outrageous hands to the condition of servitude and slavery. All this and much more this Inca uttered with such rage, moved by a sensible remembrance of those detestable cruelties which *Atahualpa* had committed, that the satisfaction they received by the Death of *Don Francisco* was changed into woe and lamentations. And indeed this *Francisco*, during the time of his Life, was so sensible of the common hatred of Mankind towards him, which avoided his conversation, flying from him, as from the Pestilence, that he with shame absconded himself, and lived retired within his own doors: the like also did his two Sisters, who hearing all places resound with *Auca*, which properly signifies Cruelties, Tyrannies, and Misfortunes, were filled with shame and confusion.*

C H A P.

C H A P. XL.

What remains survived of the Incan Family.

A Long time after I had finished this ninth Book, I received Advices from Peru (out of which I have framed this Chapter) concerning the Reliques of the Incan Blood, which being greater than I thought, I have added as pertinent to this History. For in the year 1603, they all joined in a Letter directed to *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, Son of *Don Alonso de Mesa*, who lived near *Cusco*, and likewise to my self, desiring us that we would intercede in their behalf with his Majesty, that he would be pleased to exempt them from Tribute, and from those grievous Exactions with which they were charged in common with other Indians; for performance of which, they delegated all and every of us with full Power and Authority from them particularly named, descended from such and such a King; and for better proof of their Lineage, they sent a Royal Tree of their Pedigree, drawn out upon a Yard and half of white Taffety, made of the Bark of the *China Inca* being all curiously painted in their ancient Habits; upon their Heads they wore the coloured Twist or Wreath, in their Ears their great Earrings with Partesans in their hands in the place of Sceptres, being painted from their Breasts upwards. The Papers were directed to me, which I addressed to *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, and *Don Alonso de Mesa*, then residing in the Court at *Valladolid*, because my other affairs would not permit me to attend this cause, in which I should otherwise have gladly employed both my time and life. This Letter which was subscribed by the *Incas*, was wrote by one of them in a very fair Character; the phrase, or style, was partly *Indian*, and in part *Castilian*, they being all now much conformed to the Spanish Mode, and it was dated the 16th of April 1603. I did not think fit to insert a Copy thereof here, because it is too sad and tragical, recounting the doleful estate into which they were fallen. The Address is penned with such assurance of his Majesty's favour, that (as we all believe) whensoever his Catholick Majesty shall be informed, and made sensible thereof, he will not onely ease them of their burthens, but bestow such privileges on them as are decent and becoming the Royal Offspring of Kings.

The Scheme vvhich they devv of their Pedigree vv as exactly framed, for the Kings vvho vv ere *Incas* vv ere painted in their severall Figures, denoting on each side the dependencies from them, vvith this Inscription, *Capac Ayllu*, vv which is the Royal Offspring, and is the Title in common to all, signifying thereby, howv all of them vv ere derived from the first *Inca Manco Capac*; then the Pedigree of every King hath its particular distinction vvith different Names; by vv which appears, howv every one descended from such and such a King. The Issue, or Progeny, of *Manco Capac* they call *Chima Panaca*, from vv which forty *Incas* are successively descended. That of *Sinchi Roca* they call *Raurava Panaca*, from vv whence proceeded sixty four *Incas*. That of *Lloque Tupanqui* the third *Inca*, they call *Hahnariva Ayllu*, from whence descended sixty three *Incas*. That of *Capac Tupanqui* they call *Apu Mayta*, from whence are fifty six. That of *Mayta Capac* the fifth King, they call *Uca Mayta*, from whence are thirty five. That of *Inca Roca* they call *Vicacayllu Panaca*, from whence are fifty. That of *Tahuar Huacac* the seventh King, they call *Aylli Panaca*, from whence are sixty nine. The Issue of *Inca Pachacutec*, and his Son *Inca Tupanqui*, being joined together, are called *Inca Panaca*, and make up a double number of ninety nine. The Offspring descended from *Tupac Inca Tupanqui*, they call *Capac Ayllu*, vv which signifies no more than the Royal Progeny, vv which confirms vv hat we have declared before concerning that Title; and of this branch there are onely eighteen. The Offspring of *Huayna Capac* they call *Tumi-pampa*, in remembrance of that solemn Festival vv which he instituted in honour of the Sun, and celebrated, in that vv ide and open Field, vv which is situate in the Province of *Cannaris*, vv where he erected Royal Palaces, and Store-houses, for support

and accommodation of the Souldiery, together with a Monastery for the Select Virgins, and a Temple of the Sun; all which were so magnificent and stately, and so full of Riches, and replenished with Provisions, that *Pedro de Cieza* in the 44th Chapter of his Book, commends them above the Skies; and fearing lest he should fall short in his commendations, concludes, that it was impossible for him to express the wonderfull Riches, which were contained within these Royal Palaces of the *Incas*.

In memory of the aforesaid Festival, *Huayna Capac* determined to style his Offspring with the Name of *Tamipampa*, that so that Solemnity might give a Name to his Offspring, of which there were no more remaining than twenty two. And whereas *Huayna Capac*, and his Father *Tupac Inca Tupanqui* were nearest allied in the Tree of the Royal Lineage, *Atahualpa* was the more carefull and diligent to extirpate and destroy them than the others; by which means very few of them escaped his malicious cruelty, as appears by the List of such as survived; all which being summed up together, make the number of 567 persons; and it is observable, that they were all descended by the Male, and not by the Female line; for, as we have said before, the *Incas* made little esteem of the Female race, unless they were ennobled by the Blood of the *Spaniards*, who had been the first Conquerors of that Countrey, and esteemed *Incas*, and such as were descended from their God the Sun. The Letter which they wrote to me was signed by eleven *Incas*, according to the eleven descents; the Chief of every one of which subscribed for himself, and those of his Lineage, by their Christian Names and Surnames of their Ancestours. The Names of all the branches, excepting the two last, are unknown to me in their significations, because they are Names proper to that Language which the *Incas* exercised amongst themselves, and were not common to the whole Court. We have now only farther to speak of *Don Melchior Carlos Inca*, the Nephew of *Panlla*, and Grand Nephew of *Huayna Capac*, who (as we have said) came to Spain in the year 1602, in expectation of receiving great favours and rewards from the Court; which accordingly succeeded in the year 1604, when after consideration had of his Worth and Merits, it was determined that a Largess should be made him of 7500 Ducats of yearly Rent, and settled for ever on him and his Heirs, and to be raised out of his Majesty's Revenue issuing from the City of *los Reyes*; and that an additional supply should be granted to him for bringing his Wife and Family into Spain: Moreover, he had the Honour of the Habit of *Santiago* conferred upon him, with promises of Lodgings in the King's Court: And that for the *Indians*, of which he was Lord in *Cuzco* by right of Inheritance from Father and Grandfather, they were transferred to the possession of the Royal Crown, he not being permitted to return to the *Indies*. The which information was wrote me from *Valladolid*; what hath passed since from the last of *March*, I have not been advised. And having said thus much, we shall pass to our tenth Book, which treats of the Heroick and incredible Actions of the *Spaniards*, who gained that Empire.

The End of the First Tome.

T H E

THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
General History
OF
P E R U.

Wherein is Treated

Of the Manner how that new World was discovered. How it was conquered by the *Spaniards*. Of the Civil Wars between the *Piçarrists* and the *Almagrians*, occasioned by Quarrels arising about the Division of that Land. Of the Rise and Fall of Tyrants; and other Particulars contained in that History.

Written in *Spanish*, by *Garçilasso de la Vega*.

BOOK I

CHAPTER

of the three Spaniards of Noble Quality, who undertook the Conquest of Peru.

IN the 9th Book of the first part of these our Royal Commentaries, we have shew'd how the glorious *Armenian* pleas'd himself with the thoughts of having by Tyranny and Cruelty secur'd to himself the Empire; little dreaming that a strange and an unknown Nation (who were the *Spaniards*) should in the most calm and prosperous time of his Enjoyments knock at his Gate, and by the same methods of cruelty cast him from his Throne, and deprive him of his Life and Empire. That we may prosecute this History with the most even thread; it is necessary for us to look some years back, and take our matters from their first source and beginning.

and take out matters from their first source and beginning. The Spaniards therefore, after they had discovered this new World, were still defirous more and more of new and farther discoveries, and though the Countries they had already posses'd were rich and prosperous, yet not being contented with their present Enjoyments, nor wearied with their Labours, and Travails, nor discouraged with the sufferings of Hunger, Dangers, Wounds, Sickneses, nor with the bad Days, and worse Nights, which they had endured both by Sea and Land, yet still thirsting after new Conquests, and great Enterprises, they arriv'd at length to that pitch of greatness, which hath for ever eternized their Fame and Memory. For so it happened in the Conquest of Peru, That Francis Pizarro, a Native of Truxillo, living at Panama, one of a Noble Family, and Diego de Almagro, a Native of Malaga, or (as Carate will have it) of the Town of Almagro, which is most probable, a Person (as we may believe) of like noble Extraction; for though his Family be unknown, yet if we may know the Tree by its Fruit, the greatness of his Actions, and the glory of his Enterprises have rendred his Birth and Family illustrious. They were both indeed rich and famous, for the bravery of their past actions, especially Pizarro, who had been a Captain, and in the Year 1511, had been Lieutenant Governour of the City of Urava, of which he was afterwards made Lieutenant General by the Governour Alonso Hojeda, having been the first Spanis^h Captain which entred that Province, where he performed many brave Actions, labouring under many Difficulties, and Dangers, which Pedro de Cieza compendiously relates in these Words: "After (says he) that this had happened, the Governour Hojeda planted a new Colony of Christians "in that part which they call Urava, of which he made Francis Pizarro his Lieutenant

"tenant Governour, and of which he was afterwards made Governour and Marquis; and living in the City of *Urua* with the *Indians*, he endured much Famine and Sicknes, for which Services his memory will ever be esteemed. Thus far are the Words of *de Ciepa*. He was also in company with the famous Captain *Alonso Jimenez*, when discovery was made of the South Sea; and when *Nombro de Dios* and *Pizarro* were subdued, he was then with the Governour *Pedro Arias de Avila*, as *Gomara* reports in his History of the *Indies*.

But neither *Pizarro* nor *Almagro* being fatiated with their former Glories, thirsted still after greater Actions; and incited with the report they had received of the simple and mean condition of the People of *Peru*; these two great Heroes made an agreement together for the Conquest of it; joining with them *Hernando de Luque*, a Schoolmaster in *Panama*, who was Lord of *Taboga*. These three solemnly swore in publick, and entered into Articles under Hand and Seal, never to forsake each other in any Dangers or Discouragements whatsoever, that should happen untill they had made an entire Conquest of *Peru*; and that what Riches or Booty they should gain, should be friendly and amicably divided between them. It was agreed, that *Hernando de Luque* should remain, and be their Agent at *Panama*, to order and provide for their Affairs, so as to yield them succours; that *Pizarro* should be employed in the Discovery, and that *Almagro* should go and come with supplies of Men, and Horie, and Ammunition, for relief of their Companions, who were immediately employed in the Conquest. This Schoolmaster they called *Hernando* the Fool, or Coxcomb, and the same might be said of all the three; for who cannot but blame such Men as these, who having endured great Travails and Labours in the World, and already entered into years, so that the youngest of them passed fifty, and all of them rich and commodious in the World, yet that Men under these circumstances should engage themselves in new Adventures, full of uncertainty, without knowledge of the Country, whether it were rich or poor, and without consideration of the hazards and difficulties of it, seems the Work and Design of rash and adventurous Fools. But the good fortune of those who now enjoy the Benefit of their Labours, was that which called them to this Enterprize; or rather the Mercy and Providence of God towards those Gentiles, who was pleased to make use of those means for propagation of the Gospel in those parts, which he confirmed by such signs and Wonders, as very much conduced to the easiness of the Conquest.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the excellent Fruit and Advantages which have resulted from the Union and Agreement of these three Spanish Cavaliers.

THIS triple accord which these three Spaniards made at *Panama*, puts me in mind of that confederacy which the three Roman Emperours made at *Layna*, a place near *Bologna*; but yet in comparing them one with the other, they are so different in their several circumstances, that they seem to hold no agreeable comparison or similitude; for on the one side those were Emperours, and these but private and poor Persons; those treated of the Division of the old World, which had been the Prize and Conquest of their Roman Ancestours, and which they desired to enjoy with peace and plenty; but these engolfed themselves into Toils and Labours, to gain the Empire of a new World, which was so unknown to them, that they were ignorant both of the difficulties they were to sustain in the Conquests, and of the value of their Victories when acquired. If also we consider the intentions and effects of one and the other, we shall find the same diversity, for that Triumvirate, composed of three Tyrants, was concluded and established on no other ground, than to exercise a tyrannical Power over all the World, and to afflict and destroy; but this was a design of three generous Gentlemen, each of which deserved an Imperial Crown, having no other end than to enrich the World with unknown Treasures, as every days experience proves, and as will be made manifest in the following Chapters. Moreover the intention of that Triumvirate was to betray their Allies, Friends and Parents into the hands of their Enemies, but this was to sacrifice themselves for the advantage of others, that they might acquire a benefit equally profitable to Enemies, as well as Friends; all which appears by those immense Riches which daily issue from the Bowels of the unknown World, and are communicated not onely to Christians, but even to the Gentiles, Jews, Moors, Turks and Hereticks, who enjoy the benefit of these generous Labours. But that which we ought primarily to consider, that by our Triumvirate Christianity was first introduced into the great Empire of *Peru*, and a Gate opened to the preaching of the Gospel, by which many faithfull Souls have been gathered into the bosome of the Church; so that who is it that can sufficiently admire or express the greatness of this Enterprize. Oh thou great Name and Family of the *Pizarros*, how much are all the Nations and Inhabitants of the old World indebted unto thee, for those vast Riches they have extracted from the new; and how much more do those two Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* owe to thee, for those thy two Sons *Hernando Cortes*, and *Francis Pizarro*, and for thy Brothers, *Hernando Pizarro*, *John Pizarro*, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, by whose indefatigable labours those poor *Indians* have been drawn from the darkness of obscure Ignorance to the true light and knowledge of the Gospel. How much therefore is this Triumvirate to be approved, and applauded above that of the three Roman Emperours; of which *Guichardin*, in his History of *Florence*, gives this Censure. *Layna*, a place famous for the League contracted between *Marcus Antonius*, *Lepidus* and *Octavianus*, who under the term and notion of a Triumvirate contrived, and executed such abominable pieces of Tyranny, as had never before been practised, or named at *Rome*; but our Triumvirate deserves a quite different Character, as the Writings of *Lopez de Gomara*, *Augustin de Carate*, and other modern Historians will abundantly prove, whose Books and Relations we shall as often quote, as our subject matter on which we treat shall require a confirmation from their Authority.

CHAP. III.

Of the little Money which was in Spain before the Conquest of Peru.

TO make more evidently appear the great Riches which this Triumvirate purchased to the World, we must make a large digression from our design in hand; and for the more clear elucidation hereof, we must make use of the Authority of some Historians, who have noted and described the Revenue of certain Kingdoms, which before the Conquest of Peru were vastly short of that Income, which they yield at present. *Bedinus* in his Book of Commonwealths shews both in general, and particularly specifies the Revenues of some Commonwealths and Princes, to have been of inconsiderable value before the Conquest of Peru, in comparison of their present improvements; and instances in several Estates which were mortgaged, or sold at mean prices; he tells us how small was the pay of Souldiers, and the wages which Princes gave to their Servants, and at how cheap a rate all things were sold; and in short, that what was formerly valued at an hundred Crowns a year, is now worth a thousand; and that all Lands and Houses are risen twenty times in the value of their rent. Farther he instances in the ranfome which *Lewis* the 9th. King of France, paid for his own Person to the Soldan of Egypt; which he lays amounted to no more than five hundred thousand Florins, and this he compares with the ranfome of three Millions, which *Charles* the first of France paid to the Emperour, *Charles* the 5th. for his ranfome. Farther he adds, that in the Reign of *Charles* the 6th. which was about the Year 1449. the yearly Revenue of the whole Crown of France did not amount to above four hundred thousand Frankes, and yet in the Year 1574. when *Charles* the 9th dyed; the same Revenue, was improved to fourteen Millions, and the like proportion of Increase was advanced in all other Kingdoms and Governments, which Examples serve sufficiently to demonstrate in what manner all the World hath been enriched by the Treasures of Peru. And in regard that Our Spain hath been especially obliged to that Countrey, by the vast effluxes of its Wealth from thence, we need not seek or borrow proofs hereof from other Countreys, but onely consider our ovvn; nor need we to look many Ages back, but onely from the time of King *Ferdinand*, furnished the Saint, vvho regained *Cordova* and *Seville*, of vvhom the General History of Spain, written by *Don Alonso* the wife, makes mention; and tells us, that *Don Alonso* the 9th. King of Leon, who was Father of King *Fernand* the Saint, made War upon him; and that his Son wrote him word, that as an obedient Child he was resolved never to resist him, and that he would gladly appease his Anger with any satisfaction that he should require of him; to which *Don Alonso* replied, That he required of him the payment of ten thousand *Maravedis*, which he owed him, which when he had performed, he would then cease his Wars, and enter into Amity with him. The whole Copy of the Letter, written at large, we have omitted to recite for brevity sake; onely we have thought fit to repeat the Answer, which was wrote in this manner: That the cause of his War was for the recovery of ten thousand *Maravedis*, which the King *Don Enriguez* owed for the high way which he had made to *Santivannes de la Mota*, and that paying this Money, the Quarrel should end; whereupon the King *Fernando* not being willing to wage War with his Father for ten thousand *Maravedis*, presently made him satisfaction; the which is related in the general Chronicle of Spain, and in the particular Life of King *Fernando*.

About the same time a certain Knight, who wore the red Crofs as a badge of his Pilgrimage unto the Holy Land, named *Ruy Diaz*, began to commit many insolences before his departure; for which Offences divers complaints coming against him, he was cited to appear before the Courts of Justice, to make answer to thote Accusations which were laid against him; upon which summons *Diaz* making his

appea-

appearance at *Villadolid*, where the Court then resided; but being informed of the many complaints which were there formed against him, he in a rage and fury departed thence, without giving any Answer thereunto: At which the King *Fernando* being highly displeased, immediately by process of Law banished him the Countrey; howsoever *Diaz* maintained himself within his Castles and Fortresses, untill such time, that by Agreement with the King, to pay him fourteen thousand *Maravedis*, all matters were compounded, and the Fortresses were consigned into the hands of the noble King *Don Fernando*. The same History also makes mention of this following passage, namely, That when King *Fernando* had possession of one part onely, and not of the entire Kingdom of Leon, he left *Manfilla*, and went to *Leon*, which was the principal City of that Countrey, where he was received with great joy and magnificent entertainment, and there crowned King of Leon by the Bishop of that City, and being in the presence of all the Nobles and Citizens, seated in the Regal Throne, *Te Deum* was solemnly sung, with the common satisfaction and rejoycing of the people; and from that time he had the Title of King of Castile and Leon, both which Kingdoms were his lawfull Inheritance, descended to him from Father and Mother; for these two Kingdoms had formerly been divided, and bestowed by the Emperour to his two Sons, that is *Castile* to *D. Saicho*, and *Leon* to *Fernando*, and afterwards came to be again united together in the Noble Person of *Don Fernando* the third. After this the Queen *Teresa* the Mother of the whole Kingdom, and that she was not able to make farther resistance against him, she dispatched an Ambassadour to *D. Fernando*, demanding some share and convenient subsistence; which being granted, was much displeasing to some degenerate Spirits, who were in hopes of making a benefit to themselves by the Wars between *Castile* and *Leon*; of which Embassy the Noble Lady *Berengaria*, Mother of *Fernando*, being informed, she laboured much to bring matters to an accommodation, being very apprehensive of the many Troubles and infinite Ruines which are caused by a Civil and intestine War; and for that reason labouring on both sides, she at length produced a Peace between her Son the King *Fernando*, and his Sisters the Ladies *Sancha* and *Dulce*, and prevailed with the King to stay at *Leon*, whilst she made a visit to the Queen *Teresa*, and her Daughters, then residing at *Valencia*. And then it was that *Berengaria* prevailed with *Teresa*, and her Daughters, to quit all their Title and Interest to the Kingdom of *Leon*; in consideration of which King *Fernando* did oblige himself to give a yearly Annuity to each of these Sisters of thirty thousand *Maravedis* of Gold. To confirm this Agreement the King came to *Benevente*, where he met his Sisters, and there signed and sealed a Writing to them, to pay them the thirty thousand *Maravedis* of Annuity; making them Assignment on the places where to receive their Money, which was afterwards the Foundation of a happy Peace.

After this King *Fernando* being married to Queen *Joan*, he went in Progress to visit several parts of his Kingdom, and being at *Toledo*, he understood that *Cordova*, and other remote Cities of his Kingdom, were in great penury and distress for want of Provisions; for supply of which he sent them twenty five thousand *Maravedis* to *Cordova*, and the like sum, to other Garrisons. All which small sums are particularly recorded in the Chronicles which write of the Life of *Don Fernando* the Saint.

CHAP. IV.

The Authour proceeds in his Discourse concerning the small quantity of Money which was in ancient days, and how much there is now in these.

THE which Treatise being of the same nature with the preceding Chapter, to avoid tediousness to the Reader, we have thought fit to omit. And so proceed unto the next Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Shewing how little the Conquest of the new World cost unto the Kings of Castile.

BEING come now to our ultimate Argument to prove the small quantity of Money which was then in Spain, before the time that the Conquest of my Countrey was effected; we cannot give a more pregnant instance, than by demonstrating how little the most rich Empire of Peru, and all the new World, not before known, cost the Kings of Castile. Francis Lopez in his General History of the Indies, having recounted many remarkable passages; we shall faithfully recite such of them as are most pertinent to our purpose; as namely, That Christopher Columbus treated with Henry the 7th. King of England, about the Discovery of the Indies, as also with Alfonso the 5th King of Portugal, with the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who not receiving with good approbation the Proposals made them, Friar John Perez, and Friar Francis de la Rabida, which last was the King's Cosmographer, encouraged him to make his Applications to the Court of Spain, where they believed his Propositions might find a gracious reception: By these means Columbus was introduced into the Court of Castile, in the Year 1486. where he delivered his Proposals and Petition to Fernando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, but they being embroiled at that time in their Wars against the Moors in the Countrey of Granada, had little leisure to convert their thoughts to Projects of this nature. And Columbus being but a stranger, and poor in habit, and without other Credit or Interest than that of a poor Friar, whom they would neither vouchsafe to lend an Ear unto, much less to believe, was the cause of great Discouragement and Affliction to Columbus. Onely Alonso de Quintanilla, who was Auditor General, gave him his Diet at his Caterer's Houfe, taking great pleasure to hear him discourse, and promise high Matters, and Riches, which were to be fetched from unknown Countries; and therefore to keep up his Spirits, he gave him hopes one day to prevail with his Catholick Majesty in his behalf; the which he accordingly effected for him, by introducing him first to the knowledge of Cardinal de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, who had a great power and authority both with the King and Queen of Spain. This Noble Person having maturely examined and considered of the Proposals which Columbus made, procured him an Audience with the King, to whom at first his Propositions seemed

seemed vain Projects, and without foundation, howsoever he received good Words, and hopes of a favourable dispatch, so soon as the War with Granada should be concluded. With this Answer Columbus conceived some satisfaction and began to be esteemed in the Court, but until that time the Courtiers turned all his Project into ridicule, and derided it as a Dream, or a melancholy fancy. Granada being at length taken, Columbus renewed his Negotiation with such success, that he obtained his Demand, and a Commission to go into the new World for Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, and other rich and valuable Commodities, and to receive and take unto himself the twelfth part of all such Riches, Royalties and Rents, which he should discover and acquire in those unknown Countries, without Damage or Prejudice howsoever to the Right which the King of Portugal pretends to those parts. All which Articles of Agreement were made, granted and concluded at Granada on the 30th of April, in the year when that City was taken and subdued, and confirmed in virtue of the holy Faith, and with all the Privileges and Graces of the Royal Favour; but in regard the King had no Money wherewith to furnish Columbus on this expedition, Lendo de S. Diego, Clerk of the Exchequer, lent six Millions of Maravedis to him, which make the sum of sixteen thousand Ducats. And now here are two things particularly observable, one of which is, that with so small a sum as this all the Riches of the World accrued to the Royal Crown of Castile. That so soon as the Conquest over the Moors was perfected, the Wars with whom had continued for the space of eight hundred years, the Conquest over the Indians was begun, that so it may appear how zealous the Spaniards have ever been to exercise, and employ their Arms against the Enemies of the Faith of Christ. By which it appears, that by the space of seven or eight years before he could procure his dispatch, together with the help of sixteen thousand Ducats, all Spain, and the whole World hath been enriched. And having now treated of the Royal Assent, we shall descend to more common and particular matters, to evidence the truth of this whole History.

CHAP. VI.

The Value of common things before the Conquest of Peru.

WHEREIN the Authour enlarging himself by particular instances; at how cheap a rate all things were valued in Spain, in the same manner as in the 3d, 30, and 4th Chapters, we have, for brevity sake, thought fit to omit, and for better divertisement to the Reader we proceed to

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Wherein two Opinions are declared concerning the Riches of Peru, and the beginning of that Conquest.

HAVING already described to what sum the Revenue of Spain did amount in former times, it would now be very satisfactory, if we could give an account to what a value it is amounted and improved in these days; but I must confess, that that would prove too difficult a work for me, who have no interest or communication with the Officers of the Royal Exchequer, nor such intimacy with them, as to obtain so great a favour from any of them; and indeed I am persuaded, that if I had, yet the vast quantities of Riches which pass through their Hands are almost incomprehensible, and such as they cannot number, how much less am I insufficient for this matter, who have no skill or knowledge of that Wealth, or, as I may use our own Saying, who know not what colour Flower or Meal bears. Onely this we may aver, as a matter clear and manifest, that all the charge and expence for equipping out the Fleet against England, in the Year 1588. was all charged on the Wealth of Peru; besides which Philip the 2d. King of Castile, received eight Millions of Ducats from thence in the space of six years, besides all other branches of his Royal Revenue; the which sum was commanded afterwards to be paid in the term of every three years. It is farther manifest and apparent, that soon after Philip the third came to the Crown, that the Kingdom offered another increase of his Revenue to eighteen Millions, payable in the space of six years; the which continues to these times, besides all other Rents and Duties paid to the Crown: By these, and other particular instances before mentioned, we may collect and imagine the great improvement hath been in the King's Revenue; the several branches of which being much more various than those of private Estates, and there having in every one of those branches been a considerable advance and improvement; the sum thereof is become so prodigious and vast, as can scarce be valued by the Skill of our Arithmetick. By which we may conclude, that if that Man is to be esteemed poor, who can value his Riches, *Pauperis est numerare pecuni;* how much must we be plunged in our account, when we come to reckon, and sum up the Revenue of that Monarch, in the circumference of whose Territories (as Cosmographers describe) the Sun never sets? All which Riches and Grandeur are to be attributed to the success and labours of this our Triumvirate.

And though it be true what we have said before, that we had little acquaintance or communication with the Officers of His Majesty's Royal Exchequer; yet at length, by the friendship which I gained with *John de Morales*; a Native of Madrid, who was a very honest and intelligent Gentleman; I procured some account of the King's Revenue, with which he was pleased to oblige me, for the better advance of this History, which I now write; the which was so difficult a work to him, that he kept me three months before he could satisfy me therein; and at last he delivered me this following account, which I have extracted verbatim from his own Paper. "Your Worship was pleased to desire of me, that to serve a particular occasion of yours, I would set down in writing the rents and value of all his Majesty's Revenue; the which is a business so difficult, that I cannot sum up within any tolerable compass of certainty. And indeed, though the King hath desired it, and commanded it to be given in, for the better direction and measures of his Council of the Treasury, and ordered all to be put into a Book; yet that work is not as yet begun, nor do we know when it will be begun, much less when it will be ended, for there are such vast Rises and Falls, such Advances and Abatements, that nothing can be delivered with any certainty, every thing running in such different channels, as is impossible to reduce them to any coherence of method; but in the bulk or lump, we may affirm, that

"the Revenue of the King is a prodigious Mass of Wealth and Treasure. Thus far are the Words of *Morales*, which we have willingly alledged in confirmation of the truth of what we have said, being desirous not to write any thing but that which we can avouch on good ground and authority. And for farther proof of this difficulty, and how hard a thing it is to sum up the Revenue of this King of Spain, now Emperour of the new World, I shall produce the Testimony of *John Botero*, a great and an universal Historian, who, after he had made a calculate of the Revenue of the King of China, and of the Rents which *Galizia*, *Asturias*, and *Portugal* anciently yielded to the Roman Empire; with what was the Revenue of the Kings of *Navarre*, *France*, the Emperour, *Poland*, *England*, *Duke of Lorraine*, King of *Scotland*, *Swedenland* and *Gotland*; as also what was the Income of the House of *Austria*, of the King of *Naples*, the *Nerisse* of *Egypt*, and of the *Gran Signor*; yet coming to the Revenue of our King of Spain, he is there silent; for which I can render no other reason, than because this Author coming to this Account, he found himself so plunged and immersed therein, that he durst not adventure to fathom the fame; not having, as I imagine, numbers sufficient to sum up the Tribute of his many Kingdoms, and with them the immense Riches imported from Peru.

And in confirmation of the great Treasure with which Peru hath enriched all the World, I have this farther Testimony to offer from the most Reverend Father *Dou Paulo de Laguna*, who was President of the Council of his Majesty's Exchequer, and afterwards President of the Council of the Indies, and Vice-king of the New World, and in the Year 1603. was elected Bishop of *Cordova*; this great Person discoursing one day with his Confessour, and others, concerning the immense Riches of Peru, did confidently affirm, that from one Mountain onely of Peru, there had been transported into Spain, untill the Year 1602. two hundred Millions of Pieces of Eight, which had been registred; and that at least one hundred Millions more had been imported without Register; And I can farther add, (bid he) that twenty five Millions in Gold and Silver have been brought into Spain by one Fleet in my time. The Standers-by hearing this, answered, We could never believe it, my Lord, but that we receive it from so authentick an Author as your Lordship. What I say, replied the Bishop, I know for a certain truth; and moreover I assure you, that all the Kings of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Masters of so much Money as King Philip the 2d. hath been. After which testimony from so great a person, we shall not need to add, or require farther proofs for what we have alledged.

But such as look on the Riches of Peru with more than a common Eye, are of opinion, that they have rather been hurtfull than good or beneficial to Mankind; for that Riches have been the cause of Vice, and not of Vertue, having inclined the Nature of Men to Pride and Ambition, to Gluttony and Luxury; for enjoying an affluence of Fortune, they have given themselves up to Sloth, and Effeminacy, becoming neither fit for Government in the times of Peace, nor yet for Hardship and Labour in the times of War, employing their whole thoughts and time in contriving new Dishes, and Liqueurs, to please their Appetite, and fantastical Fashions for their Clothing; in which they are arrived to that height of extravagance, that they scarce know what to wear, and are come to that undecency of Dress, that their Habit is more correspondent to Women than to Men. And as the Rents of the Rich have been raised to maintain the Lusts and riotous Living of great Persons, so have the Poor been oppressed, and reduced to Rags and Famine, to support the Pride and Luxury of their Landlords. And the truth is, the Poor are become much more poor than formerly; for the quantity of Money being increased, which is all accumulated into the Coffers of the Rich, hath enhanced the price of Provisions and Commodities to that degree, that the Poor starve by the abundance of the Rich; and though the Rich have a plenty of Money, and may out of their great stores enlarge their Charities towards the Poor; yet their Alms do not answer the price of Provisions which the plenty of Money hath raised in the World; so in short they conclude, that the Riches of the new World not having increased the Provisions necessary for the support of humane Life, but rather served to make them dear, and Men effeminate, having enfeebled them in their Bodies and Understandings, and debauched them in their Habits and Customs of living, the generality of Mankind is become much worse, and less contented, and having been formidable, and dreaded in ancient times by all the World, are now rendered mean and effeminate by the corruption of their Riches.

C H A P. VII.

Wherein two Opinions are declared concerning the Riches of Peru, and the beginning of that Conquest.

HAVING already described to what sum the Revenue of *Spain* did amount in former times, it would now be very satisfactory, if we could give an account to what a value it is amounted and improved in these days; but I must confess, that that would prove too difficult a work for me; who have no interest or communication with the Officers of the Royal Exchequer, nor such intimacy with them, as to obtain so great a favour from any of them; and indeed I am persuaded, that if I had, yet the vast quantities of Riches which pass through their Hands are almost incomprehensible, and such as they cannot number, how much less am I insufficient for this matter; who have no skill or knowledge of that Wealth, or, as I may use our own Saying, who know not what colour Flower or Meal bears. Only this we may aver, as a matter clear and manifest, that all the charge and expence for equipping out the Fleet against *England*, in the Year 1588. was all charged on the Wealth of *Peru*; besides which *Philip* the 2d. King of *Castile*, received eight Millions of Ducats from thence in the space of six years, besides all other branches of his Royal Revenue; the which sum was commanded afterwards to be paid in the term of every three years. It is farther manifest and apparent, that soon after *Philip* the third came to the Crown, that the Kingdom offered another increase of his Revenue to eighteen Millions, payable in the space of six years; the which continues to these times, besides all other Rents and Duties paid to the Crown: By these, and other particular instances before mentioned, we may collect and imagine the great improvement hath been in the King's Revenue; the several branches of which being much more various than those of private Estates, and there having in every one of those branches been a considerable advance and improvement; the sum thereof is become so prodigious and vast, as can scarce be valued by the Skill of our Arithmetick. By which we may conclude, that if that Man is to be esteemed poor, who can value his Riches, *Pauperis est numerare pecuniâ*; how much must we be plunged in our account, when we come to reckon, and sum up the Revenue of that Monarch, in the circumference of whose Territories (as Cosinographers describe) the Sun never sets? All which Riches and Grandeur are to be attributed to the success and labours of this our Triumvirate.

And though it be true what we have said before, that we had little acquaintance or communication with the Officers of His Majesty's Royal Exchequer; yet at length, by the friendship which I gained with *John de Morales*, a Native of *Madrid*, who was a very honest and intelligent Gentleman; I procured some account of the King's Revenue, with which he was pleased to oblige me, for the better advance of this History, which I now write; the which was so difficult a work to him, that he kept me three months before he could satisfy me therein; and at last he delivered me this following account, which I have extracted *verbatim* from his own Paper. "Your Worship was pleased to desire of me, that so serve a particular occasion of yours, I would set down in writing the rents and value of all his Majesty's Revenue; the which is a business so difficult, that I cannot sum up within any tolerable compass of certainty. And indeed, though the King hath desired it, and commanded it to be given in, for the better direction and measures of his Council of the Treasury, and ordered all to be put into a Book; yet that work is not as yet begun, nor do we know when it will be begun, much less when it will be ended, for there are such vast Rises and Falls, such Advances and Abatements, that nothing can be delivered with any certainty, every thing running in such different channels, as is impossible to reduce them to any coherence of method; but in the bulk or lump, we may affirm, that

"the Revenue of the King is a prodigious Mass of Wealth and Treasure. Thus far are the Words of *Morales*, which we have willingly alledged in confirmation of the truth of what we have said, being desirous not to write any thing but that which we can avouch on good ground and authority. And for farther proof of this difficulty, and how hard a thing it is to sum up the Revenue of this King of *Spain*, now Emperour of the new World, I shall produce the Testimony of *John Batero*, a great and an universal Historian, who, after he had made a calculate of the Revenue of the King of *China*, and of the Rents which *Galicia*, *Asturias* and *Portugal* anciently yielded to the Roman Empire; with what was the Revenue of the Kings of *Navarre*, *France*, the Emperour, *Poland*, *England*, Duke of *Lorraine*, King of *Scotland*, *Swedenland* and *Gotthland*; as also what was the Income of the House of *Austria*, of the King of *Narvinga*, the *Neriffe* of *Egypt*, and of the *Gran Signor*; yet coming to the Revenue of our King of *Spain*, he is there silent; for which I can render no other reason, than because this Authour coming to this Account, he found himself so plunged and immerged therein, that he durst not adventure to fathom the same; not having, as I imagine, numbers sufficient to sum up the Tribute of his many Kingdoms, and with them the immense Riches imported from *Peru*.

And in confirmation of the great Treasure with which *Peru* hath enriched all the World, I have this farther Testimony to offer from the most Reverend Father *Don Paulo de Laguna*, who was President of the Council of his Majesty's Exchequer, and afterwards President of the Council of the *Indies*, and Vice-king of the New World, and in the Year 1603. was elected Bishop of *Cordova*; this great Person discoursing one day with his Confessor, and others, concerning the immense Riches of *Peru*, did confidently affirm, that from one Mountain only of *Peru*, there had been transported into *Spain*, until the Year 1602. two hundred Millions of Pieces of Eight, which had been registred; and that at least one hundred Millions more had been imported without Register; And I can farther add, (said he) that twenty five Millions in Gold and Silver have been brought into *Spain* by one Fleet in my time. The Standers-by hearing this, answered, We could never believe it, my Lord, but that we receive it from so authentick an Authour as your Lordship. What I say, replied the Bishop, I know for a certain truth; and moreover I assure you, that all the Kings of *Spain*, joined together from King *Pelayo* to these times, have not been Masters of so much Money as King *Philip* the 2d. hath been. After which testimony from so great a person, we shall not need to add, or require farther proofs for what we have alledged.

But such as look on the Riches of *Peru* with more than a common Eye, are of opinion, that they have rather been hurtfull than good or beneficial to Mankind; for that Riches have been the cause of Vice, and not of Vertue, having inclined the Nature of Men to Pride and Ambition, to Gluttony and Luxury; for enjoying an affluence of Fortune, they have given themselves up to Sloth, and Effeminacy, becoming neither fit for Government in the times of Peace, nor yet for Hardship and Labour in the times of War, employing their whole thoughts and time in contriving new Dishes, and Liquours, to please their Appetite, and fantastical Fashions for their Clothing; in which they are arrived to that height of extravagance, that they scarce know what to wear, and are come to that undecency of Dress, that their Habit is more correspondent to Women than to Men. And as the Rents of the Rich have been raised to maintain the Lusts and riotous Living of great Persons, so have the Poor been oppressed, and reduced to Rags, and Famine, to support the Pride and Luxury of their Landlords. And the truth is, the Poor are become much more poor than formerly; for the quantity of Money being increased, which is all accumulated into the Coffers of the Rich, hath enhanced the price of Provisions and Commodities to that degree, that the Poor starve by the abundance of the Rich; and though the Rich have a plenty of Money, and may out of their great stores enlarge their Charities towards the Poor; yet their Alms do not answer the price of Provisions which the plenty of Money hath raised in the World; so in short they conclude, that the Riches of the new World not having increased the Provisions necessary for the support of humane Life, but rather served to make them dear, and Men effeminate, having enfeebled them in their Bodies and Understandings, and debauched them in their Habits and Customs of living, the generality of Mankind is become much worse, and less contented, and having been formidable, and dreaded in ancient times by all the World, are now rendered mean and effeminate by the corruption of their Riches.

Now as to these two Opinions, I leave every one free to follow that which seems best to him. For I being a party, and biased by affection to my own Countrey, dare neither pretend to favour that which applauds the grandeur and glory which *Pern* hath brought to *Spain*, nor yet oppose the other, lest I should seem partial, and too affectionate to my own Cause. And so we shall proceed and take the thread of our History, passing by divine favour through the beginning, middle and end of this famous Triumvirate.

We say then, that these three great Men having entered into an Agreement and Society together, and assigned to each other his several and distinct Charge and Office. The first thing they did was to build two Ships, upon one of which *Francis Picarro*, in the Year 1525. departed from *Panama* with an hundred and fourteen Men, by license and permission of the Governour *Peter Arias de Avila*, and having sailed about an hundred Leagues, they arrived at a Countrey very mountainous, and subject to Rains. The Natives were as fierce and rugged as the Countrey they inhabited, and in great numbers sallied forth to join Battel with the *Spaniards*, of which they killed some; and in four Skirmishes *Picarro* received seven wounds with Arrows, but he being well armed, none of them proved mortal; howsoever they were forced to leave the Countrey, to their great discouragement, repenting now of the design they had undertaken. *Almagro* soon afterwards departed from *Panama*, in quest of *Picarro*, and coming to the same Land which was appointed for their Rendezvous, were entertained with the like treatment; for the *Indians* being shewed by the success of the late Skirmishes, sallied out against the *Spaniards* with like courage, and having killed many of them, and beaten out one of the Eyes of *Almagro*, he was forced likewise to leave the Countrey; but what land or part this was, the *Spanish* Historians do not tell us: At length *Almagro* going in search of *Picarro*, joined with him at *Chinchama*, where they agreed again to land their Men, but this Countrey proving as mountainous, and as subject to Rain as the other, and the People no less fierce and warlike, falling out upon them in great numbers, forced them again to retreat under their Ships, bestowing on them a thousand Curfes and Reproaches at their departure. All which is related at large by *Lopez de Gomara*, to whom I refer the Reader, in case he desires to know more particulars of that Expedition.

CHAP. VIII.

How Almagro returned twice to Panama for Succour and Recruits.

After this ill success *Almagro* returned to *Panama* for new Recruits, and brought with him eighty Men; and yet for all this force the two Captains durst not attempt the Conquest of any Countrey, by reason that the Natives made a bold and stout resistance; howsoever sailing along by the Sea Coast, they came at length to a Countrey called *Catamez*, which was plain and level, without mountains, and abounding with such quantities of Provisions, that they furnished themselves with all things necessary for humane sustenance; and there observing that the *Indians* wore great Studs and Plates of Gold on their Faces, with fine Emeralds and Turquoises, the *Spaniards* became again elevated in their hopes, not doubting now but to make a good Voyage, and to gain Riches and Wealth to their full satisfaction. But soon after the *Spaniards* lost the hopes and expectation of all their imaginary Wealth, so soon as they saw the *Indians* come down upon them in great numbers, with good Orders, and with desire and courage to fight; with which the *Spaniards* became so discouraged, that they durst not engage with them; and though they were at least two hundred and fifty Men, yet by common

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consent they departed, and landed at a certain Island, called the Cock Island; where having remained for several days, sometimes in hopes, and again depressed with fear, as their different Rencontres and Successes were promising, or adverse, they began for the most part to despond, and wish they had never adventured on the Enterprize; only the Captains and Commanders remained firm and constant to their first Design, resolving either to overcome, or dye in their Enterprize: With this determination they agreed that *Picarro* should continue in the Island, and that *Almagro* should return to *Panama*, to fetch Provisions, and more Recruits; but many of the Souldiers growing weary and timorous, desired to return with him; which *Almagro* refused to admit, or to carry Letters, lest the Souldiers advising the dangers and hazards they had sustained to their Friends at *Panama*, should bring a Disreputation and Discouragement on their whole Design, which they had formerly magnified, having cried up the vast Treasures of those unknown Countries: In pursuit of which the resolute Constancy which these Chiefs had shewed enhanced the estimate of those hidden Riches.

But whatever the Captains could do to hinder the Intelligence which the Souldiers might give of their Disasters to *Panama*, they could not prevent or disappoint the Advices, which Men in Distress contrived to send for their Relief; for a certain Person, who was a Native of *Truxillo*, and for being of the same Countrey with *Picarro*, had greater Obligations to follow the Fortune of his Leader, found out a way to fold up a Paper within a bottom of Cotton Yarn, made up in the bigness of an Egg, in which Writing all the Disasters, and ill Successes of their adventure were related, being directed to a certain Friend, subscribed by many of the Souldiers, giving an account of such as were dead, and slain, and of the present straits and necessities they were in, as also of their Confinement, not being suffered to return to *Panama*; at the foot of which Advice, or Intelligence, these four Verses were written,

*Good Mr. Governour,
We pray you consider,
That there goes the Fetcher,
And here stays the Butcher.*

I remember, that when I was a Child I often heard these Verses repeated, whenever Discourses occasionally were made concerning the Conquest of the New World, which became afterwards like a Proverb, or old Saying, frequent in the Mouth of every one; and in reality they proved very prejudicial to these Chiefs, whose Design was wholly lost, and all the Money they had spent, and Labours they sustained, came all to nothing: When afterwards I came into *Spain*, and found those Verses inserted in the History of *Lopez de Gomara*, I was much pleased to see them there recorded, because I remembered to have heard them in the times when I was in the *Indies*.

CHAP. IX.

Pizarro is forsaken by all his Souldiers, onely thirteen Companions remain with him.

When *Almagro* returned to *Panama*, it was then about a year since this Enterprize was first begun, at which time he found a new Governour, called *Pedro de los Rios*, a Gentleman of *Cordoba*, who having received and perused the Petition of the Souldiers, he sent a certain Judge, called *Zifor*, to the Cock Island, with Commission to free all such as should be desirous to return unto *Panama*. This Report being rumoured abroad, such as before had engaged themselves to go with *Almagro*, began to withdraw themselves, saying, that since those who were already on the place, were weary of their Employment, and desirous to return home, it would be to little purpose for them to take up the Cudgels which the others had laid down; the which misfortune *Almagro* greatly lamented, having lost all his hopes; and *Pizarro*, when he found himself abandoned, and forsaken of all his Men, without regard to that Faith and Engagement of Articles by which they had associated themselves with him, he remained perplexed, and distracted with great confusion of Mind; at length plucking up his courage, that he might distinguish who were for him, and who were against him; he laid his hand upon his Sword, and drew it, and with the point thereof he drew a Line on the ground, towards *Peru*, and turning to his Men, said to them:

"Fellow Souldiers, This Line signifies the Labours, Hunger, Thirst, Weariness, Wounds, Sicknesse, and all other Dangers and Hazards which are to be sustained to procure this great Conquest, even to the loss perhaps of Life itself: Whosoever finds himself endued with Courage sufficient to undergo this great Trial, and whose Heroick Soul is capable of the generous Thoughts of this Noble Conquest, let him, in token, and for evidence of his brave Spirit, pass on the other side of this Line, which shall serve for a Testimony between me and them of their Faith and Resolution; and let such as find in themselves a Cowardly Spirit, and a Soul too mean for so sublime an Action, let them return to *Panama*; for my part, I will force no Man, being resolved to remain here my self with those few that will be my Companions, not doubting but that God, for the Glory and Honour of his most holy Name, will so assist us with his Divine Providence, that we shall find no want of those who out of Fear and Cowardise forsake us.

The Spaniards having heard the conclusion of this Speech, immediately halted aboard with all speed imaginable, lest any unlucky accident should prevent their return to *Panama*; for as the difficulty and fear of Labour is always more prevalent in mean and poor Spirits, than the thoughts of Honour, or hopes of Riches, so these vile and abject Souls forsook their generous Captain, who would have conducted them to the height of eternal Fame, to return ignominiously with their Judge. Howsoever thirteen remained for Companions with *Pizarro*, who could not be corrupted or discouraged by the ill examples of the Fugitives, but rather having their Hearts and Spirits more enflamed with Disdain against the cowardly and base, they courageously passed the Line which *Pizarro* had drawn with his Sword, and there renewed their Vows and Protestations, of Constancy and Faith, promising to live and dye with their Captain and generous Leader.

Pizarro having returned them Thanks, and promised them the Prizes and Rewards of their Conquests, they passed over in a Boat to another Island, called the *Gorgona*, where they endured great want of all Provisions, living for several months and days on no other sustenance than with Sea-weeds, and great Serpents, and other creeping Creatures, of which that Island yields great abundance; and is miserably infested with Rains, and subject to terrible Lightnings and Thunder;

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in which sad and dismal place and condition they suffered Miseries beyond expression. Of all these thirteen brave Heroes *Gomara* makes mention but of two onely; I know not his reason for it, or why he omits to name the other eleven; but now I think on't, I have observed that it is the common omission and defect of Spanish Writers, not to reckon particularly the Heroes of their Country by name, for they ought to declare their Names and Surnames, their Families, Countries and Parentage, that the memory of such Persons, famous in their Generation for the Conquest of a new World, may be conserved unto all Ages, and their Families boast in the honour of being allied to such Ancestours. The two which *Gomara* mentions are *Peter de Candia*, who was not a Spaniard neither, but a Greek, and *Bartholomew Raye de Moguer*, a Native of *Moguer*, and Pilot in this Navigation and Voyage. But *Carate* was more accurate in his Relation, for besides the two former he names seven others, viz. *Nicholas de Ribera*, *John de la Torre*, *Alonso Briseme*, all Natives of *Venavente*; *Christopher de Peralta*, a Native of *Baeza*, *Alonso de Truxillo*, *Francis de Cuellar*, a Native of *Cuella*, and *Alonso de Molina*, born at *Obledo*. Besides which recited by this Writer, there was another *Ribera*, companion to the former; whose Name I have forgotten, perhaps it might be *Jerónimo* or *Alonso*, but to distinguish them one from the other, they usually called them *Ribera the Senior*, and *Ribera the Junior*; not that one was much elder than the other in years, but by reason of their seniority in the Society with *Pizarro*, for one of them was in the number of the first Adventurers which came from *Panama*, and the other was of the second or third Expedition, which came thence with *Almagro*; all which particulars I learned in my own Countrey from those who discoursed of those times, and were for the most part Eye-witnesses of the matter of fact; both which *Riberas* had their Shares and Divisions of Indians made to them in *Ciudad Real*, where they left Sons and Daughters, educated with all Goodness and Vertue. He whom *Carate* calls *Alonso Truxillo*, was *James*, for I was well acquainted with him, and know that he had Lands and Possessions given him in *Cocca*, and that in the Year 1560. when I departed from that City, he was still living. Moreover *Francis Rodriguez of Villa Fuerte* near *Cocca*, was another of the thirteen, and one of the first which passed the Line, which, as we have said, *Almagro* drew with the point of his Sword, and was living in the year above said, onely two are wanting of the thirteen, whose Names we know not. And thus much we have said to illustrate the History of *Carate*, in honour to those Families, whose Offspring may well boast to have been descended from such famous Ancestours. The like particulars I shall mention in other passages, where I find that Spanish Writers have been defective, that so the Reader may receive entire satisfaction in this History.

CHAP.

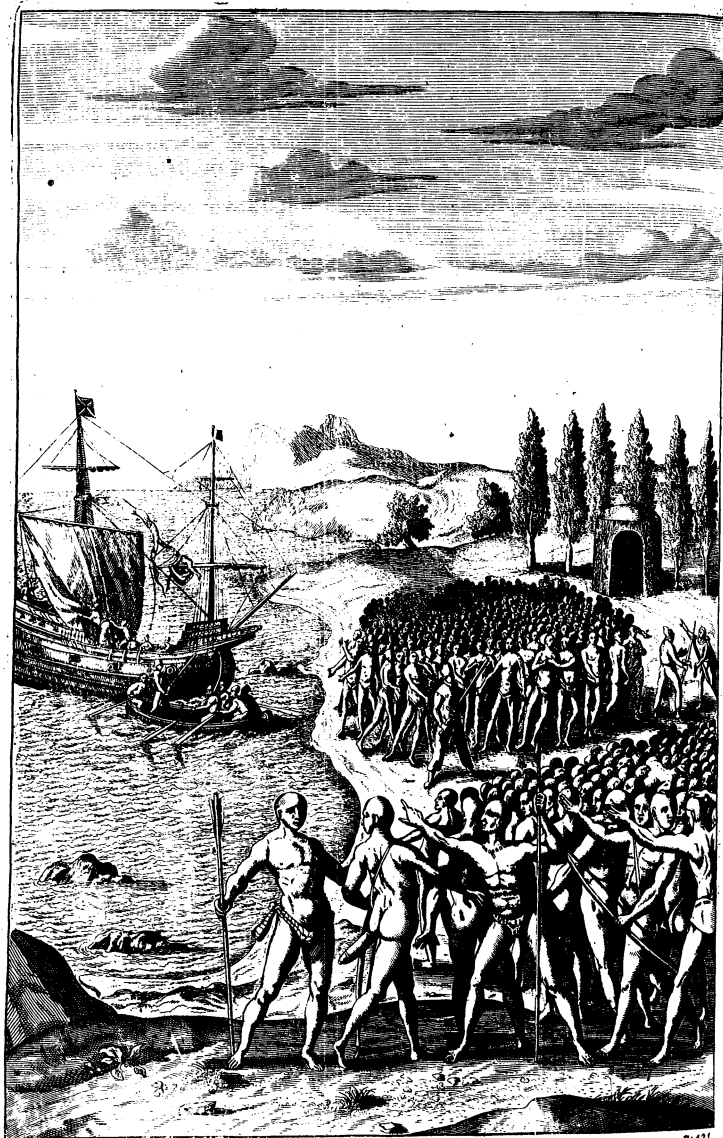
C H A P. X.

Francis Piçarro proceeds in his Conquest.

Piçarro and his thirteen Companions remained many Months in the Island of *Gorgona*, enduring great hardships in that Countrey where are perpetual Rains, without Houfe or Tent, or any thing to cover them, and where the best and choicest of their food was nothing but the flesh of great Serpents; so that it seemed, as if God had sustained them by a miracle; and indeed the Divine Providence appeared most wonderfully in putting it into the Hearts of all, besides these thirteen, to return, to demonstrate unto the World, that this Conquest was not effected by Humane, but by Divine Aid; for it is hardly conceivable how, humanely speaking, it should enter into the minds of thirteen Men onely, to adventure on the Conquest of *Peru*. Of which therefore we can give no other Account, than onely that the Divine Mercy compassionating the Miseries and Ignorances of those Gentiles, was pleased to incite and inflame a fire of Courage in the Breasts of those *Spaniards*, fitted for such an Enterprize; for as God did under the Old Testament infuse strength and virtue into the Locks of *Samson*, so now he was pleased by such weak means as these to bring Light out of Darkness, and make way for the effusion and spreading of his Holy Gospel.

At the end of many Months (for a dispatch could not be sooner made) the Ship arrived which *Almagro* sent with Provisions, but without Men; a misfortune so discouraging, that one might believe they would rather have been induced to return home, than persist in their resolution. But God so influenced their Minds with strange hopes, that they figured unto themselves a concurrence of all happy Omens in their favour, for they no sooner saw the Ship, than that they resolved to proceed in their Voyage, and discover at least what Countrey and what People they were, who inhabited under the Equinoctial, a Region as yet unknown to the *Spaniards*: With these Intentions they embarked, and at length with much labour they got out of the Gulf in which they were embayed; for both the South wind, which always blows in, and the Current, which always sets from North to South, made it very difficult to surmount both one and the other; for indeed it is a wonderfull thing to see, and it were well if it were described in our Maps, for the benefit of Navigation, in what manner, and with what rapidness those Streams run; for with the violence of the Waves, and force of the Current, they make such a noise, and raise such a froth, as is most terrible to behold, and is dangerous to Ships, which being sucked in by those Whirlpools, are certainly lost. Many of these Currents cast up the earth and slime from the bottom, that the Waters are very thick and turbid, others are clear and limpid; some are large and broad, and others narrow, but that which is most strange to see, is the vast difference of one Water from the other, that is of one Water which runs with a swift Stream from that which is still, or runs slowly; the Waters on each side are quiet, and seem like a Wall to the rapid Stream which runs in the middle, the reason of which I cannot comprehend. It is sufficient for our purpose to tell you, that their Navigation over such Currents, and in an unknown Sea, for many Days and Months, was very difficult; and therefore we cannot sufficiently applaud the courage of these thirteen Companions, who would still adventure, and struggle under all these Discouragements. They suffered much by hunger, for being but few in number, they were cautious of hazarding themselves amongst the *Indians*, onely they sometimes watched an opportunity to get Food and Provisions by stealth and robbery, rather than by force of Arms, or open appearance.

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CHAP. XI.

How Pizarro, and his thirteen Companions, arrived in Peru.

AT the end of two years, after they had quitted the Island of *Gorgona*, for so long they had been in making their Discoveries on the Coast, not knowing well whither they went, during which time we will leave the Reader to consider what Distresses and Hardships they sustained, all which other Historians omit, not counting the steps, and degrees by which these Adventurers proceeded. At length I say, they arrived at *Tumbez*, where it pleased God to work a Miracle, that those people might receive, and embrace the Catholick Faith, which was this; the Ship being here arrived, the Spaniards observed that the Countrey was well peopled, and adorned with many good Houses, and more stately Buildings, than any they had seen in other parts, became very desirous to make a farther discovery; but how to contrive it was very difficult, for they were fearfull to send one man singly, lest he should be killed by the Indians, nor durst they adventure in a Body, for fear of the like fate; at length to end the Dispute, *Peter de Candia* being full of Courage and Christian confidence, offered himself on this Adventure, telling his Companions, that in case he were killed, their loss would not be much, considering that he was but a single person, and that if he came well off, the greater would be the Wonder and the Victory; which having said, he immediately covered his Body with a Coat of Mail, which reached to his Knees, and put on a Helmet of the best and bravest sort, he girt his Sword by his side, took his Target of Steel in his left hand, and in the right he bore a wooden Cross of about a yard and a half long, which being the signal of his Redemption, he confided more therein than in his Arms of Steel or Iron. This *Peter of Candia* was a very tall Man, and though I did never see him, yet his Son, with whom I went to School at *Beaba*, shewed me the proportion of his Father in himself; for being a Boy, but of eleven or twelve years of age, was as big as another of twice that age. In this dress *Peter de Candia* left his Companions, desiring their Prayers and Recommendations of him unto God, and then with a grave and serious Countenance and Pace he walked towards the Inhabitants, with as much Majesty as if he had been Lord Paramount of all that Province. The Indians, who were in great confusion at the Arrival of the Ship, were much more affrighted when they saw a Man so tall, and of so vast a proportion, covered all with Iron, with a Beard on his Face, which had never been known or seen before amongst them. Those who met him in the Fields ran away, and gave an Alarm to their People, and all taking Arms, ran into their Castle or Fortrefs, which was speedily filled with crowds; but *Peter* still continued his grave Countenance, and Pace towards them, which when they saw, they were in great admiration, none daring to hurt him, for they believed that he was some divine or heavenly Apparition; but to prove what manner of thing he was, the *Curacas*, or Lords, agreed to try him with the Lion and Tyger which *Huayna Capac* had recommended to their Custody, (as we have already related in the History of his Life,) which when they had let loose, they expected that they should kill and tear him in pieces; but this story is briefly related by *Peter de Ciega*, in the Account he gives of the Conquests and Actions of *Huayna Capac* in this great Province of *Tumbez*, the which I thought fit to transcribe word for word, that so I might have the Testimony of a Spanish Authour, in confirmation of the truth of what I have wrote, and with the same occasion describe the beauty of that pleasant Valley of *Tumbez*, for so that Authour writes. "In regard, saith he, that the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Puna* were always at variance with the Na-

tives

"tives of *Tumbez*, the Captains of the *Inga* built a Fortrefs, which perhaps they
 "designed with intention to employ the People, and divert their Minds from
 "their unreasonab! Wars and Debates. So soon as this Fortrefs was finished
 "*Guayna Capal* came thither, and commanded that a Temple should be built,
 "and dedicated to the Sun, near to the Fortrefs of *Tumbez*, and that two hun-
 "dred Virgins, chosen out of the most beautifull Ladies belonging to Noble
 "Families of that Countrey, should have their Lodgings therein. In this For-
 "trefs (of which there remain some Ruines to this day) *Guayna Capac* did, by
 "his Deputy gather and collect the Tributes of the People, and laid them up
 "there, with many pretious Jewels, as also all Provisions for the Souldiers of the
 "Garrison, and for those which marched that way; also they report, that in
 "this Fortrefs the Lion and Tiger were kept, which had been sent thither by
 "*Guayna Capac*, and were the same which they let loose upon *Pedro de Candia*,
 "with intent that they might tear him in pieces, at that time when *Francis Pi-*
 "*carro* came first to this Countrey, with his thirteen Companions, to make a
 "Discovery of *Pernu*. In this Fortrefs of *Tumbez* were many Silver-smiths, which
 "made Vessels of Gold and Silver; and other pieces of rare Workmanship for
 "service and ornament of the Temple, which they esteemed holy and sancti-
 "fied, as also for service and honour of the *Inca*; and for his perpetual Fame
 "and lasting Memory, they plated all the Walls of this Temple with panes of
 "Gold and Silver. And the Women which were dedicated to the service of
 "the Temple had no other employment than to spin, and weave the finest sort
 "of their Wool, which they performed with great curiosity. And in regard
 "we have in the second Part of this History related as much as we could under-
 "stand, or had reason to believe, concerning the Kingdom of *Pernu*, from the
 "time of *Mango Capac*, who was the first to the time of *Guafcar*, who was
 "the last King that descended by lawfull Succession; we shall add no farther in
 "this Chapter, than what will serve to illustrate this History.

Thus far the Words of *Peter de Ciega*, collected out of that part of his Histo-
 ry, wherein he treats of the great Riches of *Tumpiz*, and of the wild Beasts which
 they set upon *Peter de Candia*, but proceeds no farther, reserving the remainder of
 his Story to be related in the third Part of his Works, which have not as yet
 been published to the World.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Miracle which God wrought in Tumpiz.

BUT to return unto our purpose: We say, That those wild Beasts behold-
 ing the Christian, and the Cross which he held in his hand, immediately
 lost their natural fierceness, and as if they had been two Dogs which he had bred
 up, came and fawned upon him, and cast themselves at his Feet. *Peter de Candia*
 considering this Miracle which God had wrought for him, took courage, and
 stroked them on the Head and Sides, laying the Cross upon them; whereby
 these Gentiles might understand, that by virtue of that Standard the savage Beasts
 had lost their ferocity, and were made tame. The *Indians* seeing this Wonder,
 conceived that *Peter* was no mortal Man, but descended from Heaven and from
 the Sun, and therefore with common consent adored him as a Child of their God
 the Sun, bringing him into their Temple, which was lined with broad plates of
 Gold, that so he might be informed in what manner they honoured and worship-
 ped his Father in that Countrey.

And having shewed him their Temple, with the Vessels of Gold and Silver,
 and other Ornaments and Riches which were for the service of it, they conducted
 him to the Royal Lodgings of his Brothers the *Incas*, whom they esteemed also for
 Children of the Sun. Then they lead him through all the Palace, that he might
 see the square Halls, the Chambers, and Antichambers, together with the furni-
 ture of Gold and Silver; they shewed him also all the Vessels which were for ser-
 vice of the *Inca*, such as Jars, and Cups, and Pots, all which, even to the Shovels
 and Tongs of the Kitchen were all of Gold and Silver. Then they brought him
 into the Gardens, where he saw Trees, and lesser Plants, and Herbs, and wild
 Beasts, and creeping things, such as we have said were placed in the Royal Gardens,
 which were all made in Gold and Silver, at which the Christian was as much
 astonished, as the *Indians* were to see a Man so strange, and wonderfull as he ap-
 peared unto them.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

Peter de Candia informs his Companions of what he had seen, and therewith they all return unto Panama.

Peter de Candia being abundantly satisfied with what he had seen, returned with all Joy imaginable to his Companions, taking much larger steps back, than his gravity allowed him in his march towards the people. He then informed them of all which had passed, and what immense Riches he had seen, at which his Companions remained with astonishment, being scarce able to give credit to his Relation; howsoever being ready to believe what they so much desired, they were abundantly satisfied with the Labours they had formerly sustained in quest of those mighty Treasures, and Riches, promising unto themselves the possession and enjoyment thereof, had they but the fortune to entice and persuade Men to adventure for them. And having thus discovered what they desired, and more than they expected, they returned to Panama, having not force sufficient to proceed farther. *Augustin Carate* reports, that three Spaniards remained on the place, after the others were departed; or, as *Lopez de Gomara* says, but two, who out of a curiosity of seeing those Riches which *Peter de Candia* had mentioned, or out of a covetous desire of gaining some of them, in case they were such as were reported, refused to return with their other Companions. But it is not known what afterwards became of them, the Spanish Historians say, that they were killed by the Indians, but that is not probable, because they were worshipped and adored by them as descended from the Sun; but it may rather be supposed that they dyed of Sickness, that Coast being very unhealthfull for the Bodies of Strangers; and these being those who perished from the number of the thirteen, dying, as is believed amongst the Indians, their Memory was forgotten, and no mention made of them in the Exploits recounted of the other Companions. These thirteen Spaniards consumed at least three Years in the discovery of Peru, as the Spanish Authors testify. *Augustin Carate*, in the 2d. Chapter of his first Book, hath these Words: "Having made these Discoveries in the space of three Years, they returned to Panama, during which time they sustained much hardship, and underwent many Dangers; they endured Want, and Hunger, and received Wounds in their Skirmishes with the Indians; but most of all, their greatest disappointments proceeded from their own civil Discords and Dissentions, the which *Pizarro* did often by his prudence and gentleness accommodate and appease; giving them great encouragement by the assurances he made them of the faithfulness and diligence of *Almagro*, who was making provisions of Victuals, of Men, of Horse and Arms; and indeed *Almagro* and *Pizarro* were both so cordial, and zealous in this Design, that they spared neither their Estates, nor their Lives in this Adventure, having made themselves poor and indebted, who were before the richest of their Country. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*; likewise *Gomara* avouches the like in this manner. "*Francis Pizarro* spent three years in this Discovery of Peru, having undergone great Hardships, and Labours, with Hunger, Perils, Feats, and many other straits. And so concludes the Chapter.

Amongst the many acute and witty Sayings which are recounted of this famous Captain *Francis Pizarro*, and that which he would often use, when he perceived that his Companions were wearied, and discouraged with various Labours they sustained in this Discovery, and also afterwards, when they were entred on the Conquest, he would often say, *Miserable are we who harass and wear out our selves to gain strange Empires and Kingdoms, which neither we our selves, nor our Children, but we know not who, shall enjoy them.* This Saying I have often heard reported from the mouth of those who were Ear-Witnesses thereof, and who were Companions with him in those Exploits. Likewise those very Conquerours would often repeat that saying, when after the Conquest the civil Wars arose between *Gonzalo*

Pizarro

Pizarro and *Francis Hernandez Giron*, in which most of them were slain; and in regard that Saying appeared a most universal Truth, every one would take it for his own; but certain it is, that it was the true prediction of Captain *Francis Pizarro*, to the truth of which I also am able to give an Attestation.

C H A P. XIV.

Pizarro makes a Voyage into Spain, and demands Aid for the Conquest of Peru.

Francis *Pizarro* returning with all possible diligence to Panama, acquainted *Diego de Almagro*, and *Hernandez Luque*, the Schoolmaster, his two Fellow-undertakers, with the immense and incredible Riches which they had discovered; with which News being overjoyed and encouraged, they agreed that *Francis Pizarro* should make a Voyage into Spain; to desire a Commission from the Emperor, *Charles* the 5th. for the Conquest and Government of that Country which they had discovered. But these three Associates had so wasted and consumed their Estates in this late Undertaking, that they had nothing remaining of all their own Fortunes, but were forced to borrow, and take up a thousand Crowns in Gold to defray the charge of this Voyage. *Francis Pizarro* delivered in to the Council of the Indies a relation in writing, wherein he gave information to His Majesty of all that he had seen, supplicating, that in consideration of his former Pains and Labours in the Discovery, and also of the Hazards and Expences he was for the future to undergo and sustain in the Conquest, adventuring the Blood and Riches of his Kindred and Friends, to gain an addition of new Kingdoms and Treasure to the Imperial Crown of His Majesty, He would be gratefully pleased to grant him the Government of that Country. Many that heard *Pizarro* publish and boast of such immense Riches and Treasure, did believe that it was only a Sham, or a Decoy to invite Men to adventure with them, but a few years after verified the truth of his whole Narrative. In answer to this Petition His Majesty was pleased to confer upon him all those Countries which he should conquer, with Title of Lord Lieutenant of Peru, as also of Captain General, and Governour of all those Countries which the Spaniards should conquer in Peru, which then they called *New Castile*, to distinguish it from those parts which were named *New Spain*, both being gained after the same manner; that is, as Strangers say, at the cost of Fools, and Madmen, and desperate Fellows.

Francis Pizarro, to whose Name hereafter we will add the Title of *Don*, because in the Commission from His Majesty that Honour is interset; for in those times the Title of *Don* was only prefixed before the Names of Noble Persons, and was not half so common as it is now, when every little fellow assumes it, and the very Indians, whether Noble, or not, in imitation of the Spaniards, give themselves that Title, and are called by it. We shall also hereafter call *Diego Almagro Don Diego*, for having been a Companion with *Pizarro* in his Enterprises, and equal to him in all his Undertakings, we cannot in Justice deny unto him a share of his Honours.

Don Francis therefore having received his Commission, and fitted all things necessary for his Voyage; and being accompanied with four of his Brothers, and many other Persons of Quality of the Province of *Extremadura*, he embarked at *Seville*, and having a quick and prosperous passage, he happily arrived at Panama: But *Don Diego* was much dissatisfied to understand that *Don Francis* had appropriated all those Titles and Honours unto himself, and not made him a sharer with him in those Offices, and Places of Trust, which were conferred by Commission from his Majesty, forgetting that he had equally suffered with him in all the Labours

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bours and Dangers which offered in the Discovery: And in regard that *Don Diego* had spent more Wealth than he; having been much richer, and lost an Eye in the Service, he appeared not only equal, but to have greater Merit than *Pizarro*.

These disgusts were heightened by others, who aggravated the unkindness and neglect of *Pizarro* towards his Companions, alledging, that from a natural Ambition he had appropriated all the Trusts and Dignities to himself; for which cause these two Companions became much estranged one from the other, untill some Friends interposing between them, so reconciled matters, that they both agreed, and proceeded in their Enterprize; howsoever the Quarrel was not so well made up, but that there remained some reliques of it; for that though the Provisions were made, and all things put into a readines; yet *Don Diego* could not so forget his Injuries, as to apply his mind with that zeal and warmth in his Office of making Provisions, as he had formerly exercised, which *Hernando Pizarro* more resenting than any other, and being a Man of a hot and fiery temper, did utter more harsh Language against *Don Diego* than any other, reproaching his Brother, and often charging him to be the cause of all the Wants and Hardships they sustained; to which *Almagro's* Brother replied, That *Don Diego* had reason to be remiss in his Supplies, and that it could not be expected that he should be so diligent in their concernment, who had been so basted and neglected; and that though it were true, that according to Articles he was to share in one moiety of the Conquest, yet being a Gentleman, and of a generous Soul, he more esteemed of Honour and Government, than of all the Wealth and Treasure in the Universe. From whence arose such a mortal Hatred between *Hernando Pizarro* and *Don Diego de Almagro*, which was never appeased, untill one killed the other. Howsoever the Difference for the present was salved up by the Intercession of some sober Persons, whom *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and his other Brothers, who were Men of a more cool and gentle Temper than *Hernando*, desired to interpose, and make a Reconciliation, by reason that they were well assured, that without the Assistance and Friendship of *Almagro*, the Design would be ruined. Amongst several others who were instrumental in this Reconciliation, was *Antonio de la Gama*, with whom I was acquainted at *Cocco*, and who had there a Division of Lands planted with Indians. Also *Don Francisco Pizarro* did promise to renounce his Title of Lord Lieutenant to *Don Diego*, and to beseech His Majesty, that he would be pleased to confer that Honour upon him. With which *Don Diego* being appeased, he gave almost a thousand Ducats in Gold to his Companion, with all the Victuals, Arms and Horses which he had provided, together with two Ships to transport them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the great Hardships the Spaniards endured in their Voyage from Panama to Tumpiz.

Don Francisco Pizarro with his four Brothers, together with his Men and Horses, which were as many as his Ships could contain, set Sail from *Panama*, with intention not to touch any where untill they came to the Countrey of *Tumpiz*; but the Southerly Winds always blowing in that Sea, which were contrary to the course they steered, they were forced to land a hundred Leagues short of *Tumpiz*; so that sending their Ships back again to *Panama*, they resolved to march all the way by Land, esteeming it much easier than to turn to Windward for so many Leagues.

But in their Journey by Land they suffered much more than they would have done by the contrary Winds by Sea; for entering into a barren Countrey, void of all Victuals and Provisions, they endured hunger, and want of all things; and the way being long and tedious, over Mountains and Rocks, and their passage stopped by wide Rivers, they contrived to pass them with Floats, which they made of Timber, and Canes, and Rushes, which they fastned together, and with large Goards which they bound one to the other.

The chief Guide and Pilot over these Ferries was *Don Francisco* himself, who was well acquainted, and experienced in matters of this nature; the which he sustained with so much courage and patience, that for better example to his Companions, he would carry the sick and tired persons on his own shoulders over Brooks and Fords, which might be waded over.

After all these difficulties, they came at length to that Province which they call *Cocqui*, where they found plenty of Provisions, and many Emeralds of the finest sort, of which they broke many; for being not skillfull Jewellers, they had an opinion, that the true Emeralds would not break, and therefore for a trial they proved them with Hammers upon the Anvil. The like they afterwards did in *Tumpiz*, where they broke many Emeralds of three or four thousand Ducats price: But not only these Spaniards fell into this error; but likewise others, who afterwards came to this Countrey under the Command of the Lord Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, who destroyed many Emeralds and Turquoises of an inestimable value. But besides these disasters, the people of *Pizarro* were afflicted with a loathsome disease, which at first appeared with a swelling on their Heads and Faces, like Warts, and on several parts of their Body; but afterwards, when they came to a maturity, they were of the colour of ripe Figs, and about the bigness of them, hanging down as it were by a string, from whence great quantities of blood issued; the which were not only loathsome, but very fore; and it was very ugly to behold such filthy Warts, or Wens, appearing on their Foreheads, Eye-brows, Noses and Ears, for which they knew no remedy or cure. But this disease was not so mortal, but that many of them who were seized with this distemper, recovered, though several dyed; and though the disease was Epidemical to the Natives of *Peru*, yet it was not so to the Spaniards, many of which escaped the Evil. Many years after that time I saw three or four Spaniards at *Cocco*, who lay ill of that distemper, but they recovered; and it may be attributed to some bad influence which was transient, for since that time, that sickness hath not been known. With all these Labours, Diseases, and Death of his Companions, *Don Francisco* was not dismayed, always shewing himself as forward to adventure himself first in dangers, as he was carefull in the cure of his Friends and Souldiers. To *Panama* he sent twenty four or twenty five thousand Ducats of Gold to supply *Don Diego de Almagro* with Money, that so he might be enabled to furnish those necessary succours of which they had occasion; part of which Gold he gained by War, and part by the ransom of such whom he had taken Captives. Thus

proceeding forwards to *Tumpiz*, he overtook another party of *Spaniards*, who being moved with the report and fame of the mighty Riches of *Peru*, came from *Nicaragua* to that Country; their Captains, or Leaders, were *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, and *John Fernandez*; with which happy rencounter *Pizarro* was highly pleased, by reason that his own numbers were esteemed insufficient for that Conquest. *Sebastian de Belalcazar* was by the Name of his Family properly called *Moyano*, but he rather chose to take his Appellation from his Country; he was a Twin of three, that is, two Sons and one Daughter, born at the same Birth: His Brother was called *Favlan Garcia Moyano*, and his Sister *Anastasia*; they were both valiant and courageous, as was their elder Brother, and especially the Sister. This Relation I received from a Friar of the Order of St. *Francis*, who himself was a Native of *Belalcazar*, and was well acquainted with the whole Family of *Sebastian de Belalcazar*. The which Relation this Friar the more willingly gave me, because he knew that I was Writing this History, wherein I was glad to relate the extraordinary Birth of this famous Souldier.

CHAP. XVI.

The Spaniards make themselves Masters of Tumpiz, and the Island of Puna.

DON *Francisco Pizarro* being well recruited with *Spanish* Souldiers, adventured on the Conquest of *Puna*, where Fame would have it, that there was much Gold and Silver, and great Riches; to this Island, which was twelve Leagues within the Sea, they passed over on Floats with great hazard; and being arrived on the Land, they had many Battels with the Natives, who killed four *Spaniards*, and wounded divers others, amongst which was *Hernando Pizarro*, who received a hurt on his Knee; but the *Spaniards* prevailed with great slaughter on the *Indians*; and with that Victory gained great spoils of Gold, Silver, and Cloths, which they immediately divided amongst themselves; before the people which *Hernando de Soto* brought from *Nicaragua*, could come up to them, for he had been dispatched from that place by *Almagro* to carry Succours of Men and Horſe to *Pizarro*: Of which booty *Soto* having received advice, he made such haste, that he arrived with them at the time when they were removing their Camp thence. *Pizarro* being re-inforced with these supplies, thought himself strong enough to adventure on *Tumpiz*; and first to ingratiate himself with the Inhabitants, he sent them by the hands of three *Spaniards*, in quality of Ambassadors, a Present of six hundred of their own Countrey-men, whom he had taken Captives in the Island of *Puna*, in expectation by such an atonement and piece of generosity to gain peace and friendship with them; hoping that those people, in gratitude for their liberty, and kind treatment, would have given so kind a report of them, as might have induced them to a commerce, and good understanding: But this ungrateful people finding themselves amongst their own Friends, altered the report which formerly they had promised to give, and represented the *Spaniards* as covetous and thirsty after Gold and Silver; and more to incense their Countrey-men, they reported them to be lascivious Adulterers, and such as would defile their Wives and Daughters. The people of *Tumpiz*, being ill affected, and prepossessed with this evil report, did presently, and without so much as hearing the three *Spaniards* speak, deliver them into the hands of their Executioners, who having put them to death, sacrificed them with fury and rage to their Gods: the which Story is confirmed by *Gomara*, and *Augustine de Carate*; but *Blas Valera*, who was a very credible Author, says, that it was only conjectured, and believed to be so, because they never appeared more. But the Governour of that Country saith, That one of these

these Ambassadors was drowned going over a River, and that the two others dyed of natural sicknesses, to which that Climate is very subject, and unhealthfull to the bodies of strangers; for it is not probable that the *Indians*, who had observed with what submission the Lion and the Tyger had crouched in a miraculous manner to *Pedro de Candia*, should slay, or sacrifice them, whom they esteemed for Deities. *Pizarro* in his passage over the Waters on Floats and Rafts, was in great danger, as were all his people, of being cast away by the streams, which in those parts are very fierce and rapid, for their Floats were very unruly, and uneasy to be governed; howsoever in despite of all, they leaped on shore, and marched boldly towards the people, with whom, after many Battels, the *Spaniards* remained Conquerours; and thereby the Enemy being become cowed and dismayed by the many slaughters which were made of them, they entirely yielded: And supposing that these destructions were Judgments of the Sun inflicted for their Sins, they endeavoured to please and pacify their Enemies by Presents of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which they had observed to be Commodities pleasing to them, and the Motives which had incited them to all their labours and dangers; and moreover, the *Curaca* came with all humility to submit and surrender his Estate and Person into their hands.

The *Spaniards* considering how prosperously their affairs succeeded by the fortune of this one Battel, resolved to settle their first Colony in these parts, which they called St. *Michael*, being founded on the day of his Festival; and in this first and ancient Colony they planted several of their Companions in the year 1531, to receive and give entertainment unto all such who were shortly expected from *Panama* and *Nicaragua*.

From this place *Pizarro* dispatched his three Ships back again to *Panama* to bring him more recruits of Men, and supply of Provisions; and to give more life to the design, he sent above thirty thousand Ducats in Gold and Silver, besides Emeralds, as the fruits of his Labours, and as an evidence of the vast Riches of that Country. But we should have told you before, that *Pizarro* (amongst the many other favours which he received from his Majesty in *Spain*) had the honour and privilege granted him to entertain a Guard of twenty four Halbardiers, for protection of his Person, and greater authority of his Office and Government: Wherefore having subdued and mastered *Tumpiz*, he designed to make choice of such a Guard wherewith he might with more ostentation and pomp, than he had formerly shewn, make his entry into that Country. But he could not with all the promises he could make, persuade any of all his company to submit so low, as to accept of that Office; for it is not only incident to the humour of the *Spaniards* to be haughty, and fancies I know not what high and sublime matters; but even those who are humble, and would accept of any mean and low employment in other parts, do no sooner enter into these Countries, but are immediately elevated with a new generosity and greatness of Soul, that they scorn to accept of ordinary preferments: But thus much I should not have adventured to have said, had I not received this report from *Spaniards*, who find the like inclinations within themselves. Howsoever, there were two of all the number who accepted the Halberts, with whom I was acquainted, who both in the Conquest of that Country, and afterwards in the Civil Wars behaved themselves like brave Souldiers, and in reward thereof the honour of Military Commands were bestowed upon them, with a share of Lands and Jurisdiction over the *Indians*; they were both killed in the War, though their Names I have thought fit to conceal for several respects. After *Pizarro* the Governour had quieted and settled *Tumpiz*, and the dependencies thereunto belonging, and possessed himself of the Riches, he resolved to proceed to *Cassamarca*, and make a visit to King *Atahualpa*, the same of whose treasure was extremely inviting; and the report thereof the more probable, by the apparent Riches which were found in *Tumpiz*. In their March thither they passed a Country uninhabited, and of dead and barren Sands, extremely hot and dry, without Water; with which, for want of knowledge of the Country, they had not provided themselves; but at length they came to certain pleasant and fruitful Vallies, where they were relieved with all things necessary for their refreshment. At this place the Governour received an Embassy from the unfortunate *Huascar Inca*, but how and whither it came from him, is doubtful, in regard (as we have said) he was kept a close Prisoner under severe custody: But it is probable that this Message might be sent by some *Curaca* out of com-

compassion to the true and legitimate Prince of that Empire, vvho vvvas detained and oppressed by tyrannical hands: the sum of this Message vvvas, to improve vvith all humility, the Justice, Righteousness, and Protection of the Sons of the God *Viracocha*, vvvhich he did not doubt to receive from those vvho published and gave out in all parts, that their designs vvvere to relieve and succour the oppressed: To vvvhich the Governour answered, that he vvvas novv on his vvway to administer relief unto the unhappy *Inca*, and to succour all others vvwho vvvere under vvrong and oppression.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Embassy and Presents which the Inca sent unto the Spaniards.

TWO days after this the General received another Embassy more solemn than the former, from the King *Atahualpa*, brought by a Brother of his own both by the Father and Mother's side, called *Titu Auantachi*, who in few words declared, that the *Inca* had sent him to give a hearty welcome to the Sons of his God *Viracocha*; and in token of the good will he bore them, and of his desire to serve them with all his power, he had sent them a Present of such things as their Countrey afforded, desiring them to refresh and enjoy themselves with the plenty of such Provisions as he had made for their Journey, for that both he and all his Subjects were desirous to see his Kinsmen, who were related with him to their common Father the Sun, whom therefore they honoured, and to whom they promised all obsequiousness and allegiance. And having expressed thus much in behalf of the *Inca*, he afterwards (for such were his instructions) made this Speech from himself: *Inca Viracocha*, said he, *thou Progeny of the Sun, since it hath been my fortune to carry you this happy Message, I presume with this occasion to beseech you, that you would graciously be pleased to grant me these three Requests: In the first place, that you would esteem my Inca, and King Atahualpa, for your Friend, and enter into a perpetual League of peace and friendship with him. Secondly, that you would forgive, and pardon what crime or fault sever our people have either out of ignorance, or want of due consideration, committed against you: And lastly, I beseech you, that the punishment which by Command of the great God your Father Viracocha, you have inflicted on those of the Island of Puna, and those of Tumbez, and other parts, you would moderate and remit towards those of Callamarca, and such others whom you shall meet; and that in regard you are an Inca, and descended from the Sun, that you would pardon and exercise that Clemency, which is one of your divine Attributes.* And having said thus much, he commanded that the Presents should be delivered to the Governour, and the other Spaniards his companions; the which Presents were Goats, Sheep, dried slices of the flesh of wild Beasts, such as of the *Huanac*, the *Vicuña*, Stags, Elks, and fallow Deer; of which they brought many alive, that so they might see of what sort of Beasts those slices of dried flesh were: they presented them also with tame and wild Conies, Partridges both dead and alive, with Water-fowl, and with innumerable smaller Birds; likewise with Mayz in the grane, and some made up in Bread; as also with Fruit both dry and green, Honey in the Combs, and in Pots, with *Indian* Pepper, which they call *Ucha*, and great quantities of drink made of their Wheat, and of that grane which they call *Mulli*. Moreover, they presented many Vestments of the finest sort, such as those with which the *Incas* were clothed, besides Parrots, Monkeys, Apes and Marmosets, and other Animals and strange Insects, which, as we have said, were common in that Countrey: As also many Vessels of Gold and Silver to drink in, with Plates and Dishes for the Table, with many Emeralds and Turquoises. And as a particular signal of respect to the General, they brought him a pair of such Hose as the

the *Inca* himself wore, with two Bracelets of Gold, which they call *Chipana*; the which two were for variety and change, because the *Inca* wears but one at a time; and that is on the Wrist of his left Arm; which is a signal of Military Honour; which none are qualified to receive, but those of the Blood-Royal, or Captains, or Soldiers, who had signalized themselves by some notable Acts of bravery; in reward of which, the King conferred that Ornament with his own hand; and on both these reasons and respects *Don Francisco* was esteemed worthy of this signal favour: For in the first place, he was believed to be a legitimate Issue descended from the Sun, and their God *Viracocha*; and secondly, his Acts of Valour and Bravery did bespeak and proclaim him for a famous and renowned Captain. And thus having made their Presents to the Governour, and his Spaniards, *Titu Auantachi* desired them to pardon this presumption, of having made so mean and low an Offering to the Children of the Sun, unto whom hereafter they would endeavour to make amends by their future observance, and dutifull performances. The Governour and Captains taking very kindly their obliging Compliments, and much more their Presents, returned in the first place their thanks to the *Inca*, and then to his Ambassador: but when they understood that he was Brother to the King, they shewed him extraordinary honour and respect according to his quality; and having given him a short Answer to his Embassy, he returned fully satisfied, and with high contentment. Their Answer, in short, was this, That the Spaniards were come by Order and Commission from the Pope, or High Priest, to turn them from their Idolatry, and to instruct them in the true Religion of the Christians: They were also come from him who was Emperour, and King of Spain, who was the greatest Prince of the Christians, to enter into a League of Friendship, and a perpetual Peace, and to make an Alliance with the *Inca* and all his Empire, and never to doe them hurt, or offer them any violence, besides many other things which they would more at their leisure communicate to the *Inca*; but neither *Gomara*, nor *Augustine de Carate* make any mention of these rich Presents, nor of an Ambassador, who was Brother to the King, nor of any Answer made by the Governour; onely they speak of some Hose and Bracelets, which they brought to the Commander in chief, and of some Ruffles or Cuffs for Shirts, but these Authors did not consider that the *Indians* in their natural Habit do not wear Linen. The King *Atahualpa* sent that Message and Presents to the Spaniards, with an opinion, that thereby he might appeale the Sun, whom they fancied to be angry, and displeased by reason of the resistance, which the *Indians* of the Isle of Puna, and the Valley of *Tumbez* had made against the Spaniards, of whom some of them (as we have said) being killed, they feared a thousand judgments and punishments for their Rebellion against those who were descended from the Sun, and their God *Viracocha*: To the terror of this apprehension, the Prophecy which his Father *Huayna Capac* had delivered, came fresh into memory: which was, that after his time a strange Nation, which was not seen or heard of before, should enter their Countrey, ruine their Empire, subvert their Government, and destroy their Idolatry. And now the King *Atahualpa* did really believe that the time for accomplishment of this Prophecy was come; for that unless these few Spaniards had been assisted by the power of the Sun, who was angry with his people, it were impossible that so small a handful of Men should be able to make such slaughters as they had done at *Panama*, *Puna*, *Tumbez*, and other parts. And now fearing the like at his own home, he ordered his Brother the Ambassador to make those three Requests, before mentioned, in his own Name; for though *Atahualpa* was unwilling to discover any such fear, or timorousness in himself; yet the apprehension and dread of these things were so fixed in the mind of *Atahualpa*, that his spirit and courage, which was formerly brave and aspiring, was now become cowed and low with these imaginations, and became so intimidated, that he never durst make any resistance or opposition against the Spaniards. Those who consider well these matters, have a large scope to make reflexions thereupon; some attribute these judgments to the Justice of God in punishment of their Idolatry, and Cruelties exercised on the true Family of the *Incas*; but others perhaps may with more reason interpret this Invasion of the Spaniards to be directed by the gracious Providence of God, who out of compassion to the ignorance and obduracy in which these Gentiles lived, was pleased by these means to introduce the light of the Gospel into those dark and unknown parts of the World.

So soon as the Ambassadors were returned back again to their King, the *Spaniards* made many reflexions, and put divers interpretations on the Message and Presents which were sent: Some were of opinion, that those Gifts and Offerings, by how much the more rich and magnificent they were, by so much more they were to be suspected; fancying that they were designed with intention to amule and lull them into a kind of security and confidence in their faith and simplicity, and so surprize and kill them with more ease and advantage; and therefore looking on these Presents as fallacious, and designed for traps and snares, it was argued that they should be the more watchfull and circumspect in all their proceedings: Howsoever the other *Spaniards*, who were the greatest number, being of a less suspicious nature, were of opinion that these Gifts and Offerings were only evidences of the good will of the *Indians*: And that though the Rules of Military Discipline did oblige them to be always vigilant and cautious in an Enemies Country, yet they could not but applaud and esteem the Magnificence of the *Inca*, the suavity of his Words, and the Majesty of his Embassy; which to render more honourable, he was pleased to perform it by the hands of his Brother, whose courtesie and discretion were very visible both in his Reasons, and in his Comportment; though for want of a good Interpreter to understand the Language of *Cusco*, much of his sense and words lost their true force and vigour: the which appeared in his Speech, which seemed to be uttered in long Sentences, with their due Accents, Pauses and Periods; but in the rendering of them, the Interpreter delivered them in such broken Speeches, without coherence or sense, that they were scarce intelligible to the *Spaniards*; but howsoever they took all in good part, that which was wanting in the words, being supplied by the better effects of Presents. That night, and several other days after, they cheered themselves with the Presents of *Atahualpa*, and so marched towards *Cassamarca*, where though they found not the *Inca*, as was expected, yet they were received there by the *Indians*, who, by order of the King, had assembled both Nobles and Commoners to feast and treat the Offspring of the Sun, and Children of the God *Viracocha*, throwing all their Chambers and Lodgings with Flowers, and sweet-smelling Herbs; likewise they entertained them with plenty of Meat and Drink; the care and charge of all which was committed to *Cullqui Human*, who was the *Curaca*, or Lord, of *Cassamarca*, and who in obedience to the Commands of his King, did endeavour to exceed in all points of civility and respect towards the *Spaniards*. But amongst the many Services which the *Indians* shewed to them, there was one of singular remark; which was, that they observing that the Bits and Curbs which the Horses had in their mouths, were made of Iron, they presently imagined that the Iron was their Meat; and therefore not to be defective in any point of Service towards the *Spaniards*, they readily brought several Ingots of Gold and Silver, which they laid in the Mangers before the Horses, desiring them to eat of those Metals, which were much more delicate Meat than the Iron; the *Spaniards* who observed and laughed at this simplicity of the *Indians*, commended their kindness to the Horses, telling them, that they could not oblige them more, than by giving them good store of that Provinder.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Governour sends an Ambassadour to King Atahualpa.

THE day following the Governour held a consultation with his Brethren and Captains, touching an Embassy to be sent to the King *Atahualpa*, whereby to inform him of his intentions to make him a visit, that so he might communicate to him the matters encharged to him by the Emperour, and by the Pope; for that to be silent, and make no returns, would favour of ingratitude, and little sense of the presents and kind treatment they had received. Wherefore they agreed, that since the *Inca* had sent his Brother on this Embassy, that they should correspond in the like manner by the Brother of the Governour, qualified with the same character of Ambassadour: Accordingly *Hernando Picarro*, and *Hernando de Soto* were sent to the Court of the *Inca*, not far distant from *Cassamarca*, where he had a Royal Palace, and commodious Baths, and where was at that time a numerous concourse of the Nobility and Souldiery, which flocked from all parts to celebrate certain Festivals agreeable to their Religion, and with that occasion to reform several corruptions and abuses, which by the licentiousness of the Wars were crept in amongst them; and for the better security and conservation of his own Person, and advancement of his own Tyrannical Power and Authority, he enacted and established other Laws and Statutes, pretending that they were transmitted to him by revelation from the Sun: For the truth is, though *Atahualpa* had Murdered as many persons of the Blood-Royal, as he was able, yet he was still jealous, and fearfull of those few which survived, lest any Pretender should on the pretext of Religion advance one of the right line to be the true and legitimate Heir; to which end he formed new Laws, pretending that they were derived from the Sun, to equalize and balance against the ancient Canons and Statutes of Religion. These two Ambassadors were in this manner dispatched with their Interpreter *Philip*, who though he was a Native of the Isle of *Puna*, and ill versed in one or the other Language, yet he was a necessary instrument; and such, as for want of a better, was very usefull. With these two *Spaniards* the *Curaca* of *Cassamarca* sent two hundred *Indians* to attend and conduct them with greater state and pomp to the presence of their King, encharging them upon their lives to perform whatsoever they should command. So soon as these Ambassadors had passed *Cassamarca*, they sent an *Indian* of Quality out of those who attended them to the King *Atahualpa*, to acquaint him of their coming, and to demand his licence, that they might appear in the presence of his Highness: To which Message the *Inca* made answer, that they should be extremely welcome, for that their Arrival had been long desired and expected; and presently commanded one of his Major-Generals with a great number of his Men to go forth and meet those Descendants from the Sun, and perform towards them all that Worship and Veneration which appertained to them. This kind Answer of the *Inca* eased the *Spaniards* of all the fear and suspicion they had conceived upon the rumour, that the *Inca* was encompassed with a Guard of thirty thousand Men; and so with great confidence taking their way towards the Royal Baths and Palaces, they met about the middle of their Journey in an open Plain with those Companies of Souldiers which were sent out to receive them; which so soon as *Hernando de Soto* espied, he set Spurs to his Horse, and boldly rid up to them with a full carriere, giving them to understand, that if they had been Enemies, as they were Friends, he alone had been sufficient to encounter with them; and then turning and carveting with his Horse, he came and stopt near the Commander in chief. And here the *Spanish* Historians recounting this passage, tell us, that this Commander in Chief was *Atahualpa* himself, and that *Soto* came up to his very Chair prancing with his Horse; at which though *Atahualpa* seemed not to be dismayed, or altered, yet several of his people, who ran away and fled to avoid his Horse, he caused to be put to death: But this Author was mis-informed in the Relation he made, for neither was *Atahualpa* there

there present, nor whosoever he was, did he put any to death; for if their retirement was onely to give way or place to the Horse in his carriere, as was probable, it was so far from being a fault, or to deserve punishment, that it was a piece of civility and respect, which they desired to shew unto those whom they esteemed to be Children of the Sun; and to have done otherwise, or to have obstructed the way and passage of these strangers, would have seemed a piece of impiety and prophanation towards those whom they confessed to be of Divine Race, and descended from the Heavens. Nor was *Atahualpa* so stupid in his understanding, as to slay his own *Indians* in the presence of the Ambassadors whom he had employed to pay Honour and Worship to them, and to assure them of all security and protection. Nor is it probable that *Hernando de Soto* would have been so rude and discourteous as to ride up to the very Nose of the King, with whom he came to treat in behalf of the Emperour and the Pope: By all which, it is greatly to be lamented, when we consider with how little care Men give Relations of passages which occur in those remote parts, without regard to the reputation of that people. The *Inca Atahualpa* (as we shall declare more particularly hereafter) shewed himself very generous and real towards the *Spaniards*; and therefore it may be lawful for us to render a character of his abilities, discretion and understanding with which Nature had endued him: For in regard we have made mention at large of all the Tyrannies and Cruelties which he committed, the rule of History doth oblige us not to conceal the mixtures of Vertue which appeared in him, unless we would approve our selves false by writing a Romance in the place of true History. That which I report, proceeds from the relation of many *Spaniards* who were present at all the action, being such as I received from their own mouths, at those times of conversation which they passed in my Father's family, when a great part of their entertainment was to recount the many passages and accidents which occurred in this Conquest; the same I have heard confirmed from several *Indians*, who at the visits which they made to my Mother, did frequently discourse of those Actions, and particularly of what happened in the Reign of *Atahualpa* to the time of his Death, attributing all the misfortunes which befell him to the Judgment of God, for the Tyrannies and Cruelties he committed upon his own family.

And farther I am able to confirm the truth of these particulars from the reports sent me by my School-fellows, who took the trouble to extract them out of the Historical Annals of their respective Countries where their Mothers were born, as I said in the first Part of this History. To these Relations I have the Authority farther to add of that curious and accurate Father *Blas Valera*, who was the Son of one of those who was a fellow Prisoner with *Atahualpa*, and was born and bred on the Confines of *Cassamarca*, and so might have advantages to extract the Records from their Originals, as he himself doth attest; and indeed he hath been very large in describing the successes and passages which occurred in that Kingdom, and which by comparing them with other Relations, I have found agreeable to the truest reports. And farther I do aver, that I shall trace the same way that the *Spanish* Historians direct me, making use of their Commentaries in such matters wherein they may be usefull to me, and shall add and enlarge in what they come short, or are deficient, as in many things they may be, for want of reading and knowledge of Historians.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Reception which the Inca gave to the Embassy of the Spaniards.

BUT now to reassume again the Thread of our History, We say, That the Major General which was sent out to receive *Hernando Pizarro*, and *Hernando de Soto*, having performed his Complements, and adored them with profound Veneration, turned to his Captains, and Souldiers, and declared to them, that these were the Sons of their God *Viracocha*; at which the *Indians* made them a low Reverence, beholding with great admiration their Aspect, Habit and Voice, and so accompanied them to the Presence of the *Inca*: The *Spaniards* being entred, were much astonish'd to behold the greatness and Riches of the Royal Palace, and the number of the King's Family, and Attendants; and such was the wonder of both parties, that it is not to be determined which was the greater: The Ambassadors made their Obeisance after the *Spanish* Fashion, with low Reverence to the *Inca*, who was seated in a Chair of Gold; with which the King was highly pleas'd, and standing up, he embraced them with much kindness, saying, *Capac Viracocha, Thou art welcome to my Dominions*; the which words *Blas Valera* repeats in the *Indian* Language, being very skilfull in that Tongue, the which I omit as not necessary. Then the *Inca* sat down, and Seats were brought also of Gold, which were prepared by order of the *Inca* for the Ambassadors; for they being esteemed for Kindred of the Sun, it pleas'd the *Inca* to make no difference between himself and them, and more especially, because one of them was Brother to the Governour: When they were sat, the *Inca* turning his Face towards his Kindred who attended him, Behold, said he, the very Face, Countenance, and Habit of our God *Viracocha*, in the same manner and form as the *Inca* *Viracocha*, our Ancestour described, and reported to have appeared to him. As the *Inca* was saying these things, two young Maidens, very handsome, and of the Royal Bloud, (which they called *Nuspa*), entred into the Chamber, each of them carrying two small Cups of Gold in their Hands, filled with such Liqueur as the *Incas* usually drink; and these were attended with four Youths of the same Kindred, though not of the lawfull Line, in regard their Mothers were Natives of the Kingdom of *Atahualpa*. The Maidens having bowed before the *Inca*, delivered one of the golden Cups into his Hand, and the other to *Hernando Pizarro*, as the *Inca* directed. And then *Titu Atacuchi*, who was the King's Brother, and he that was sent on this Embassy to the *Spaniards*, told *Philip*, the Interpreter, that he should acquaint them, that the *Inca* was desirous to drink with them, which, according to the custome of their Country, was an evidence of Respect, Peace and everlasting Friendship: *Hernando Pizarro* having understood the Words of the Interpreter, made a low Reverence to the *Inca*, took the Cup and drank: Then the *Inca* having drunk twice, or thrice, of his own Cup, gave the remainder to his Brother, *Titu Atacuchi*: Then he took one of those Cups which the other Maiden brought, and ordered the other to be given to *Hernando de Soto*, who did the same thing as his Companion had done before him, and the *Inca* having drank twice, or thrice, as before, gave the remainder to his Uncle, called *Choquehuamam*. Having thus drank, the Ambassadors began to declare their Message, but the King desired them to desist for a while, that he might behold and admire the form and figure he saw in them of his God *Viracocha*, and at that instant six Boys, and six Girls, very well habited, came in, bringing green and dry Fruits, of several sorts, with their finest Bread, and Wine made of the Seed of the Tree *Mulli*, and with them they brought very fine Towels made of Cotton, because Flax did not grow in their Country; then one of the Maidens

Maidens, called *Pillen Cica Nefta*, made a Speech to the new Guests, and said, *O you who are Sons of Capac Inca Viracocha, taste of these things which we bring you, which will be a great contentment and satisfaction to us.* The *Spaniards* admired much to see such Civility and Courtesie in a people whom they reputed barbarous, and to live in all bestiality and filthiness; wherefore, that they might not seem to contemn or flight that Courtesie which they so freely offered, they ate something of what they had set before them, and then said it was sufficient, with which the *Indians* were highly satisfied.

CHAP. XX.

The Speech of the Ambassadors, and the Answer of the Inca.

Silence being now made, *Hernando Pizarro* desired *Hernando de Soto* to speak and deliver his Message, for that more time was not to be lost, and likewise that he would be as short and succinct as he could, that so they might return again that night, and lodge with their Companions, for that it was not prudence to confide much in those People, who were Infidels, and who perhaps might fiew them such Courtesie the more easily to ensnare and betray them: So then *Hernando de Soto* rising up, made his Reverence after the *Castilian* manner, and uncovering his Head, sat down again, and then said.

"Most serene *Inca*, You are to understand, that in this World there are two supreme Princes, one is the Pope, who is High Priest, and sits in the Place and Tribunal of God, the other is Emperour of the *Romans*, called *Charles* the 5th. King of *Spain*, who having understood the blind Ignorance in which the Natives of these your Kingdoms live, despising the true God, who is the Maker of Heaven and Earth, bestowing the Worship due unto him upon his Creatures, and upon the Devil himself, who deceive and delude them, have sent their Governour and Captain General, *Don Francisco Pizarro*, with his Companions, and some Priests, who are the Ministers of God, to teach your Highness, and your Subjects, the Divine Truth, and his holy Law; and for this Reason it is, that they have undertaken this long Journey to your Country; where having received effects of your Bounty from your liberal Hand, they entred yesterday into *Cassamarca*, and this day they have sent us to your Highness, with Offers of Peace and Concord, which shall endure for ever between us, that so receiving us under your Faith and Protection, we may have leave to preach our Law, and that your Subjects may hear and understand the Gospel, which will be of great Honour, as also of Benefit and Salvation to your Souls.

And on this occasion *Blas Valera*, who was a very religious and zealous Man for the Salvation of those poor Gentiles, doth very much lament that those important Words of *Hernando de Soto* should fall to the ground for want of a good Interpreter, learned in both Languages, and one who was affected with such inward Charity, as might have moved his Heart with efficacy to have explicated the force of those Words. But, alas, it was the misfortune of that Empire, and of the first Conquerours to have no better an Interpreter than this *Philip*, who was such an ignorant Sot, as not to be able to render the sense either on one side, or the other, but rather gave things to be understood in a different manner, and with that barbarity as spoiled the Honour and Dignity of the Embassy, of which both the *Inca* and Stangers-by were sensible, finding that the Words of

the Interpreter were of a contrary sense to the matter discoursed, which caused the *Inca* to say, *This stammering Fellow runs from one word to another, without understanding, and from one error to another, that his Silence were better than his Words.* Which Expressions of the *Inca* were more significant in the *Indian* than in the *Spanish* Language. And also the Captains and Lords being sensible of the Defects of the Interpreter, did attribute the ill Expressions, and want of Sense to his Ignorance, and not to want of Understanding in the Ambassadors, whom they esteemed for Gods, and adored them for such, and accordingly the *Inca* returned this Answer to the Ambassadors.

"I am much pleased, (said he) Divine Lords, that you and your Companions are in my days come into these remote Countries, that so I might see those Prophecies and Prognostications fulfilled which our Ancestours have left us, though in reality my Soul hath much more reason to be sad, when I consider that the end of our Empire approaches, of which, according to ancient Predictions, your coming is a Forerunner, and yet I cannot but say that these times are blessed, in which our God *Viracocha* hath sent such happy Guests, which shall transform the State of our Government into a better condition, of which Change and Alteration we have certain assurance from the Tradition of our Ancestours, and the Words of the last Testament of our Father *Huayna Capac*; for which Reason, though we had certain Intelligence of your entrance into our Country, and the Fortifications you made in it, and of the Slaughter you committed in *Puna*, *Tumbez*, and other parts, yet neither I, nor my Captains, have entred into any Consultation, how, or in what manner, we might expell you from hence, because we hold and believe, that you are the Sons of our great God *Viracocha*, and Messengers of the *Pachacamac*; for which cause, and in confirmation of what my Father delivered us, we have made it a Law, and published it in the Schools of *Cusco*, that none shall dare to take up Arms against you, or offend you; wherefore you may doe with us as you please, it being Glory sufficient for us to die by your hands, whom we esteem the Divine Messengers of God, by whom you must be sent, considering the Actions you have already performed: Onely I desire to be satisfied in one doubt, How comes it to pass, as you say, that you come to treat of Friendship, and a perpetual Peace, in the Name of the two before mentioned Princes, and yet on the other side, without so much as any Summons, or sending to treat with us, or know our Will or Pleasure towards you, you have committed such outrages and slaughters in the Countries through which you have passed? I conceive that the two Princes which employed you, have given you such Commission to act with such severity against us, without any fault of ours; and I imagine that the *Pachacamac* hath so commanded them to proceed, wherefore I say again, Doe your pleasure with us; onely I beseech you to have compassion upon my poor Relations, whose Death and Misfortunes will grieve me more than my own.

The *Inca* having ended his Speech, all his Attendants which stood round about him, were so affected with his last Words, which declared the loss of the Empire, that they shed many Tears, with an abundance of Sighs and Groans, for what the *Inca* had now pronounced concerning the Destruction of his Empire, he had at other times formerly repeated. And whereas his Father *Huayna Capac* had uttered this Prophecy, and mentioned the time to be short, and ready to be fulfilled; *Atahualpa* thought of nothing else, but concluded the Fate unavoidable, and the Decree of the great *Pachacamac* not to be resisted; the which superstitious opinion being fixed, and impressed in his Mind, was the cause that the *Spaniards* so easily conquered and subdued his Country, and debased his Soul and Spirit at the presence of the *Spaniards*; amongst the rest of the Company, which was present with the *Inca*, were two Accountants, or Historians, who with their Knots made certain Ciphers, describing or figuring all the passages of that Audience, with the Words of *Hernando de Soto*, and with the Answer of the *Inca*, though all was very ill expressed by the Interpreter.

The Ambassadors were much astonished to see the Lamentations, and hear the Cries of the Lords and Captains there present, and yet observed a steadiness and constancy in the Countenance of the *Inca*, and not knowing the cause and reason

reason of so much sadness, were touched with compassion and sorrow for them. And here *Blas Valera* much bewails the want of a good Interpreter, that might, by a true and faithfull understanding of all that was said, have given better satisfaction, both to the *Indians*, and to the *Spaniards*; for when the Ambassadors, heard talk of the Slaughters and Outrages committed in *Puna*, and *Tumpiz*, they were apprehensive that the *Inca* had entertained some thoughts of Revenge; for the Interpreter neither knew how to render the Words of the *Inca*, nor the Answer of the Ambassadors.

And now the Ambassadors desired leave of the *Inca* to depart, and return to their Companions; which was readily granted them, the *Inca* saying, That they might depart in peace, and that he would speedily go into *Callamarca*, to visit the Sons of the God *Viracocha*, and the Messengers from the *Pachacamac*. The *Spaniards* departing out of the King's Palace, could not but again admire the Riches of it, and the Adoration and Worship which the people shewed towards them; for as they were going to mount their Horses, two *Curacas*, with their Servants, came to them, desiring that they would not disdain to accept a small Present, though unworthy the acceptance of such Gods, or Godlike Men, as they were, laying before them Riches of like quality as before, though in much more abundance, such as Vessels of Gold and Silver, with Ingots of Gold, and Wedges of Silver unwrought.

The *Spaniards* being strangely astonished at this excess of Courtesie, began to quit all fears and suspicions of any ill Designs of the *Indians* towards them, blaming again the ignorance of their Interpreter, who for want of Expressions had betrayed them to many Errors, as he did afterwards to many others, as will appear in the sequel of this History.

CHAP. XXI.

How the two Spaniards returned again to their Companions, and how they prepared themselves to receive the Inca.

THE two Ambassadors being returned, made a relation of all the Riches and Greatness they had seen in the Palace of the *Inca*, and of the Courtesie they had received, which appeared by the Presents, of which a share was divided to every Person. Notwithstanding all which, like good Souldiers, and cautious Men, they prepared their Horses and Arms, not knowing the occasion they might have for them the day following; and though they well knew the multitudes which accompanied *Atahualpa*, yet like brave *Spaniards*, they were not in the least dismayed, but prepared to receive them; wherefore so soon as it was day, the Cavalry ranged themselves in three Divisions, of twenty in a Troop, for they were not in all above sixty in number; the Commanders, or Captains of them, were *Hernando Picarro*, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Sebastian de Betalcazar*, who at first concealed themselves under two old Walls, that for their sudden Sally might give the greater fear and surprize to the *Indians*. The Governour himself was supported with an hundred Foot-Souldiers, which in all exceeded not that number, and for their better encouragement, he put himself in the Head of them, on the side of the *Tampu*, which was like a great field, where they placed themselves to expect the coming of the King *Atahualpa*, who soon after appeared, being carried in a Chair of Gold on the Shoulders of his People, with such pomp, and Majesty both of Servants and Courtiers, as evidenced his greatness in Power, and War; be-

fore

fore his Chair came great multitudes of People, who gathered up the Stones, and cleared all the ways of Rubbish, or Impediments, which might hinder his Chair-Men in the way, or cause them to stumble; with him also came great Attendants of the Nobility. His Guards were divided into four Squadrons, consisting of eight thousand Men; the first Division, which was the Van-guard, marched before the King, like Scouts, or Officers, to clear and secure the ways; two others marched on each side, like the Wings of an Army, as Guards of his Person; and a fourth marched in the reere: The Captain, or Commander in Chief of them, was called *Ruminavi*, which signifies an Eye of Stone, from a Pearl or Catarack which grew in his Eye. In this order *Atahualpa* marched for the space of a League, which was the distance between his Palace and the Quarters of the *Spaniards*; in going of which he was more than four hours, and came not, as we shall see hereafter, with an intention to fight, but to understand the substance of the Embassy, which was brought to him from the Pope, and the Emperour. *Atahualpa* was informed, That the *Spaniards* were not able to walk up any ascent, or steep Hill, and that their Footmen either got up behind the Horses, or held fast by the Pectorals of the Saddles, and so were drawn, as it were, whensoever they attempted to mount any steep Ascents; and that they were not able to run like the *Indians*, or endure any labour or fatigue like them; with this opinion, and with a fancy that the *Spaniards* were of Divine Race, *Atahualpa* marched without any jealousy or suspicion of that which afterwards succeeded. When the King saw the *Spanish* Infantry in so small a number, and that, as if they had been fearful, they had taken advantage of a Rock to defend themselves, he said to his People, *These are the Messengers of God, to whom we must be careful to give no offence, but rather receive and treat them with all Courtesie and Respect: Which being said, a certain Dominican Friar, called Vicente de Valverde, taking a Crucifix in his hand, approached the Inca to speak to him in the Name of the Emperour.*

CHAP. XXII.

Wherein is repeated the Speech which the Friar Vicente de Valverde, made to the Inca Atahualpa.

Blas Valera, who was a faithfull and curious Collectour of all Passages and Transactions of those times, repeats unto us the whole Speech at large, which Friar *Vicente* made to *Atahualpa*; the Speech consisted of two parts, and, as *Valera* saith, that when he was at *Truxillo*, he saw it translated into Latin, and writ with the proper Hand-writing of Friar *Vicente*; which afterwards *Diego de Olivares*, who was one of the Conquerours, had gotten; and he being dead, it came to the hands of a Kinsman of mine; so that having had opportunity often to read it, I got it by heart, and by my memory am able to insert it here in the same form as *Blas Valera* writes it, who hath set it down more at large, and more distinctly than any other Historian: Wherefore to proceed; when Friar *Vicente* came near to speak to the *Inca*, *Atahualpa* did much admire to see such a Figure of a Man, so different in Habit from all the others, his Beard and Crown being shaven, after the Fashion of Friars; it seemed strange to him also, to see him accost him with a Cross of Palms, and a Book in his hand, which some say was a Breviary, others a Bible, others a Missal. The King, that he might be informed of the manner how he was to treat this Friar, asked one of those three *Indians*, to whom he had committed the charge to provide the *Spaniards* with all things necessary, of what quality this Friar was, whether he was greater, or inferior, or equal with the other *Spaniards*? to which the poor simple *Indian* knew

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to

to make no other reply, than that he seemed to be a Captain or Guider of the Word, (he might mean perhaps a Preacher) or Minister of the supreme God, or Messenger of the *Pachacamac*, and that he was of different quality to the others. Then Friar *Vicente* having made a low Obeisance and Reverence, according to the manner of Religious Men, with permission of the King, he made him this following Speech.

The Firft Part of the Speech of Friar *Vicente de Valverde.*

IT is necessary for you to know, (most famous and powerfull King) and also for all your Subjects, who are desirous to learn the Catholick Faith, that you and they both hear and believe the things which follow.

First that God, who is three, and yet one, created Heaven and Earth, and all the things which are in this World. That he gives the Reward of Eternal Life to those that doe well, and punishes the evill with everlasting Torments. That this God at the beginning of the World made Man of the Dust of the Earth, and breathed into him the Spirit of Life, which we call the Soul, which God made after his own Image and likeness; by which it appears, that the whole Man consists of Body, and a rational Soul.

From the first Man, whom God called Adam, all Mankind, which is in this World, is descended, and from him we take the original and beginning of our Nature. That this Adam sinned, by breaking the Commandment of his Creatour, and in him all Men that have been born since his time are under sin, and so shall be to the end of the World; for neither Man, nor Woman, is free from this original Sin, nor can be, excepting onely our Lord Jesus Christ, who being the Son of the onely true God, descended from Heaven, and was born from the Virgin Mary, that so he might redeem and free all Mankind from the Subjection of Sin; and finally he dyed for our Salvation upon the Croft, which was a piece of Wood, in form of this which I hold in my Hands, for which reason, we that are Christians do adore and reverence it.

This Jesus by his own power arose from the dead, and forty Days after he ascended into Heaven, where he now sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. After which he left his Apostles upon the Earth, who were his Successours, who by their Words and Admonitions, and other holy means, might bring men to the Knowledge and Worship of God, and Observation of his Laws.

Of these Apostles St. Peter was constituted Chief, as are also his Successours of all other succeeding Apostles, and of all Christians, and as St. Peter was God's Vicar, or Vicegerent, so after him were all the Popes of Rome, who are endued with that supreme Authority which God hath given them; and which they have, and do, and shall for ever exercise with much sanctity and care, for propagation of the Gospell, and guiding Men according to the Word of God.

The Second Part of the Speech of Friar *Vicente de Valverde.*

FOR which reason the Pope of Rome, who is the High Priest now living, having understood that all the People and Nations of these Kingdoms, leaving the Worship of the true Maker of all things, do brutishly worship Idols, and the Images of Devils; and being willing to draw them to the knowledge of the true God, hath granted the Conquest of these Parts to Charles the 5th, Emperour of the Romans, who is the most powerfull King of Spain, and Monarch of all the Earth, that so he having brought the Kings, and Lords, and People of these parts, under his Subjection and Dominion, and having destroyed the rebellious and disobedient, he may govern and rule these Nations, and reduce them to the knowledge of God, and to the obedience of the Church.

And though our most potent King be employed in the Government of his vast Kingdoms and Dominions, yet he received this Grant of the Pope, and refused not the trouble for the good and for the salvation of these Nations; and accordingly hath sent his Captains and Souldiers to execute his Commands, as he did for the Conquest of those great Islands and Countries which are adjoining to Mexico; and having subiected them by force of Arms, hath reduced them to the acknowledgment of the true Religion of Jesus Christ, for the same God hath commanded, that so it should be.

For which reason the Emperour Charles the 5th. hath chosen for his Ambassadour, and Lieutenant Don Francisco de Picarro, (who is here present) that so the Kingdoms of your Highness may receive all the benefits of Religion; and that a firm Peace and Alliance may be concluded and established between His Majesty and Your Highness; on condition that your Highness, and all your Kingdom become Tributaries, that is, paying a Tribute to the Emperour, Thon maist become his Subject, and delivering up your Kingdom, and all the Administration and Government thereof, Thon shalt doe as other Kings and Lords have already done, and have the same quarter and conditions with them. This is the first point: Now as to the second: When this Peace and Alliance is established, and that thou hast submitted either voluntarily, or by constraint, then thou art to yield true and faithfull Obedience to the Pope, who is the High-Priest, and thou art to receive and believe the Faith of Jesus Christ our God. Thon art also to reject and totally to abandon the abominable Superstition of Idols, which being done, we shall then make known to you the Sanctity and Truth of our Law; and the Falsity of yours, the invention and contrivance of which proceeded from the Devil. All which, O King, if Thon wilt believe me, Thon oughtest to receive with readinesse and good-will, being a matter of great importance to thy self, and to thy people; for if thou shouldst deny, and refuse to obey, Thon wilt be persecuted with the Fire and Sword of War, untill we have constrained thee by force of Arms, to renounce thy Religion; for willingly or unwillingly Thon must receive our Catholick Faith, and with surrender of thy Kingdom pay a Tribute to our Emperour; but in case thou shouldst contend, and make resistance with an obstinate mind, be assured, that God will deliver thee up, as he did anciently Pharaoh, who, with his whole Army, perished in the red Sea; and so shalt Thon, and all thy Indians, perish, and be destroyed by our Arms.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Difficulty there was to interpret the sense and meaning of this Speech of Friar Vicente de Valverde.

UPON this Speech *Blas Valera* makes some Reflexions, in order to the better understanding of his History; saying, that the Historians which treat of these matters make mention of this Speech of the Friar, but howsoever with some variety, for some leave out the first part, and others the second, and some have abbreviated it in their Relations. But howsoever *Blas Valera* saith, that *John de Oliva*, and *Christopher de Medina*, who were Priests, and skilfull in the Indian Language, and several other Writers, have specified this Speech at large in both parts, as spoken by Friar *Vincent*; and they all agree, that it was a most tart and rude Speech, without any mixture of sweetness or allurements whatsoever, and that the Interpretation thereof was much worse, as we shall see hereafter; and that the Authours do much more approve the Speech which *Hernando de Soto* and *Pizarro* made to *Atahualpa*, being more gentle, and modest, than the sharp, and ill-natured Speech of Friar *Vincent*.

And now as to the Interpretation which was made to King *Atahualpa* of these Words, we may believe it was very imperfect and corrupt; for this *Philip the Indian*, who was all the Interpreter they had, was a Native of the Island of *Puna*, and born of common and blockish Parents, and was scarce arrived to the age of twenty two years, and was not only ill learned in the *Spanish*, but also in the general Tongue, spoken by the *Incas* at *Cuzco*, which is different from that used in *Tumbez*; for as we have said at the beginning, the Language of *Cuzco* is more refined, in respect of all other *Indians*, whose Language is barbarous and corrupt. And moreover this Interpreter had learned his *Spanish* of himself, without Rule, and some Words onely which he had gotten up amongst the Souldiers, and lewd People, such as zounds, and dammee, and the like; and besides he was but a Servant to the *Spaniards*, and learned onely to speak like the Negroes, and though he had been baptised, yet he was ignorant of all the Principles of Religion, having neither knowledge of Christ our Lord, nor of the Apostles Creed.

This was all the Education and Learning which our first Interpreter had in *Peru*, and accordingly the Translations he made out of *Spanish* were all imperfect, and of a contrary sense; not that he made his mistakes voluntarily from malice, but from ignorance, speaking, like a Parrot, things that he did not understand; as for example, when he was to declare, and explain the nature of the Trinity, as that God was three, and yet one, he would say, God was three, and one, that is four, the which appears by their *Lequins*, which is their Knots used in the Countrey of *Casamarca*, where these Affairs passed; and indeed he was much to blame, if we consider, that in the *Peruvian* Language they have no words to express the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, Faith, Grace, the Church, the Sacraments, and other Words of the like Mysteries; for which reason the *Spaniards*, who study that Language in our times, and endeavour to express their mystical Notions, are forced to coin new words most accommodated to the reason of this people, and to the manner of Expressions of the most intelligent *Indians*, who having understood something of the *Spanish* Language and Learning, have of themselves framed new Words to supply the defects of their Speech, whereby the Preachers are now able to express any thing in conformity to the understanding of their Auditory. We have upon divers occasions given several Instances of the Barrenness and Defects of the *Peruvian* Language; and therefore we ought not to lay the sole blame on our first Interpreter; for even in these our Days, which are twenty nine Years, since that time, there are almost as many gross mistakes made by our present Interpreters, as were by *Philipillo*, who never conversed with the *Spaniards* in other Language than his own. In short, I say, that I never knew an *Indian* who spake good *Spanish*, but

but two Youths onely, who were my School-fellows, and from their childhood went to School, and learned to read and write *Spanish*: One of which was called *Carlos*, the Son of *Paully Inca*; besides these two, I have observed so little curiosity in the *Indians* to learn the *Spanish* Tongue, that I never knew any of them who addicted himself to the study either of writing or reading thereof, and never exercised any other means than what came by mere converse, and common discourse; nor were the *Spaniards* on the other side more studious in learning the *Indian* Tongue; which neglect was so great both in one and the other Nation, that those *Indian* Boys, who were educated with me, did never arrive to any farther knowledge, than of common and familiar words; and when any thing was to be taught them of higher matters, I was constrained to express them in the natural terms of their own Language.

And if the ignorance and little improvement in the knowledge of these Tongues was to be blamed in both Nations, after twenty nine years conversation and acquaintance one with the other, how little blame then ought we to object unto this Interpreter, for want of skilfulness in the Tongues, when first the *Spaniards* entered into these Countries: Nay how little ought *Philipillo*, and the good Friar *Valverde*, to be reproached for their unskilfulness in these Tongues at the beginning, when now after eighty years that the *Indian* Empire hath been subdued, there still want words in the *Indian* Language to express the Mysteries of our Holy Faith. As appears by a Catechism which Friar *Diego de Alcobaca* printed and published in the year 1585, in three Languages, viz. in *Spanish*, in the general Language of *Cuzco*, and in the Tongue peculiarly belonging to the Province of *Aymara*; whereby it appears, that neither of the two last Tongues had words sufficient to express Theological terms without using the *Spanish*, making them terms of Art adjoynted to the *Indian*: As for example, in the second Question of the Catechism; *Art thou a baptised Christian?* the common Translation hath it, *Batizafcha Chucanqui?* Whereby it appears, that the word *Canqui* is the onely *Indian* word, but the word *Batizafcha* is made *Indian* out of the *Spanish*. In like manner the fourth Question is, *Dost thou know the Christian Doctrine?* the word do you know is *Indian*, but the other two words are formed from the *Spanish*. Besides which there are innumerable other words in the *Indian* Tongue derived from the *Spanish*, which for brevity sake we omit; and therefore we shall instance in these few words onely, which are taught to the *Indians* in the proper *Spanish* words; and are these: *God* *Jesus Christ*, *Our Lady*, *an Image*, *the Cross*, *a Priest*, *Domingo*, *a Feast* or *Holy-day*, *Religion*, *the Church*, *Repentance*, *to Communicate*, *to Pray*, *to Fast*, *Married*, *a Batchellor* or *single Person*, *amancebado*, or *one who keeps a Woman*, with many other like words in the Catechism. And though it be true that some of these words, and others of the like nature, might be expressed in the *Indian* Tongue, as the Name of *God*, &c. Howsoever it was with great prudence, and religiously determined in charity to the Souls of these people, to cover the Mysteries of the Christian Faith, with Christian words; lest these people, being newly converted from their Gentilism, and being taught Christianity in their own words, should retain the same superstitious notions of God, and other things according to the primary impressions of their Idolatry; and therefore it was judged necessary to instruct them with new words, that so, if possible, the very Memory of their superstitions might be totally abolished.

Having thus excused *Philipillo*, and Friar *Valverde*, from blame for their bad interpretation; we must add, that the interpretation he made of the Friar's Sermon, served rather to obscure than elucidate his sense; for when he came to explicate the Generation of Mankind, and original Sin by *Adam's* fall; that instead of saying, That all the World sinned in *Adam*, he would say, That all the World heaped their Sins upon *Adam*. And then speaking of the Divinity of Christ our Lord, he said, He was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would speak of the Virginity, Purity, and Sanctity of our Lady the Virgin *Mary*, he said nothing to the purpose, interpreting every thing almost in a contrary sense to the Catholick Doctrine.

Coming to the second Part of the Speech delivered by *Valverde*, he made some fewer errors and mistakes than in the first, because that the matter concerned more exteriour things, such as War and Arms, which were more obvious to the sense; on which occasion he extolled the Power and Magnanimity of the Emperor, and his industry in sending Captains and Souldiers to conquer the World; the

the which was so ill expressed, that the *Indians* believed he was Superiour to all, as well in Heaven as on Earth. Many other things he declared, which were as ill understood as those preceding, which for brevity sake we pass by and omit. And here *Blas Valera* takes notice of a most certain and observable truth; that to this day, though the *Indian* Children which are bred up and educated with our Youth, so that *Spanish* is become almost their natural Language, or at least as easie to them as the *Indian*; and are very well instructed and catechised in the Principles and Mysteries of the Christian Faith, yet dare not presume to explicate the Doctrines of our Religion to the *Indians* in their own Language, for fear lest the barrenness of their Tongue should not be able to reach the height of our mysterious Faith, and thereby administer occasion to them of many errors and mistakes. So that if in these late days, wherein Men are both instructed in our Learning, and practised in both Languages, such difficulties do arise in this matter; what incongruities, what nonsense, and what *Chimeras* may we imagine, were at first uttered, when Men endeavoured to express sublime Mysteries with a babling and an imperfect Tongue?

CHAP. XXIV.

The Answer which Atahualpa gave to the Friar's Speech.

WHEN *Atahualpa* understood the conclusion of the Speech, which was, That by fair means, or foul, he was to renounce and quit his Kingdoms, and to remain a Tributary Prince, for so was the command of the Pope, and the pleasure of the Emperour; and when they threatened him with fire and sword, as appeared by the signs they made, by brandishing their Arms; and that it seemed as if nothing was prepared but ruine and destruction for himself and his Army, like that of *Pharaoh*, he became extremely sad and melancholy, believing that those whom they called *Viracochas* (for they conceived that the *Spaniards* were Gods) were turned from them, and become their mortal Enemies; and therewith he fetched a deep sigh, and cried *Atac*, which is as much as Oh most unhappy and miserable; which wofull groan was an evidence of the sorrow he conceived at the conclusion of the Friar's Sermon: But at length recollecting himself, he answered in the manner following.

Though you have denied me all the requests I made to your Messengers, yet it would be a great satisfaction to me, to grant me the favour only to express your selves by a more skillful and faithfull Interpreter, because the Manners and political Lives of Men are better understood by discourse, than by signs or actions; for though you may be Men endued with extraordinary virtues and abilities, yet unless you make them appear to me by words and discourse, I shall never be made capable to understand them by outward signs and gestures: For if there be a necessity of a common Language between Nations, who desire commerce and conversation together, much more is it requisite between people so remote as we are; for indeed to treat by Interpreters ignorant of both Tongues, is like the inarticulate sound of domestick Animals; and such, O Man of God, seems this discourse thou hast made me by this Interpreter. And now, so far as I understand, methinks the discourse seems much different to what your Ambassadors lately propounded, for they treated of nothing but Peace and Friendship, of Alliance and Consanguinity; but now all the Words of this Indian are nothing but Menaces of Wars, and Death, and Fire, and Sword, with the Extirpation and Banishment of the Incas, and their Progeny; and that I must voluntarily, or by force, renounce a right to my Kingdom, and become Tributary to another. From whence I collect one of these two things; that either you and your Prince are Tyrants, and rave about to plunder the World, and to dispossess others of their Kingdoms, killing and spoiling those who owe you nothing, and have never offered you injury or violence; or otherwise you are the Ministers of God (called by us *Pachacamac*)

camac) whom he hath sent to visit us with vengeance and destruction. And if it be so, both I and my Vassals do offer our selves to death, and to what punishment soever you will inflict upon us; not for fear, or out of any dread we have of your Menaces or Arms, but in compliance with the Commands enjoined us by my Father *Huayna Capac* at the time of his death; which was, that we should serve and honour a Nation with Beards like your selves, which were to enter into these parts after his days, and of which he prophesied some years before your Ships coasted about our Countrey, and whom he declared to be Men of better Laws, of more refined Customs, more wise and more valiant than our selves.

Wherefore to fulfill the Prophecy and Testament of my Father, we style you *Viracochas*, understanding thereby, that you are the Messengers of the Great God *Viracocha*, whose Will and Pleasure, just Indignation, Arms and Power, we are unable to resist; and yet we are assured, that he is all Goodness and Mercy: And for that reason you, who are his Ministers and Executioners of his Will, ought to abstain from such Robberies, Slaughter and Violence, as you have committed in *Tumpiz* and the adjacent Countries.

In the next place, your Interpreter acquaints me of five great Personages, whom I am to acknowledge. The first is God, who is three and one, that is four, whom you call the Creator of this Universe; which perhaps may be the same, whom we call *Pachacamac* and *Viracocha*. The second is the Father of all Mankind, on whom all other Men have heaped their Sins. The third you call *Jesus Christ*, who was the only Person excepted, who did not cast his Sins on the first Man, but that he dyed. The fourth you name is the Pope. The fifth is *Charles*, whom, in comparison with others, you call the most Powerfull Monarch of the Universe, and the Supreme Lord of all: But then if *Charles* be the Prince and Lord of the World, what need was there for the Pope to give a new Grant, and another Commission to make War upon me, and Usurp my Kingdoms? for consequently the Pope must be a greater Prince than he, and the most powerfull of any in the World. But I cannot but most admire at what you say, that I am obliged to pay Tribute to *Charles* onely, and not to others; the which you allege without giving me any reason, and indeed I cannot conceive on what score I am obliged to pay it; for if I were bound to pay Tribute and Service to any, methinks it should be to that God, who, you say, created all things; and to that first Man, who was the Father of all Mankind, and to that *Jesus Christ* who had no Sins to impute unto him; and, in fine, if Tribute were to be given, it should rather be unto the Pope, who hath Power and Authority to dispose of my Kingdoms, and my Person. And if you say that I owe nothing unto any of these, I should imagine that I owe much less unto *Charles*, who was never Lord of these Countries, nor ever saw them. And if the Pope's Grant and Concession be obligatory to me, it were just and reasonable to declare it to me, before you threaten me with War, and Fire, and Sword, and Death; for I am not so void of understanding and sense, as not to obey the Pope, in case you can shew me reason, and justice, and cause for it.

Moreover, I desire to be informed who that good Man *Jesus Christ* was, who, you say, never laid his Sins on another, but that he dyed. I would gladly know, whether he dyed of a natural death, or by the hands of his Enemies; and whether he was numbered amongst the Gods before his death, or afterwards.

And farther I desire to be informed, whether these five which you highly honour, are adored by you for Gods; for if it be so, you hold more for Gods, than we, who acknowledge no other than the *Pachacamac*, who is the Supreme, and the Sun, who is inferior to him, and the Moon, who is his Sister and Wife. In which doubtful Questions I heartily desire to be truly resolved by some other more able and faithfull Interpreter, that so I may be made more capable thereby to know and obey your Will and Commands.

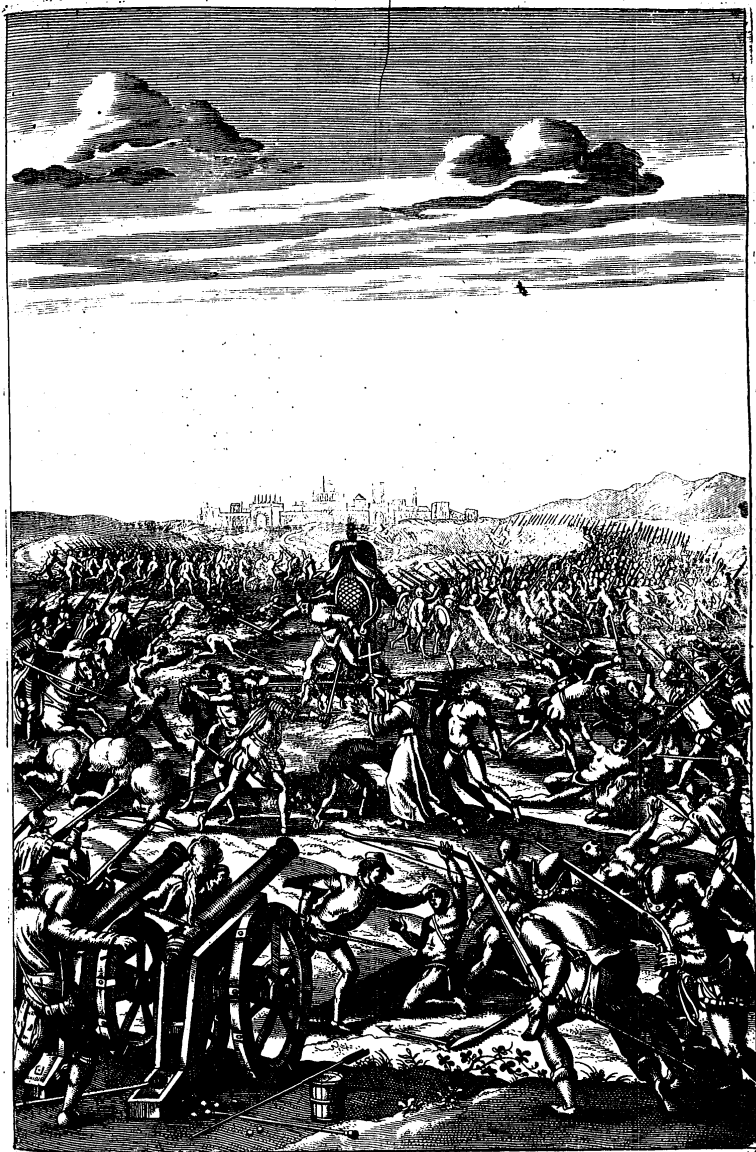
CHAP.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the great tumult and disturbance which happened between the Indians and the Spaniards.

THE *Inca* observing the inability of the Interpreter, endeavoured to assist him in expressing his Answer: First, by uttering his Speech by short periods, causing him to express one thing, before he proceeded to another; and, secondly, he spake in the Language of *Chincafsay*, which the Interpreter understood better than the Language of *Cuzco*; by which means *Philippillo* did better express the sense and intention of the *Inca*, though he did it in a most barbarous manner. So soon as the *Inca* had ended his discourse, the Keepers of the *Quipu* were commanded to note the sense and particulars of all things delivered by their Knots, which were the only cypher they had whereby to conserve their traditions to future Ages.

By this time the *Spaniards* growing weary of this long and tedious discourse, began to quit their places, and come up close to the *Indians*, to fight with them, and rob them of their Jewels of Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones, with which they had that day decked themselves, that in a solemn manner they might appear in their finery, to receive the Embassy which was sent them from the Universal Monarch of the World: Some *Spaniards* also climbed a little Tower to plunder an Idol, which they had adorned with Plates of Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones; the which outrage caused great noise and tumult amongst the *Indians*; which when the *Inca* perceived, he cried out with a loud voice to his people, that they should neither hurt, nor offend the *Spaniards*, though they should take or kill their King himself. On which passage *Blas Valera* takes occasion to say, That as God by the presence of Queen *Eshor* mollified the Spirit of King *Ahasuerus*; so by means of the Holy Cross, which the good Friar *Valverde* held in his hand, he charmed the Spirit of this Cholerick and Warlike Prince *Atahualpa*, not only to a degree of gentleness, and quiet temper, but even to an entire submission, and humble resignation: the which we ought to attribute to a Miracle of the divine Mercy; for God designing to reduce this people to a knowledge of the true Doctrine of the Holy Gospel, was pleased by this, and other miraculous instances, which we shall find scattered in divers places of this History, to operate on the Spirits of this barbarous people. Some Writers blame Friar *Valverde* for this disorder, saying, that he moved the *Spaniards* thereunto, and encouraged them to lay hands on their Weapons, requiring them to do justice, and take revenge for the affront which the King had given them, by throwing the Book on the ground which the Friar had put into his hand; and some say this could not be the cause, for that neither the Friar delivered a Book into the hands of the King, nor did he receive it: But the truth of all was this, Friar *Valverde* startled at a sudden out-cry of the *Indians*, arose up on a sudden from the seat on which he sat, discoursing with the King; and running in haste, his Book, and the Cross which he held in his hand, fell on the ground; and then catching them up again, he ran with speed, crying to his Companions, that they should offer no hurt to the *Indians*, for that *Atahualpa* was kind and well affected towards them, and that he observed by his Answers, and demands his good intentions, to satisfy them in all matters according to his capacity; but the noise and out-cry of the people was such, that the voice of the Friar was not heard amongst them. And here it is to be noted, that it is not true what some Historians report of *Atahualpa*, that he should say, "You believe that Christ is God, and that he died: I adore the Sun and the Moon, which are immortal: And who taught you, that your God created the Heaven and the Earth?" To which *Valverde* made answer, This Book hath taught it to us: Then the King took it in his hand, and opening the Leaves, laid it to his Ear; and not hearing it speak to him, he threw it upon the ground. Upon which, they say, that the Friar starting



"starting up, ran to his Companions, crying out, that the Gospel was despised, and trampled under foot; Justice and Revenge upon those who condemn our Law, and refuse our Friendship. In like manner, it is fabulous what they write of the *Inca*, that he should say that he was free, and owed not Tribute to any, for that he knew no King superior to himself. I should be glad to be a friend to the Emperour, who hath evidenced his Power and Greatness in sending Armies into Countries so remote; but as to what you mention of Obedience to the Pope, I cannot understand the Reasons which should oblige me to a subjection unto him: For he who pretends to transfer another's right unto his friends, and commands me to quit and renounce the Kingdom, which I hold by Inheritance, to I know not whom, shews himself a Man of little understanding, and less justice. And as to the change of my Religion, of which I am in my conscience satisfied, and believe to be Holy; it would be dishonourable, and as folly in me, to question the truth thereof, which by ancient tradition, and undoubted testimony, hath been approved by my Ancestours.

All which I say was false, and framed by the mistakes and flattery of Writers; for *Atahualpa* never questioned the right of paying Tribute, but only insisted on the Reasons why, and wherefore it was due, and expected from him; which demands, or questions, put the *Indians* into a combustion. The Commander in chief of the *Spaniards* and Captains under him, sent notwithstanding the former relation which they had forged unto the Emperour, and forbid all people under severe penalties to make any other report or narrative of what had passed in this particular: the truth of which is, as I have related it, and which may be proved not only by the Historical, or Hieroglyphical Knots of the Province of *Cashamarca*, but by the testimony of several of those Conquerours, who were then present at those transactions. *Blas Valera* saith, That one of them was his own Father, from whom he hath often heard it confirmed. In short, we say that 5000 *Indians* were killed that day, 3500 of which were slain with the Sword, the rest were old and infirm Men, and Women, and Children, which were trampled and trodden under foot, for an innumerable number of all Ages, and both Sexes, were gathered together to see the Solemnity of this strange and unheard-of Embassy. Moreover a great number of *Indians* perished under the Ruines of a Wall, which fell by force of the violent crouds of people, which pressed under the shelter of it. Two days after this defeat, the Cross was found in the same place where *Friar Valverde* had let it fall, for no *Indian* durst approach near it, because perhaps it was like that which the *Indians* adored in *Tumbez*, believing that there was some Divinity, or mysterious Power in that piece of Wood; and being ignorant of the Religion of Christ our Lord, they asked pardon for those offences by which they had provoked him to anger.

And now the *Indians* began to call to mind the ancient Prophecy, delivered by Tradition from their *Inca Viracocha*, whereby he not only foretells the change of their Laws, People and Government, but also that their superstitions and religious Rites and Ceremonies should be consumed, and perish by fire. And in regard they were ignorant of the time when these things were to be accomplished, whether now or hereafter; both the King and his People were strook with such astonishment, that they knew not what to determine; nor did they resolve on any thing either defensive to themselves, or offensive to the *Spaniards*, only they considered and worshipped them as Gods, and Messengers of the Great *Viracocha*, whom they adored under this denomination and belief. Thus far this Relation is extracted out of the Papers of *Blas Valera*, which I shall willingly quote hereafter in several parts of this following History; for he was not only a religious Man, but one very curious in finding out the truth, and sincere in laying down matters as they really were acted; in which he was not satisfied by his Enquiries from *Spaniards*, but likewise took his Informations from the *Indians* themselves: For which reason, wheresoever I find any thing of his tending to our purpose, I shall quote them as authentick for their authority; and in the mean time, cannot but much lament his lost leaves, and scattered fragments.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Authour compares his own Writings with the Histories of Spaniards.

NOW to compare what we have said with the Writings of *Spanish* Historians, we say, that the Discourse of Friar *Valverde*, and the Answer of *Atahualpa*, are delivered very brief, and in few words, in all the printed Histories: For the truth is, the General and Captains were not very sincere, or faithfull in the Narrative they gave of passages which occurred; for to put the best gloss and colour they could on their actions, they left out all their cruel and unjustifiable proceedings, and added whatsoever they judged to have the best appearance. What we have alledged concerning *Atahualpa*, how that he ordered his Subjects to resist the *Spaniards*, is confirmed by the authority of several Historians, and particularly by *Lopez de Gomara*, who in the 113th Chapter of his Book, hath these Words: "It is very observable (saith he) that though the *Indians* came all armed, yet not a Man lifted up his hand, because the word of Command was not given, nor the Signal shewed for Fight, as was agreed, in case that matters so required; for it is probable the surprize was so sudden, and the affrightment so great by the sound of the Trumpets, the Volleys of the Musquets, and roaring of the Cannon, the rushing of the Horses, and clattering of Armour; things so unknown to these poor people, as distracted them, and put them besides their understandings and reason. And a little farther he adds: Great numbers of them perished, because they did not fight, whilst ours killed them with their Daggers, flashing and stabbing them; for Friar *Valverde* advised them not to use their Swords, lest in that service they should be either blunted or broken. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*; the which is likewise confirmed by other Authours, who report, that the *Indians* fled so soon as they saw their King taken Prisoner, and that *Atahualpa* commanded them not to resist the *Spaniards*: The which we may attribute to a Miracle of God's Providence, who was pleased to conferre the Christians, and not suffer them to perish, whom he had designed to preach the Gospel: For if the *Inca* had not commanded them not to fight, certainly they would never have endured to see their Prince overthrown and taken; for having Weapons in their hands, they would rather have died all in his defence, than have suffered 160 *Spaniards* (whom they were able to have subdued with stones) to commit such Outrages upon them; instead whereof there was not one *Spaniard* either killed or wounded, unless it were *Francisco de Pizarro*, who received a little hurt to his hand by one of his own people, as he went to seize *Atahualpa*. The truth is, the *Indians* did not fight, because they held every Command of their *Inca* to be a part of their Religion, and of the divine Law, though it were to the loss of their Lives and Estates. And as to what Historians report of Friar *Valverde*, that he himself used his Weapons, and encouraged the Souldiers to kill and destroy the *Indians*, and stab them with Daggers to save their Swords, and conferre them to another opportunity, is a false report of those who wrote these passages into *Spain*, where they might easily at 3000 Leagues distance obtrude what stories they pleased on the minds of Men; for otherwise it is not to be imagined, that a religious Friar, a good Catholic, and a Divine, would utter such outrageous words of Cruelty, which became a *Nero*, rather than a Person of his Coat and Profession; and one who deserved the Dignity of a Bishop, in that he died by the hands of the *Indians*, for preaching the Catholic Faith: Which having said, let us return to the Series of our History.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

How the Spaniards took the King Atahualpa.

THE *Spanish* Horse falling forth, attacked the Squadrons of the *Indians*, and ran them through with their Lances, without any opposition, and at the same time *D. Francisco Pizarro*, and his Infantry, assailed *Atahualpa* with all their fury; for they imagined, that in case they could once make themselves Master of that Jewel, (which was the King) they should soon gain all the Treasures of *Peru*; but the *Indians* with great numbers encompassing the King's Chair, did not offend the *Spaniards*, but onely endeavoured to defend and cover their King from hurt and mischief: Howsoever the *Spaniards* wounded them on all sides, and lanced them through the sides, though they defended not themselves, onely interposed their bodies between the King and the *Spaniards*; in fine, with much slaughter they opened their way to the King; the first that came up to him was *D. Francisco Pizarro*, who laying hold on his Vestments, fell with him to the ground, though some Historians say that he took him by the Locks, which were very long; but that was a mistake, for the *Incas* wear very short Hair. In short, the *Spaniards* having overthrown *Atahualpa*, they took him Prisoner: In confirmation of which truth, *Gomara* hath these words: "There was not one *Spaniard* either killed or wounded, onely *Francisco Pizarro* received a small hurt in his hand by a blow of one of his own Souldiers, who strook at *Atahualpa* to knock him down; whence it is reported, that it was not *Pizarro*, but another which took the King Prisoner: With which Words *Gomara* ends his 113th Chapter. Now to add unto his History what he hath omitted, (as we have declared we would) we aver, that this Souldier was called *Michael Afere*, who afterwards lived in the City of *Huamanga*, where he possessed some Lands, and commanded over the *Indians*. When *Atahualpa* was fallen, this Souldier took off the coloured Wreath which encircled his Temples, the which was as his Crown or Laurel of Royalty, and kept it for his prize; which gave occasion for the report, that *Atahualpa* was taken Prisoner by the Souldier, and not by *Pizarro*; but be the matter how it will, since both were so near together, and the thing doubtfull, the Honour ought to be given to the chief Commander: Howsoever *Michael Afere* kept the coloured Wreath by him, untill the year 1557, vvhhen he bestowed it on the *Inca Sayriempac*, vvho then deserted the Mountains to vvhich he was retired, as shall be related in its due place.

The *Indians* seeing their King taken, and the *Spaniards* still pursuing them with wounds and slaughter, staid no longer, but all put themselves to flight; but not being able to make their escape by the way, (for the Horse had possessed themselves of that pass) they made towards a certain Wall, built of frozen Stone, in the time of the Great *Inca Pachacutec*, vvhen he had conquered *Cassamarca*; and being in great multitudes, and many hands, they over-turned above a hundred paces of the Wall, and climbed over the Ruines, over vvhich the Horse not being able to follow them, they escaped into the Plains. And here a certain Authour saith, that the Stones of these Walls were more tender and compassionate, than the hearts of the *Spaniards*; because that being charmed with pity for the miseries of the poor *Indians*, they trembled and fell, to make way for their flight and escape. Some Historians say, that the *Spaniards* not satisfied to see them fly, pursued and massacred them, untill the night put an end to their cruelty: And then afterwards taking the plunder of the Field, they divided the spoil vvhich consisted of Jewels, Gold, Silver, and many pretious Stones. And *Lopez de Gomara* giving a relation hereof in the 114th Chapter of his Book, saith, "That in the Palace and Bath of *Atahualpa* onely they found five thousand Women; vvhich though sorrowfull and destitute, yet they put on a cheerful countenance vvhen they saw the Christians treating them with Presents of fine Garments

"ments, with Towels, and other domestick conveniences, as also with Basons of Gold and Silver, one of which belonged to *Atabaliba*, and weighed eight Arroves of Gold (which makes two hundred weight English) and was to the value of a hundred thousand Ducats; but poor *Atabaliba* in the mean time being much incommoded by his Chains, desired *Pizarro*, that since it was his misfortune to fall into such misery, that at least they would treat him well, and ease him of that burthen. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, which I have extracted almost *verbatim*, and which are of the same sense with that which is delivered by *Augustine Carate*. To which Authours I refer my Reader, in case any person desires to read these matters more at large.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Atahualpa, or Atabaliba, promises a great Ransome to obtain his Liberty; and what Endeavours were made for him.

THE Nobility which escaped from the slaughter of *Cassamarca*, understanding that their King was alive, returned to perform their Services to him in Prison; only a certain Commander called *Ruminahui*, who was of a different opinion to all the rest, and never assented to have Peace with the *Spaniards*, or to trust them, remained behind with the Souldiers under his Command; and being enraged to find his Counsels rejected, fled with his people into the Kingdom of *Quitu*, with intention to make preparations for a War against the *Spaniards*, and such provisions as were most conducing to his own safety: But his real design was to levy a War against *Atahualpa* himself, who having been a Rebel to his own Prince, he thought it no crime to follow his example. To which end being entred into the Kingdom of *Quitu*, he immediately seized on all the Sons of *Atahualpa*, on pretence of defending and protecting them against the *Spaniards*; but in a short time he killed them all, together with *Quilliscacha*, who was Brother to *Atahualpa* both by Father and Mother, called by the *Spaniards* *Tilloca*; and moreover, he killed *Challacubimbi*, and other Captains and Curacas, as we shall declare in their due place.

The *Inca Atahualpa* being now in Prison, and bound with Chains of Iron, treated with the *Spaniards* for the price of his Liberty, and offered for his Ransome as many Vessels of Gold and Silver, as should cover the floor of the Chamber wherein he was; and perceiving that the *Spaniards* thrugged their shoulders at it, as either not believing him, or thinking the proposal too mean (as *Gomara* reports) he immediately profered to fill the Room to a certain red line which he had drawn on the Wall, so far as he could reach with his hand, provided that they neither put one Vessel within the other, nor battered, or beat them close, but only heaped them one on the other, untill they arose to the mark and line which he had drawn. And thus much we have extracted out of the 114th Chapter of *Gomara's* History: But not to enlarge on the Particulars related by the *Spanish* Historians, to whom we refer our selves; we come, in short, to that which immediately concerns the Life and Death of those Kings, the *Incas*, and the utter destruction of them, which was the first design, and intention of this Treatise; and then afterwards, in its due place, we shall relate all the most curious and notable passages which occurred in the Civil Wars arisen between the *Spaniards* themselves. But now to proceed.

Atahualpa sent for much Gold and Silver for payment of his Ransome, which though amassed in great quantities, yet wanted much of arising to the line which was drawn; so that it seemed almost impossible to comply with the promises which *Atahualpa* had made; wherefore the *Spaniards* murmured, and said, That since the Prisoner had not complied with the promises he had given within the time prefixed, they could not but suspect that these delays were made on design to assemble greater numbers of Souldiers, who might be able to master and kill them, and then free and rescue their King. The *Spaniards* being jealous of some such project, appeared angry and discontented; which *Atahualpa* perceiving by their countenance, for he was very quick of apprehension, demanded the cause of that trouble which appeared in their faces: which when he had understood from *Francisco Pizarro*; he answered, that if they were informed of the great distance of the places from whence he was to fetch his Vessels of Gold and Silver, they would not entertain such hard thoughts of jealousy concerning his intentions; for the greatest part of his Ransome was to be brought from *Cusco*, *Pachacamac*, *Quitu*, and several other Provinces, the nearest part of which was *Pachacamac*, and that was at least eighty Leagues distant; that *Cusco* was two hundred Leagues off, and *Quitu* three hundred; and that if they doubted of the truth of what he affirmed, they might, if they pleased, send *Spaniards* into those parts to see and survey the Treasure which was there, and in all places of that Kingdom; and being satisfied with the quantity thereof, might pay themselves with their own hands. But the *Inca* perceiving that the *Spaniards* doubted of their security with those whom he would employ to conduct them to these Treasures; he told them, that whilst he was in Chains, they were secure, and needed not to fear or doubt of their safety: Upon which *Hernando de Soto*, and *Peter del Barco*, Native of the Town of *Lobos*, resolved to travel as far as *Cusco*. When *Atahualpa* understood that *Hernando* would leave him, he was much troubled; for having been the first Christian he had seen, he entertained a particular kindness for his Person, believing that on all occasions and emergencies he would prove his Friend and Protector. Howsoever, he durst not say any thing against his going, lest it should beget a jealousy, and contradict the profer he had made, and which the *Spaniards* had accepted: Besides these two *Spaniards*, four others resolved to travel into other Provinces for discovery of the Treasures which they yielded; one therefore designed for *Quitu*, another for *Huaylas*, another for *Huamachuco*, and a fourth for *Sicillapampa*; all which, besides their primary intention of discovery, received Instructions to observe whether any Levies were making for rescue of their King *Atahualpa* from his Prison; but he, poor Man, being far from suspecting the Faith and Promises which the *Spaniards* had given him, busied his thoughts on no other contrivances, than the ways to amass such quantities of Gold and Silver as he had bargained with the *Spaniards* for his Ransome, not doubting but upon the delivery thereof, to have his Chains and Shackles knocked off. Upon which supposition, the *Inca* ordered publick Proclamation to be made in all his Kingdoms, to receive and treat the Christians, travelling singly into remote parts with joy and kind treatment in all places where they should arrive: In virtue of which Command from the *Inca*, and out of an opinion which the *Indians* entertained, that the *Spaniards* were Gods, and Messengers of the most High God, (as they themselves reported and published in all places) and were confirmed in a belief thereof from the action of *Peter de Candia*, who killed the wild Beasts (as we have said) in *Tumpe*, they received them in their Towns and Villages with all the honour, joy, and kind treatment that they were able to express. They presented them with Gifts, and such curiosities as their Country yielded, and offered Sacrifices to them; for out of their abundant simplicity and superstition they esteemed of the *Spaniards* as Gods: And though they were not ignorant of the great laughter they had committed upon the *Indians* in *Cassamarca*, and on those which endeavoured to make their escape, yet still they maintained an opinion, that they were Gods, but cruel and terrible; and such as were to be appeased with Sacrifices, and though these angry Deities were never to be persuaded into that gentle Mood of doing good to them, yet perhaps they might be atoned, and restrained from doing them farther mischief.

Hernando de Soto, and *Peter del Barco*, with the four other *Spaniards*, were by order of the *Inca* carried in Hammacks upon Mens shoulders for their more convenience and expedition. Now a Hammack is a word used by the *Indians* in the Isle of *Barlovento*, and signifies a Net made of the Leaves of a Palm, or of other Trees, which in those hot Countries is much more cool than those made of Cotton, which are used by the poorer and meaner sort of people: These Hammacks are hanged at the four corners with Ropes about a Yard from the ground, and are much more cool than lodging upon Quilts. In imitation hereof, the *Indians* of *Peru* did use to fasten a Blanket at both ends to a Staff of about three or four Yards long, on which he that was to ride Post laid and stretched himself at length, so that the Bearers seemed to carry a dead Corpse: This Blanket was supported by two *Indians*, who changed with others after a certain distance of travel, for twenty of them being designed perhaps to carry one Man, they often relieved one the other; and coming to a certain Stage, or Post, they found as many others ready to ease and discharge them of their burthen; which was the way and manner of the *Indian* Posts. This sort of Biere on which Men are thus carried, is called *Huanin*, or *Rampa*, called by the *Spaniards* *Hamaca*, being like their *Cama*, which signifies a Bed.

In this manner these two courageous *Spaniards*, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Peter del Barco*, travelled the distance of two hundred Leagues, which is between *Cassamarca* and *Cozco*, with more security and better treatment than they could have found in their own Country: In like manner the other four were received and careessed in all places where they passed, and with such welcome joy, and hearty entertainment, as was incredible, and which the *Spaniards*, when they returned, had scarce the confidence to relate unto their companions.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Travels of Hernando Pizarro to Pachacamac, and of what befell him in that Journey.

SOON after the departure of *Hernando de Soto*, and *Peter del Barco*, *Hernando Pizarro* being moved with the fame of the vast Riches of *Pachacamac*, resolved to visit that Temple; but not knowing what might happen in this Journey, he took with him a party of Horſe for his better security and convoy: The *Spaniards* in this Journey travelling one day over a certain Mountain, discovered from the top of it on the side of another Hill, something that glittered with a brightness like Gold, and the rays of the Sun darting upon it, almost blinded the eyes of the Beholders. The *Spaniards* proceeded towards it with great admiration, and being come near, they perceived it to be a heap of Pots, and Jars, and Kettles, and Pans, and such like Utensils made of Gold and Silver, which the Brother of *Atahualpa*, called *Quilliscacha*, (whom we have already mentioned) had amassed together towards payment of the *Inca's* Ranſome; being to the value of two Millions; though some Historians report, that all did not amount, in the whole, unto more than three hundred thousand pieces of Eight: but this must be ſome error in the account, as we shall see hereafter, when we come to reckon up the ſeveral particulars; howſoever the Mountain seemed to shine with Gold, because the *Indians*, who carried those Vessels up the Hill, had laid them down to ease, and rest themselves for a while, and so had over-spread therewith all the way-upwards. This Narrative I received in my own Country from the mouth of one who was then present; and the same was afterwards confirmed to me in *Spain* by that worthy Gentleman *Don Graviel Pizarro*, who was an Officer of the Inquisition at *Cordova*; and

and another Gentleman called *Don John Pizarro*, who accompanied *Hernando Pizarro* in this Journey, made a like report of the golden Hill.

We have already said, that so soon as this *Quilliscacha* was come to *Cassamarca* with the aforesaid Treasure, he immediately advised his Brother *Atahualpa* to come with all speed, to the Kingdom of *Quit*, to prevent the Insurrection, which the Commander *Rumminavi* was designing to make; which Plot *Atahualpa* having formerly suspected, had sent his Brother in pursuit of him.

This *Rumminavi* had formerly been an Assistant to *Atahualpa* in execution of all his cruelties, and tyrannical practices; so that he was acquainted with his natural temper, and well forewarned of his treachery and false dealings; and suspecting no less from *Quilliscacha*, he received him like the King's Brother, and informed himself of the *Inca's* imprisonment; and the bargain for his ranſome, to obtain which, they both agreed to amass all the Gold and Plate that was to be found in that Kingdom. And though *Rumminavi* desired nothing less than the liberty of the *Inca*, yet like a false and perfidious Traytor he served, and treated *Quilliscacha* with much kindness, as if he had been a most faithful and loyal Subject; and carried this fair outside until such time as occasion offered, to put in practice his villainous design.

Hernando Pizarro permitting *Quilliscacha* to pass before him, proceeded on his Journey to the great Temple of *Pachacamac*, whose immense riches, and multitude of people, which inhabited the Valley round about, surprized the *Spaniards* with strange admiration; but much more were the *Indians* astonished to see the Fashion, the Habits, the Arms and Horſes of their new Guests: the Novelty of which, and the Command of their *Inca* caused them to adore them for Gods, and to receive and treat them with such kindness and respect, as passes all imagination, or expression; and so silly were these poor people, that observing the Horſes with Bits and Bridles in their mouths, they imagined like those in *Cassamarca*; that the Iron was their food; and pitying to see the poor Beasts with no better Victuals, they brought them Gold and Silver, desiring them to eat those Metals which were much more pleasant and delicate than the Iron. The *Spaniards* were much pleased at the ignorance of the *Indians*, and cherishing them in that opinion, told them (as they had done to those in *Cassamarca*) that they should bring much of that fodder to their Horſes, and lay it under the Grass and Mayz, for they were great devourers, and would soon dispatch and eat it all; which the *Indians* believing, did as they desired. Of the Gold which was in the Temple, *Hernando Pizarro* took as much as he could carry with him, leaving his Command to carry all the rest to *Cassamarca* for ranſome of their King; on which belief the people readily brought all, not concealing or embezzling any part thereof.

Whilst *Hernando Pizarro* was at *Pachacamac*, he received advice, that about forty Leagues from thence there was a certain Captain of the Army of *Atahualpa*, called *Challenchima*, who had gathered great Forces to him; upon which *Hernando* sent to him to come, and meet him, that they might treat of matters conducing to the publick peace and quiet of those Kingdoms; but the *Indian* refusing to come where the *Spaniards* were, *Hernando* adventured with great hazard of his own Person, and of the lives of his companions, to pass unto him, being a Journey not to be performed without much labour and danger both in the going, and in the return; for not only the roughness of the way, and craggy Mountains were inconvenient, but the broad Rivers gave them much obstruction; for in passing over the Bridges of *Offer*, (which we have formerly described) the greatest difficulty was how to Ferry over the Horſes. Wherefore this attempt was esteemed very rash and inconsiderate by the other *Spaniards*, to whom it appeared a vain confidence to put themselves into the hands of an Infidel, in whom, according to common report, was no faith, and into the power of a person who was surrounded with an Army. Howſoever the reliance which this *Spanish* Commander had on the promises of *Atahualpa*, which at his departure he had expressed by signs, and had given him some tokens which might serve him for a Pass-port, in case he should meet with any Commander or General in his Journey, so animated *Hernando*, that he marched boldly towards *Challenchima*; and having met, he persuaded him to leave his Army, and to accompany him to the place, where he might see and discourse with his King: The *Indian* suffering himself to be overcome by his importunity, attended *Hernando*; and to make the Journey more short, they cut off a great part of their way, by crossing over some snowy Mountains, where they had

had all perished with cold, had they not been relieved by the *Indians*, and conducted to some warm caves, whereof there are many in that passage, which were heaven out of the Rocks for reception of Travellers.

The *Spaniards* not having been acquainted with the ruggedness of the ways, had not provided themselves with Shoes for their Horses, nor Smiths to nail them; for want of which their Horses had suffered much, had not the *Indians* melted some of their Gold and Silver, and therewith forged Shoes of Gold, instead of Iron, for the use of their Horses. *Gomara* at the end of the 114th Chapter of his Book, mentions this passage in these words; *For want of Iron, some shod their Horses with Silver, and some with Gold.*

After many such difficulties and hardships as these, *Hernando Pizarro* and *Challucuchima* arrived in *Cassamarca*; where *Challucuchima* being about to enter into the place where the *Inca* remained, and having first put off his Shoes, and taken something on his shoulders in token of servitude, he with much tenderness burst out into tears so soon as he saw his King in Chains, and laden with Iron, attributing his Imprisonment by the *Spaniards* to his own default and absence. But the *Inca* replied, that his absence was not to be blamed, nor could any other cause be assigned hereof, than onely the Decree of the *Pachacamac*, of which many Prophecies and Prognostications had for many years past preceded, foretelling their Invasion by new and unknown Nations, who should destroy their Religion, and subvert their Empire; as his Father *Huayna Capac* had foretold at the hour of his Death. And for better assurance of the truth hereof, so soon as he was taken, he sent to *Cosco* to consult with his Father the Sun, and with the other Oracles, which resolved Questions and Demands in his Kingdom, and particularly with the prating Idol in the Valley of *Rimac*, which notwithstanding its former readiness of speech was become silent; and what was most to be admired, was, that the hidden Oracle in the Temple of *Pachacamac*, which had undertaken on all occasions to answer the doubts and questions which were made concerning the successes of Kings and great Men, was also become dumb, and made no answers. And though it was told to that Oracle that their *Inca* was held in Chains, and was conquered by them to advise a remedy for his release, he became deaf and silent: And moreover the Priests, and such as formerly entertained free and familiar discourses with the other Oracles, reported, that they were not able to obtain an answer, or screw out the least word from them; for which cause *Atahualpa* said, that he was greatly troubled and distracted in his thoughts, fearing, lest his Father the Sun had absolutely abandoned him; for otherwise he would not have tied up the mouths of his Idols on a sudden, which he had formerly caused to be free and familiar with devout persons, not suffering them to advise, and yield them comfort in their ultimate distress: All which were certain and inevitable signals of their approaching misery, and alienation of their Empire. These and such sad apprehensions *Atahualpa* uttered with extreme grief of heart to his General *Challucuchima* in the Prison where he was, beginning then to feel the pangs of conscience for his Treason and Rebellion against *Huascar*; in reward of which, and of all other the Tyrannies and Cruelties he had committed against him and his family, he confessed himself to be now justly punished with the like troubles and anguish in his own Soul.

C H A P. XXX.

How the Devils of Peru were strook dumb by the Sacraments of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome.

IT is most certainly true, that so soon as the Sacraments of our Holy Mother the Church of *Rome* were brought into *Peru*, namely the Consecration of the Host, or of the Body and Blood of Christ our Lord, as is performed in the Mass, and celebrated on such days as the *Spaniards* had time and leisure to hear it; and that some *Indians*, who had entered themselves into the Service of *Spaniards*, received the Sacrament of Baptism; and that likewise the Sacraments of Marriage and Penance were practised; so soon, I say, as these four Holy Mysteries were made known, and appeared, (for the other three were not as yet introduced into those Countries) the Devils became dumb and silent, and lost that familiar discourse and conversation in publick which (as we have said) they formerly used and practised with those Gentiles, onely they whispered sometimes in secret, with the famous Magicians, who were said to have a greater power and influence upon them. And though at first the party of *Huascar* gave out, that this sudden reservedness and silence of the Oracles was caused by the anger and displeasure of the Sun for the tyrannies and cruelties committed by *Atahualpa*; yet at length they were convinced of a more over-ruling cause, which affected the *Indians* with a general fear and consternation, believing that the entrance of these new Guests into their Countrey, had over-awed and silenced their Oracles: the which opinion served to augment the dread and reverence they had of the *Spaniards*, and confirm the Name which they gave them of *Viracocha*, who is the God especially adored by them, and held in more esteem and worship, than all their petty *Huacas*; of which we have already given a more large relation.

C H A P. XXXI.

*How Huascar Inca demanded succour and justice from the
Two who went on discovery.*

Hernando de Soto, and Peter del Barco, having travelled above a hundred Leagues, came at length to *Sausa*, where the Captains of *Atahualpa* held *Huascar* in imprisonment; of which the *Spaniards* being informed, they desired to see him; and the *Inca* being in like manner desirous thereof, though he was kept under close custody, yet at length they obtained admission: What discourse passed between them at that time, was not well understood for want of an Interpreter; nor could they express themselves in any other manner, than by signs. Onely afterwards it was reported, That *Huascar* being informed by the *Indians*, that the principal design of the *Spaniards* was to doe justice, and to relieve Men under oppression and violence, which pretence (as the *Spanish* Writers affirm) was always in a specious manner published by the *Spaniards* from the time of their first Invasion of those Countries, and which at all times they boasted in pursuance of the Commands of his Majesty, who enjoyed them to hurt none, and to render unto every one his due: Of which (as we say) *Huascar* being assured, he with more assurance of redress, complained of the tyranny, cruelty and injustice, which he had received from his Brother *Atahualpa*, who not content to despoil him and his Heirs of his Kingdom and Dominions, resolved to bereave him of his life, and to that end had imprisoned him under strict and watchfull Guards: Wherefore with all earnestness he conjured them, not to abandon and leave him in that condition, but to take him with them out of the hands of that Guard, which designed (so soon as they were departed) to put him to death. And whereas they had published and made known unto all persons, that their intentions were to ease and relieve the oppressed, he was well assured, that so soon as they had received true information from the Captain-General of the justice of his cause, they would restore him again to his Liberty and Kingdom: Upon which condition he promised them not onely to fill the Chamber with Vessels of Gold and Silver unto the line drawn by his Brother, but that he would raise and pile them up unto the very ceiling; for the performance of which, he esteemed himself much more able than his Brother; in regard that he was well acquainted with the places where secret Treasures of his Father were concealed, and where his Ancestours had amassed immense Sums and Riches, which his Brother would have embezzled, and much diminished, to build Temples and Altars for accomplishment of his Vows; in which he had been so profuse, that he was become poor, and unable to comply with the Ransome which he had promised. In answer whereunto, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Peter del Barco*, gave him to understand by signs, that in obedience to the Command of their Captain-General, they were obliged to proceed as far as *Cuzco*, and for that reason could not stay with him, but at their return they would perform whatsoever might tend to his service and advantage: After which they departed, leaving poor *Huascar* more sad and disconsolate than before; for having once entertained some hopes and expectation of relief by their coming, he became absolutely desperate, and desponding of life and comfort; believing, as it afterwards happened, that their visit and discourse was a prelude to his death.

C H A P.



C H A P. XXXII.

How these two Spaniards arrived at Cozco, where they found Croffes in the Temples and Royal Palaces.

THESE two Companions proceeding on their Journey towards Cozco, arrived on the high Promontory of *Carmenca*, from whence they took a survey of the Imperial City, and much admired the neighbouring Towns and Villages which encompassed, or were adjoining to it. The people coming forth to meet them, received them with joy and mirth, with Musick and Dances, erecting Triumphal Arches in the ways, crowned with Flowers and Garlands, and strowing the streets with Rushes, and lodged them in those Royal Apartments, which were called *Amarucancha*, belonging to *Huayna Capac*; for being in their estimation persons of Divine Race, they allotted those Chambers for them, which appertained to their greatest and most beloved King. At the entrance thereunto was a very fair Tower, being four Stories high, each of which had a cieling of Timber, in such manner as covered the Royal Chambers, and which were so lofty, that to speak in compass, the Turret above was as high as any Spire in Spain, unless that of *Seville*. The top thereof was in form of a Globe, as were all the Chambers; and above all, in the place of a Weather-cock or Vayne, (which the *Indians* did not understand) they had erected a Ball, which added much to the height, and was so large, that the hollow of it contained above sixty Foot in compass, called by them *Sun-turbaci*, which signifies as much as the rare piece of Architecture, there being no other building adjoining thereunto to support or hide it. In my time it was thrown down or demolished, to make the Market-place more large and airy; though the truth is, it took not up much place, and now in lieu thereof the Jesuits have erected a high *Colosse*, or Pyramid, as we have mentioned in the first Part of this History. The next day after the Spaniards arrived, the *Indians* carried them in several Palanquines, or Seats, placed on Mens shoulders to see and view the City; and as they passed, the people adored and worshipped them after the manner of their Gentilism and Religion. Nor were the Spaniards less surprized to see the Majesty of Cozco, with the Grandeur and Riches of the Palaces and Temples; which though much defaced, and despoiled of their ancient beauty, by reason of the late Wars between the *Incas*, and the Imprisonment of *Huascar*, yet they could not but much admire the excellent Architecture of the Royal Palaces, which were built without those Instruments and Engines, which are necessary for the erecting such mighty Fabricks: But above all, they were much pleased with the rare Pavements, which were curiously in-layed with divers Figures on each side of the stream, which runs for above a quarter of a League through the City; and the multitude of people, and the numbers of Merchants (though the Commodities not many) were so great, as much pleased them to behold; especially observing the gentle behaviour of the Nobles, and the courtesie of the Commonalty, who were all desirous to serve them, and gain their favour; and had it not been for the late Wars between the two Brothers, all things would certainly have appeared in much more beauty and splendour: But above all, they much admired to see Croffes erected on the top of the high Pinnacles of their Temples and Palaces; the which, it seems, were introduced from the time only that *Pedro de Candia* being in *Timpiz* charmed, or made tame those wild Beasts which were let loose to devour him, and which only by virtue of the Crofs which he held in his hand became gentle and domestick: All which was recounted with such admiration by the *Indians*, who carried the news of this Miracle unto Cozco, that when the Inhabitants of the City had understood it, they went immediately to their Sanctuary, where a Crofs of Jasper-stone, as clear as Chrystal, remained, as we have before mentioned; which when they had brought forth, they with loud Acclamations adored and worshipped it, conceiving that though the Sign

of the Crofs had for many Ages been conferred by them in high esteem and veneration, yet it was not entertained with fuch devotion as it deferved, becaufe they were not as yet acquainted with its virtues. Wherefore now with ftronger affurance believing, that as the Sign of the Crofs had tamed, and fhut the mouth of the wild Beasts, fo as that they could not hurt *Pedro de Candia*; fo also they imagined, that it had a like power to deliver them out of the hands of thefe New-come Guests: On which confideration having adored the Crofs, they erected feveral of them in their Temples, and in the Royal Palaces, like Tutelar Gods to defend their Kingdom from the violence of Enemies.

Whence it is to be noted, that thefe Gentiles who were Idolaters, did entirely, and with an implicit faith, devote themselves to the Crofs, and therewith to the belief of the whole Christian Doctrine before the Gospel was preached to them. It is moft certain, that after the Death of *Huayna Capac* (as we have mentioned at the end of his Reign) the *Indians* remained in great fear and confternation, apprehending that the time approached in which their Idolatrous Religion was to be at an end, and therewith their Empire, Greatnefs and Dominion was to expire. And though many years paff many Predictions were uttered of this nature by their Southfayers and Magicians, the which were confirmed by their Oracles, and divers Prodigies; yet they were delivered in fuch obfcure terms, that nothing was clear, or intelligible, from thence, untill fuch time as *Huayna Capac*, by I know not what Spirit, explained and interpreted thofe Prophecies with fuch clearnefs, as evidently pointed at the coming of the *Spaniards*, and the propagation of the Gospel, declaring that the Empire of *Peru* was to end with his Life. And this is the true reason why the *Indians* adored and worshipped the *Spaniards* for Gods, with fuch humility and fubmiffion, as we have declared, being certainly affured, that thefe were the people in whom the Prophecy of their King was to be accomplished.

Of all thefe matters *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, gave due intelligence to their Captain-General, with farther information of the incredible Riches found in that City, which were beyond all imagination, as also of the kind treatment, duty and refpect, which they had received from the *Indians*, by virtue of that Edict and Command which *Atabalipa* had caufed to be proclaimed in all parts of his Dominions in favour of the *Spaniards*. In like manner the other four Spies, or Discoverers, which were fent into other parts, difpatched their Informations of all things they had feen, and which had happened to them. All which news declaring the immense Riches, and the adoration which was paid to their Companions, the other *Spaniards* received with great joy and fatisfaction: But as to the Prophecies of *Huayna Capac*, they esteemed them for no other than Witchcrafts and Sorceries of the *Indians*, of which they made no account or esteem.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Of the Subtily of Atahualpa, and the Death of the King Huafcar Inca.

Augustin de Carate having related the Difcourse which *Huafcar Inca* had entertained with *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, (which was the fame that we have already related) and how they had left him in a fad and defpairing condition, he farther proceeds in the fixth Chapter of his fecond Book in this manner.

"And fo (fays he) they proceeded on their Journey, which was the caufe of the Death of *Huafcar*, and the lofs of all that Gold which he had promifed; for the Captains to whose Custody he was committed, immediately gave intelligence to *Atabalipa* by the Poft, of all that had paffed; which when he had well confidered, and that if once the Injuftice which he had done to his Brother fhould come, to the knowledge of the *Spanifh* Governour, together with the Promifes and Intimation which *Huafcar* had given of a greater abundance of Gold than he could engage for; he greatly feared that his offers would be fo prevalent with the Christians, (whom he obferved to be covetous and thirfty of Gold,) that they would not only take the Kingdom from him, and tranffer it to his Brother, but, to free themselves from all other troubles of competition, might also deprive him of his Life, for which they had fo juft an occafion on the fcore of his Brother, whose Kingdom he had traiteroufly ufurped, with the Death and Slaughter of all his Kindred; for which reason he refolved to kill *Huafcar*: But in regard he feared to commit that Murther, becaufe he had heard the Christians frequently fay, that one of their principal Laws was, That he who fhed Man's Blood, by Man fhould his Blood be fpilt; he therefore, before he would enter upon this Attempt, thought fit to try the Mind of the *Spanifh* Governour, in what manner he would be concerned for an Act of this nature. To perform which with the more Subtily and Diffimulation, he feigned himfelf one day to be very fad and dejected, weeping, and fighing, and refufing to eat, or fpeak. And though the *Spanifh* Governour was very importunate to know the caufe and reason of his Melancholy, at length with much adoe he made Answer, that he had received information, how that one of his Captains had killed his Brother *Huafcar*, in the Hands of thofe to whose Custody he had committed him; the which he deeply repented, for that he was his Elder Brother, and his Father; and though he detained him a Prifoner, and under restraint, yet it was not with any intention to doe him hurt, but only to fecure him in fuch a capacity, as might difenable him from making any Attempts on his Kingdom of *Quitu*, which did not at all appertain unto him; for that Province having been obtained by his Father's Conquefts, was conferred and bequeathed by Testament to himfelf, being no part of the Inheritance which belonged to the Elder Son. In Answer hereunto the Governour bid him be of good cheer and comfort, for that Death was natural and common to all; and that fo foon as the Countrey was quiet and fettled, he would enquire into this Murther, and punifh thofe who fhould be found guilty of that great Crime. *Atabalipa* obferving that *Marquis Pizarro* was little concerned for the matter, refolved to kill his Brother, and accordingly his Commands were put into Execution with fuch fpeed, that it was hard to diftinguifh whether *Huafcar* was put to Death before or after the time that he testified his Sorrow in prefence of *Pizarro*. The fault of this unhappy accident is commonly objected againft *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, for that they being Souldiers, ought not to have been ignorant of the Duty and Refpect they owe to the Commands of their General, which are not to be difpenfed with on any pretence

"pretence or occasion whatsoever, without expresse Order to the contrary. The
 "Indians report, that when *Huascar* saw that there was no remedy, but that he
 "must dye, he uttered these Words with great passion. *I have been Lord of this*
Country but for a short time, but as to my Brother that Traitor, by whose Command, I
that am his natural Lord, am put to death, he shall enjoy his Government for a much
shorter time than I have done. Wherefore when the Indians had heard that *Ata-*
liba was afterwards put to death, (as shall be related in the following Chapter,)
 "they believed *Huascar* to have been of the true and legitimate Progeny of
 "the Sun, who had illuminated him with a prophetick Spirit, touching the Fate
 "of his Brother. And likewise *Huascar* farther declared, that when his Father
 "gave him his last farewell, he enjoyned and commanded him, That when a
 "People, or Nation, which were white, and had beards, should invade his Do-
 "minions, that he should labour to make a friendship with them, for that they
 "were to become Lords of that Kingdom. Thus far are the Words of *Augu-*
stine Carate.

For my part, when I find the *Spanish* Writers to relate things fairly, and with
 the truth, and gravity of History, I am more pleased to make use of their words
verbatim, than my own; for as I am an *Indian*, and not a *Spaniard*, their words
 and expressions must be more proper than mine; the which Rule we shall always
 observe, unless it be where the *Spanish* Histories are defective, and want Addi-
 tions.

But to return unto the Relation which *Augustin de Carate* hath given; It is to
 be noted, that he briefly touches many particulars, which we have more at large
 related in this our History, as namely, that which concerns the Tyranny, the
 Craft and Diffimulation of *Atahualpa*, when he proved the Mind of *Francis Pizar-*
ro, how, and in what manner he would take the Death of *Huascar*; for in reality
 had the *Spaniard* been as wary and as sagacious as was this *Indian*, and had presently
 replied upon him, and told him plainly, that I know, and am well assured, that
 it was you that killed this Person, and that therefore I shall inflict such punish-
 ment on you as your Crime deserves; it is most certain, that he would then have
 been better advised, and never have adventured on this Murder of his Brother;
 but when on the contrary, he perceived an indifference in the Governour, who
 little suspected so much evil in a person of that simplicity; he then took courage
 and resolution to put his wicked Intention into practice against the *Inca* his natural
 King; which consummated all his other cruelties; Nor did he onely put him to
 Death, but killed him barbarously, cutting his Flesh into slices, and throwing
 them none knows where; but the *Indians* report, and believe, that they ate his
 Flesh out of mere rage and malice against him. *Acosta* saith that they burnt him.
 And *Carate* mentions, that the diligence and speed, used in sending the Dispatches
 for his Death, were not by the Posts, but by Fires or Beacons, which the *Chas-*
quis, or Postmasters, were ordered to make both by night and day, for greater ex-
 pedition, when any matter required extraordinary haste. In like manner this Au-
 thour touches on the Prognostication which *Huayna Capac* had left, concerning
 the Invasion which the *Spaniards* were to make into those Countries, and of which
 they were to become Masters. He also farther proceeds, and tells us, that *Her-*
nando de Soto and *Peter del Barco* were not blameable for not remaining with *Hu-*
ascar, as he desired, and for not hearkening to the proposition he had made to
 them, which imported three times the Treasure, which his Brother had promised,
 because in reality they did not understand him; for otherwise no doubt, but those
 Men, whose business was neither Conquest, nor their Embassy matter of War or
 Peace, but onely to see that the Promise made by *Atahualpa* for his ransom,
 were complied with, would have readily embraced the more advantageous Offer
 of three times the value made by *Huascar*. And thus these two *Spaniards* excuse
 and clear themselves from what was objected against them, touching the Death of
Huascar.

Thus this unhappy *Inca*, the last of the Monarchs of that Empire fell and en-
 ded his Days, having been a Spectator of all those Cruelties and Murders which
 his Brother had exercised upon his Vassals, Servants, Uncles, Brothers and Sons;
 and as to his own Person, had been used with such Hardships and Severity in
 Prison, as were insupportable, and which *Diego Fernandez* relates to have been in
 this manner:

The

"The two Captains of *Atahualpa* returning to their Lord, carried *Huascar* Priso-
 "ner with them; to whom in their Journey they gave nothing but Urine to
 "drink, and no other Food to eat than Worms, and other filthiness. Whilst
 "these things passed, *Francis Pizarro*, with other Christians his Companions, en-
 "tered the Country, and took *Atahualpa* Prisoner in *Caxamal*. Thus far are the
 Words of this Authour, who, in another place, says that they killed *Huascar* in
Andamarca, and *Atahualpa* in *Caxamarca*, that is *Cassamarca*, which is the Country
 or Province of Frost, for *Cassa* signifies Frost, and *Marca* a Country; likewise
Andamarca ought to be wrote *Anta Marca*, for *Anta* signifies Copper, and *Anta*
Marca the Copper Country.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Don Diego de Almagro comes to Cassamarca; and what
 Fears and Apprehensions Atahualpa conceived before his
 Death, by Comets and Apparitions in the Heavens.

AFTER the Death of poor *Huascar*, which happened in the manner as before re-
 lated, *Atahualpa* did neither thereby obtain the liberty of his Person, nor
 secure his Life; but on the contrary, in a few days afterwards, orders were given
 to put him to death, the manner of which is related by *Augustin de Carate*, and
Lopez de Gomara, both which agree in the particulars of this passage, as they doe
 in other matters of this History.

Heaven often punishes those who trust more in their own Plots and Artifices,
 than in the ways of Reason and Justice; for God suffers their Mischiefs and Con-
 trivances to fall upon their own Heads, an Instance of which we shall speedily
 give in the sequel of this History. For now we must know, That *Don Diego de*
Almagro was departed from *Panama*, on a very good Ship, carrying with him fresh
 Men, and good Supplies, in order to a farther Conquest; and his Enemies report,
 that his Design was to advance farther to the Southward than *Pizarro*, whose Go-
 vernment, as yet, was not extended more than two hundred Leagues to the South,
 from the Equinoctial Line; and that he intended to set up for himself, and act on
 his own Foundation; the which, as is reported, was discovered by the Secretary
 of *Almagro* to *Pizarro*, whom his Master hanged for his Treachery. But be it as it
 will, this is certain, that *Almagro* being on his way, and receiving intelligence of
 the Imprisonment of *Atahualpa*, and of the incredible Riches which he offered for
 his Ransome, resolved to change his Design, and to join himself with his victo-
 rious Companion; for that according to Articles of Agreement between them,
 one half of the Benefits and Profits appertained unto him. Accordingly *Almagro*,
 with his Souldiers, arrived in *Cassamarca*, greatly wondering to see those heaps of
 Gold and Silver which they had amassed together. But in a short time afterwards
 the Souldiers of *Pizarro* plainly told the People of *Almagro*, that in regard they had
 not been present at the taking of *Atahualpa* Prisoner, no share of those Riches and
 Spoils belonged to them, which were already gained, nor no part of that which
 was wanting to reach the Line which *Atahualpa* had drawn, and promised in pay-
 ment of his Ransome. Which when the *Almagrians* had heard, and considering
 the largeness of the room, believed that if all the Gold and Silver of the World
 were amassed together, it would never arrive or reach to the height of the Line,
 they presently cried out, that the *Inca* should be killed, so that they might receive
 their share of what should be collected after his Death. These and the like rea-
 sons were sufficient to arraign and execute this great Prince *Atahualpa*, who obser-
 ving the Quarrels amongst the *Spaniards*, and their incessant noise, and wranglings,
 he

he sadly suspected that the Fury of those Jars would at last turn to his destruction; the which Fear and Apprehension was increased by the Oracles, which were now become silent to all his Questions and Demands, and by the reports which the *Indians* gave him of new Stars, and Comets, which appeared, all which, in times of less Extremity than the present, were ever interpreted as bad Omens, and signals, and, according to their superstitious Observations, were esteemed to portend utter Destruction and Ruine.

But that which above all things appeared fatal to him, was a certain great Comet of a darkish green colour, little less in breadth than the Body of a Man, and of a yard in length, which shewed it self at night, being much of the same size and shape as that which appeared before the Death of his Father *Huayna Capac*, of which when *Atahualpa* had notice given him, he was extremely troubled, and desired the *Spaniards* to give him the leave and liberty to be brought forth, that he might see it with his own Eyes; which when he had done, he was so struck with sadness and melancholy, that, as formerly, he became sullen and silent, and would entertain no converse with any Person whatsoever; the reason of which, when *Pizarro* had pressed very earnestly to know, *Atahualpa* to satisfy him gave him this Answer. *Apu*, said he, (which is General) *I am now assured that the time of my Death approaches, being certified thereof by the appearance of this Comet, for that another of the like nature with this shewed it self not many days before the death of my Father; and in regard that such Prodigies in the Heavens do always precede the Death of Kings, and portend nothing but Calamities, and the Subversion of Empires, I cannot but imagine my self concerned, being to leave my Kingdoms before I have enjoyed them. Indeed when I saw my self first in Chains, I thought there would be little distance between my Imprisonment and my Grave, of which I am now fully certified by this Comet; and now I have given you the real Cause of this my sadness.*

The Governour, to comfort him, bid him be of good courage, and not to trust or confide in such signals, to which no Credit was to be given; for that on the contrary he might shortly expect to be freed from his imprisonment, and restored to his Kingdom. Howsoever *Atahualpa*, whose Faith was placed in the superstition of his Gentilism, gave no belief to the assurance of *Pizarro*, but remained in his Dumps, and disconsolate as before. *Peter de Cieza*, in the 65th Chapter of his Book, mentions the same concerning this Comet, and tells us how superstitious those *Indians* were in these Astrological Observations.

Atahualpa giving entire credit to these Prelages, wholly sunk in his Courage, and despaired of his Liberty, not being able to put the thoughts of Death out of his mind; the which accordingly happened fifteen days after the appearance of the Comet, as *Cieza* confirms in the aforesaid Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Hernando Pizarro returns to Spain, to give an Account of what had succeeded in Peru.

THE Governour, *Don Francisco Pizarro*, not regarding the fears and apprehensions of *Atahualpa*, was elated in his Hopes and Expectations, by those favours which good fortune had cast upon him; and resolving to follow and improve his success, he judged it convenient and necessary to render an account to His Majesty of all matters, which unto that time had occurred in *Peru*; the which Intention being moved to *Almagro*, his Companion, and his Brothers, it was agreed by them to dispatch *Hernando Pizarro* into *Spain*, with Advices to His Majesty of what had happened, that so their Services might be rewarded according to their Merit. And in regard *Hernando Pizarro* was employed as a publick Person in behalf of the Commonalty, or the whole Company, it was ordered that so much should be taken out of the heaps which were already collected for the Ranfome of *Atahualpa*, as would serve to defray his Charges; and moreover that he should carry with him the value of two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and one hundred thousand in Silver, for that fifth part which appertained to the King, on account of the Ranfome of *Atahualpa*; the which Gold and Silver were as the first Fruits, and as an earnest of that Treasure and Riches which they have already, and are yet to carry from my Countrey to His Majesty. The Silver, as *Augustin Carate* reports, was carried in pieces of massy Plate, a Relation of which he gives in these Words:

"They agreed (said he) to send *Hernando Pizarro* to give a Narrative to His Majesty of their prosperous Successes, which had occurred until that time; but whereas as yet they could not make a just computation of what share His Majesty was to receive out of the Collections already made, they took from their Heaps the value of two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and twenty thousand Marks in Silver; for which they chose the most fair and weighty Pieces of Plate, for the better show and appearance in *Spain*. All which were weighed out, and the Jars, Pans, Figures of Men, and Women, and Sheep, were all cast into the Scale to make up the full weight and value already mentioned. With this Prize *Hernando Pizarro* embarked, to the great grief of *Atahualpa*, who had a great kindness for him, and entertained such confidence in him, that he freely communicated all his thoughts to him, wherefore at his departure he said to him: *And do you go, Captain, I am troubled for it at my very heart; for when you are gone, I am sure that fat Fellow, and that blind Rascal, will soon make an end of me; meaning Almagro, who, as we said before, was blind of one Eye, and Alonso Requelme, His Majesty's Treasurer, whom he had observed to murmur and quarrell about him on the occasion before related. And so indeed, it happened, for no sooner was *Hernando* departed, than that immediately they contrived his Death by means of their Interpreter Philipillo, who was an Indian, &c. And Gomara confirms what we shall more at large hereafter relate, That *Hernando Pizarro* carried the fifth part of what appertained to His Majesty on account of the Ranfome of *Atahualpa*, and he farther adds these Words.*

"The Truth of what passed is this: *Hernando Pizarro* carried no more with him from *Cassamarca* than what is before mentioned; but soon after his departure followed the Death of *Atahualpa*, and then a Dividend was made of his Ranfome; until which time his Execution was rather deferred, than his Life granted

"granted, or Freedom intended. Afterwards sixty of these Adventurers returned into *Spain*, having made a Division of their Spoils, which amounted to forty or fifty thousand Pieces of Eight a Man, besides the fifth which appertained to His Majesty. These Persons departed after *Hernando Pizarro*, and overtook him at *Nombre de Dios*, where they embarked, and returned altogether in company to *Spain*. Thus we see how all Authours agree together in the same Relation of this matter.

Soon after the Departure of *Hernando Pizarro*, *Hernando de Soto* and *Pedro del Barco* returned from *Cozco*, giving a Report of the Riches which they had seen in that City, as also in the Temples of the Sun, and in the Palaces of the late Kings, in the Fortresses, and in the Sanctuaries, and private Cells, where the Devil entertained Discourses with their Wizards, Priests, and others his Votaries; all which places being esteemed sacred, were adorned with Gold and Silver; the like report was also brought by the other four Discoverers. The Spaniards being highly pleased with this News, were impatient until they could take possession of these Treasures; which that they might hasten with the more convenience and security, they speedily determined the Death of *Atahualpa*, to prevent the insurrections of the People, that with the more ease, and with the least opposition, they might seize the Gold and Silver which was lodged in the Imperial City, and in other parts. Both the aforesaid Authours agree in all the material circumstances relating to the Death of *Atahualpa*; wherefore we shall repeat the very Words of *Lopez de Gomara*, specified in the 119th Chapter of his Book, the Title of which is as followeth.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Death of Atahualpa; and how he was arraigned by Justice, and upon the false Information and Testimony which was given against him.

THE Death of *Atahualpa* was forwarded by a means, the least expected, for *Philipillo*, the Interpreter, falling in love with one of the Wives of *Atahualpa*, whom he intended to marry, after he was dead, raised a report, that *Atahualpa* had secretly, and under hand, given order to raise Men, whereby to overcome the Christians, and free himself. So soon as this report came to be spread, and noised amongst the Spaniards, their Jealousie created a Belief; so that some cried out to have him killed, for security of their own Lives, and of those Kingdoms; others were of opinion, that they should not imbrue their Hands in the Blood of so great a Prince, though never so faulty, but rather that they should send him to the Emperour: This certainly had been the best course, but the other prevailed by means (as some report) of that party which came with *Almagro*; for they conceiving that no share of the Spoil would appertain unto them, during the Life of *Atahualpa*, and untill the conditions were complied with, which, according to Agreement, were made for his ransom; and *Pizarro* being also of opinion, that his Death would free the Spaniards of much trouble, and render the Conquest and Possession of the Country much more easie, a resolution was taken by general consent to put him to Death. In order to which, that things might appear with a better face of Justice, an Endicment was brought against him for the Murder of his Brother

Huascar



"*Huascar*, King of those Countries, and for designing to raise War against the "*Spaniards*, though this last was a false and malicious suggestion of *Philippino*, who brought the *Indians* for Witnesses, making them to say what he pleased; and in regard the *Spaniards* understood not the Language, whereby to cross examine the Witnesses, all that *Philippino* alleged passed for current, and good Testimony; howsoever *Atabaliba* stoutly denied it, saying, That such an Accusation could have no ground of Reason in it; considering that he remained under such Guards, and Chains, that it was impossible for him to make an escape; wherefore he persisted in his Denial, threatening *Philippino*, and desiring the *Spaniards* to give no credence to his Words. After Sentence of Death was passed upon him, he complained much of *Francisco Pizarro*; for that having promised him his Life upon payment of the Ransome agreed, he afterwards faltered with him, and put him to Death. Wherefore he earnestly intreated him rather to transport him into *Spain*, than to imbrue his Hands in the Blood of a Person who had never offended him; but rather enriched him, and done him good. As they carried him to Execution, those who attended to comfort him, advised him to desire Baptism before he dyed, for that without that they threatened to burn him alive: Whereupon being baptized, he was bound to a Post; and there strangled. His Burial was celebrated according to the Manner and Rites of Christians, *Pizarro* also put himself into mourning, and performed his Funerals with Pomp, and Solemnity. As to those who were the causes of his Death, Divine Vengeance overtook them for this sin; so that in a short time afterwards they came all to unhappy ends, as will appear in the sequel of this History. Thus *Atabaliba* dyed by a violent Death, before which he ordered his Body to be carried to *Quito*, and there buried amongst the Kings, his Ancestours by the Mother's side. If the Baptism he desired was from his heart, most happy he, but if not, the Murthers and Blood he was guilty of will be set to his Account in the World to come. He was naturally of a good Disposition, wise, courageous, frank and open hearted. He had many Wives, and left some Children: Though he usurped the Dominions of his Brother *Huascar*, yet he would never assume the purple Wreath, or Diadem, until he was imprisoned; nor would he ever spit upon the Ground, but, for Majesty and State, (when he had occasion) he would spit in the Hand of a principal Lady, whom he loved. The *Indians* were in great admiration, when they heard of his untimely Death, which they esteemed for an accomplishment of the Prophecy of *Huascar*, who being of the true and legitimate Off-spring of the Sun, was divinely inspired to foretell the coming of his speedy Fate. Thus far are the Words of *Lopez de Gomara*.

But to return now to the Remarks which this Authour makes on the ill Interpretation of this *Philippino*, and how he suborned the *Indian* Witnesses to testify whatsoever he desired; he concludes that the fault was chiefly his, in regard that the *Spaniards* wanting Language, could neither examine the matter, nor dive into the Truth of it. And hence we may collect what false and imperfect Notions he must have rendered to the *Indians* of the Catholick Faith: So that as for want of a true understanding of the *Indian* Language, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, abandoned *Huascar*, and exposed his Life to the subtilty of his Brother; so also *Atabaliba* dyed, and both these powerfull Kings incurred the same fate for want of true understanding, and faithfull Interpretation of all matters.

Atahualpa ordered his Body to be entered in *Quito*, amongst the Relations of his Mother; rather than in *Cuzco*, with the Ancestours of his Father; for though the Funerals of Kings were much more pompous and stately in *Cuzco*, than the Solemnities used by the *Caciques* in *Quito*, yet considering how detestable his Memory would be to the People of *Cuzco*, for the Cruelties and Murthers he had committed on their natural Kings, he believed that his Body would be abused, and his Ashes never suffered quietly to repose in the Sepulchre of his Ancestours; and for that reason he chose rather to be buried

amongst his own People with obscurity, than with greater Ornament and State by the angry and incensed Citizens of Cuzco. It is most certain that *Atahualpa* did not bind his Head with the coloured Wreath, until he had taken his Brother *Huascar* Prisoner; for before that time that Ensign of Regality belonged to his Elder Brother, who was his Sovereign Lord; but after he was taken, and imprisoned by him, he then proclaimed himself for the universal Lord, and with his Dominions he usurped all the Marks of Power which belonged to them, as we have before related.

But now to consider that an *Indian*, who was an Idolater, and who had been guilty of such horrible Cruelties, as *Atahualpa* had been, should receive the Sacrament of Baptism at the hour of his Death, can be esteemed no otherwise, than as an Effect of the infinite Mercy of God towards so great Sinners as he was, and I am. At his Baptism *Atahualpa* was named *Don John*. *Blas Valera* says, That Friar *Vincent de Valverde* laboured many days before his death to teach and instruct him in the Articles of the Catholick Faith; during which time the *Inca* finding himself in Prison, and Chains, and without other Society or Attendance of *Indians*, excepting a Youth, who was his Kinsman, and permitted to serve him, he was struck with such a dump of Melancholy on his Spirits, that he remained almost insensible. Upon which the *Spaniards* brought him out of the Prison, and called the principal *Indians* to his Assistance, who seeing their Lord in that condition, immediately sent for their Chief Herbalists to ease and cure him. So soon as those Physicians came, they felt his Pulse, to discover the nature and force of his Fever; but not as our Doctors, who try the Pulse at the Wrist, but laid their Fingers on the top of the Nostrils, and under the Eye-lids; after which they gave him a Drink, made of the juice of certain Herbs, of great Virtue; what they were, is not known, unless that onely which is called *Payco*. Moreover he saith, that this Drink put him into a violent sweat, and caused a long and found sleep; after which his Fever left him, and being returned again to his Senses, he was carried back to Prison. When warning was given him of his Death, he was commanded to receive Baptism, for without it they threatened to burn him alive, as they had done *Huabintimoc* at *Mexico*, who was King of that Empire; and to affright him into Baptism, the Pile of Wood was kindled, when they notified this Sentence to him. At length he said that he was contented to be baptized, after which Proclamation being made of the Crimes for which he died, he was tied to a Post, and strangled. In all which particulars the *Spanish* Historians agree, and also that he remained three months in Prison.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Of the Information and Process which was given in, and made against Atahualpa.

THE Trial of *Atahualpa* was long and solemn, though *Gomara* touches upon it in short. But the manner was this:

The Governour himself was Lord Chief Justice of the Bench, and with him presided *Don Diego de Almagro*, his Companion; the Clerk of the Court was *Sancho de Cuellar*; there was also an Attorney General appointed in behalf of the King, and Council allowed for *Atahualpa*; and others were assigned to bring in the Witnesses, and take their Testimonies upon twelve several Interrogatories; there were also two other Judges named, to be Assistants, and give their opinions in the Case, whom, for respect, I think not fit to nominate, though they were sufficiently known to me.

The first Interrogatory was this: Did you know *Huayna Capac* and his Wives? and how many had he? The 2d. Was *Huascar Inca* his lawfully begotten Sun and Heir of this Kingdom? and was *Atahualpa* illegitimate, and a Bastard, and not Son of the King, but of some *Indian* of *Quito*? The 3d. Had the *Inca* other Sons besides those before mentioned? The 4th. Did *Atahualpa* inherit this Empire by virtue of his Father's Testament, or did he usurp it by Tyranny? The 5th. Was *Huascar* disinherited of his Kingdom by his Father's Testament, or was he declared Heir? The 6th. Was *Huascar* still living, or was he dead? or did he dye a natural Death, or was he killed by order of *Atahualpa*? and when was it, either before or since the coming of the *Spaniards*? The 7th. Was *Atahualpa* an Idolater? and did he command his Subjects to sacrifice Men and Children? The 8th. Did *Atahualpa* raise unjust Wars? and was he guilty of the Blood of much People? The 9th. Did *Atahualpa* entertain many Concubines? The 10th. Did *Atahualpa* receive the Tribute of the Empire since the *Spaniards* took the possession of it? and did he consume and embezzle it? The 11th. Do you know that since the coming in of the *Spaniards* that *Atahualpa* hath given Presents or Gifts out of the Royal Treasury to his Kindred and Captains? and how, and in what manner hath he embezzled and wasted the Wealth of the Publick? The 12th. Do you know that King *Atahualpa* hath since his Imprisonment treated with any Captains and Souldiers to rebel, and raise War against the *Spaniards*? and what Levies of Men, and what Preparations of Arms have been made for War? Upon these Interrogatories they examined ten several Persons; seven of which were Servants to the *Spaniards*, and three of them were not, that so they might not appear to be their Creatures; yet they all declared whatsoever *Philipillo* put into their Mouths, as *Gomara* affirms. Onely there was one Witness, who was none of the Servants belonging to the *Spaniards*, called *Quepse*, who was Captain of a Company, being the last that was to be examined, suspecting that the Interpreter would say something which he had not testified, he, to prevent it, answered in short, either in the Affirmative, or in the Negative, saying either *Y*, which is yes, or *Manam*, which is no. And lest the Interpreter should falsifie these Words, which were not well understood by the Persons present, when he spake in the affirmative, he would nod with his Head two or three times, and when in the negative, he would shake with his Head and his Right-hand, at which the Judges much admired, being pleased with the subtilty of the *Indian*. Howsoever the Death of *Atahualpa* being determined, Sentence was passed upon him, and accordingly he was executed, as we have already declared, though many of them, as well such as belonged to *Pizarro*, as those who came with *Almagro*, who were of a generous Spirit, dissented, and protested against the Fact. The Names of the most eminent amongst them were *Francisco de Chavez*, and *Diego de Chavez*, who were Brothers, and Natives of *Tinaxillo*, *Francisco de Fuentes*, *Pedro de Ayala*, *Diego*

de Mora, Francisco Moscofo, Hernando de Haro, Pedro de Mendoza, Juan de Herrada, and Alonso de Avila, and Blas de Atienza, with many others; all which were of opinion, that it was not lawfull to put a King to death, who had treated them kindly, and had never done them any Injury; and if in case he were guilty of any Crime, they should transport him into Spain, there to be tried by the Emperour, and not by themselves, who had no Power or Jurisdiction over Kings. That they should consider the Honour of the Spanish Nation, which must greatly suffer in the Reputation of the World, and be branded with Tyranny and Cruelty, whensoever it should be objected against them, that they had put a King to death, during the time that they had given their Parole to the contrary, and were under Obligations of Treaty, and Articles, for his Ransome, of which they had already received the greatest part. That they should be cautious how, and in what manner they stained their great Achievements with an Act so foul and inhumane as this; that the fear of God should restrain them, who, after so barbarous an Action, could not expect Blessings, or Successes agreeable to their happy beginnings, but, on the contrary, Misfortunes, and Ruines, and an unhappy end to all those who had a hand in this Wickedness. That it was not lawfull to put any Man to death, without hearing what he could say in his own Defence; that they appealed from their Sentence to the Emperour Charles the 5th. and in the mean time constituted Juan de Herrada Protectour of the Person of King Atahualpa. These and many other particulars of this nature, they uttered not onely in Words, but also in Writing, solemnly protesting before the Judges against this Fact, and against all the evils which might be the consequences thereof. Nor were those on the other side less bitter and violent against those who favoured Atahualpa, calling them Traitors to the Royal Crown of Castile, and the Emperour their Sovereign, the augmentation and enlargement of whose Dominion, they had endeavoured to prevent. That by the death of this Tyrant they might secure their own Lives, and the entire Dominion of that whole Empire, all which by the contrary would run great danger and hazard. Of all which, and of the Mutinies which these Dissenters caused, they would inform His Majesty, that so he might distinguish between such who were his loyal Subjects, and faithfull to his Service, and those who were Traitors, and mutinous, and obstructive to the enlargement of his Dominions. Thus were the Discords enflamed to such a degree, that they had broken out into a Civil War, had not some more moderate Men, and less passionate, interposed between both Parties, and represented how destructive and fatal such Differences might prove to both sides, and to the success of the Design in hand, in case that Christians, on the score of Infidels, should enter into a Civil War. They moreover represented to those who maintained the Cause of Atahualpa, that they should consider how they were no more than fifty in number, and inferior to the contrary party, which consisted of three hundred and fifty; so that in case they should pretend to decide the controversy by Arms, the Issue would be their own destruction, and the loss of that rich Kingdom, which now they might secure by the Death of this King. These Reasons and Considerations abated the Spirits of those who protected Atahualpa, so that they concurred with the others in his Sentence of Death, which was accordingly executed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Wit and Subtilty of Atahualpa; and of the Treasure which was collected towards his Ransome.

Atahualpa (as we have said) was of a quick and ready Understanding, an Instance whereof we have in this passage, which indeed hastned his Death; for he observing the Spaniards to read and write, did believe that it was a Gift natural to them, and born with them, to try which he desired a Spaniard, who came to visit him, or that was one of his Guard, that he would write the Name of God on the Nail of his Thumb; the Souldier having vvrote, as he desired, he asked three or four Souldiers, one after another, vvhhat that Word meant, they all told him, that it vv as the name of God. At length Don Francisco Pizarro came in, vvith vvhom after he had discoursed a vv hile, he asked him the meaning of those Letters vv hich vv ere vv rote on his Nail: Novv Pizarro not knowing either to vvrite or read, answered that he could not tell, by vv hich he collected, that the knowledge of Letters vv as acquired, and not natural; and from that time ever after he conceived a meaner esteem of the Governour than before; for that (as vve have said) the Incas, in their Moral Philosophy, vv ere taught, that the Royal Family, Nobles and Gentlemen, ought to exceed their Inferiours in knowledge and Vertues, as appears in the Trial of Novitiates, (as vve have formerly related) vv ho vv ere to run through all Exercises and Hardships, vv hich might try and approve them; so vv hen Atahualpa had discovered the Ignorance of Pizarro, vv ho being the Governour, and Chief, vv as, according to his Rule, to have excelled all his Inferiours in Learning and Vertues, he conceived a meaner Opinion of him, which when the Governour had observed, he grew angry and offended with him, which hastned the Death of Atahualpa. This passage I have heard from those who were then present, which may be a caution, and an advertisement to Noble Persons in the Education of their Sons; for that for want of Reading, and Writing, and a little Latin, they may fall into Disgraces, and be subject to Affronts, though indeed in those times ignorance was more excusable than in this present age, which affords many Masters in Spain, where all Sciences and Learning flourish, and where Noble-men value themselves not more on their honourable Birth, than on their vertuous Education, which yields a Lustre like precious Stones enchased with Gold.

Another thing is reported of Atahualpa, for an Instance of his Wit and good Understand, which was this, that amongst many other things, which the Spaniards brought to truck and barter with the Indians, or, as some say, wherewith to cheat them, there was one who had a Glas Cup, of the finest sort of Meral, which was made at Venice. The Merchant of it hoping for a good Reward, presented it to the King Atahualpa, who received it so kindly, that (though he was then a Prisoner) he ordered ten of his Cups of Gold, and Silver, to be given the Spaniard in return thereof. The Inca looking and admiring much the curiosity of the Workmanship, asked one that stood by, if any other besides the Kings of Castile were served in such Vessels; to which he that made the Answer, supposing that he meant the Glas, and not the Workmanship, replied, that not onely Kings and Nobles, but the Commonalty of Spain, made use of those Glasses: which when Atahualpa heard, he let it fall from his Hands, saying, that things to common, were not worthy the esteem of a King. At which Words of an Indian all Persons then present did much admire.

Thus was Atahualpa put to Death by formal process of Justice, (as is related) and before the quantity of Gold and Silver which he had promised for his Ransome was fully completed, because time was not given him to make due compliance; though some report, that they put him to death after he had paid the entire quantity: but whatsoever that was, the Spaniards divided to every Man his Share

Share, in the nature of Spoils taken in War. But what the value of this Ranfome was, *Augustin de Carate*, and *Francis Lopez*, who wrote in those days, variouſly report. I ſuppoſe that their Errors were in the heap or maſs, I ſhall mention ſome particulars thereof, that we may make a better judgment of the whole matter. *Carate*, in the 7th Chapter of his ſecond Book, hath theſe precise Words. "There was due to His Maſteſty for his Fifth, thirty thouſand Marks of pure, fine Plate, wrought and embossed; and in Gold an hundred and twenty Millions of Marks, &c. *Gomara*, in the 118th Chapter, ſaith, That *Franciſco Piſarro*, after he had made an Eſſay of the Gold and Silver, he cauſed them to be weighed, and found fifty two thouſand Marks in good Silver, and a million and three hundred and twenty fix thouſand and five hundred weight or Ducats of Gold.

In caſe we compare theſe two Authours together, we ſhall find that *Gomara* comes ſhort of the Sum which *Carate* mentions, at leaſt one hundred thouſand Marks of Silver; becauſe that to make the King's Fifth to amount unto thirty thouſand Mark, the principal muſt conſiſt of one hundred and fifty thouſand, the like Error, and much more, there is in the Gold; for whereas *Carate* ſaith, that His Maſteſty's Fifth of the Gold amounted unto an hundred and twenty millions of Marks, which muſt be a plain Error in the Print; for if according to the value we multiply every Mark of Gold at ſeventy two Ducats, the ſum will become ſo vaſt and impenſe, that there will ſcarce be numbers in Arithmetick ſufficient to contain the account. And if by Marks they mean *Maravedis*, the Error will be as low on that ſide, as it was exceſſive in the other, becauſe an hundred and twenty millions of *Maravedis* make onely three hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats; which likewiſe is more evident; as will hereafter appear by the account of Diviſion, which theſe Authours make, in the ſhare and proportion which belonged to every ſingle Perſon out of the Ranſome of *Atabalipa*, whereby they make the value of the Gold, reduced into Silver, to amount unto ſeven hundred and eighty fix thouſand and fix hundred Ducats. According to which I am inclined to make out every Man's ſhare and proportion of Gold and Silver, rather than to follow an opinion of ſuch incredible Sums as are before mentioned. And herein I am more willing to give credit unto *Carate* (who was Accountant General) in ſuch Sums as he ſets down preciſely, than to the reports of Goers and Comers, who ſpeak at random: Onely as to the quantity of Silver which was divided, I follow that which *Gomara* relates, becauſe *Carate* is ſilent in that particular, as alſo in the proportions divided to each Captain, as appears by his Hiſtory; onely the ſhare which appertained to the General we have taken upon the information of thoſe who were preſent. Both Authours agree, that the Horſemen were ſixty in number; and the Foot, or Infantry, one hundred and fifty. Though *Cieſa de Leon*, ſpeaking of *Cañamarca*, where *Atabalipa* was imprifoned, ſaith, that thoſe who took him were ſixty Horſe, and an hundred Foot; in which report concerning the Foot, I rather follow this Authour than *Gomara*; for beſides that he was actually in *Peru*, when he wrote of theſe matters, I am alſo much more apt to keep within the compaſs of Accounts, and ſet down ten too little, rather than five too much.

Theſe Authours alſo differ much about the ſhares which every Souldier received; for to the Souldiers they allot fix parts in Gold; and one in Silver; and to the Governour, and his Captains, and the People with *Almagro*, they give three parts in Gold, and one in Silver. Why in thoſe times the Gold ſo much exceeded the quantity of the Silver, (the contrary to which now appears in all parts of the World) the true Reaſon is this: Becauſe that the *Inca* Kings were always Maſters of more Gold than Silver, of which they made no other uſe than to adorn their Temples, and Royal Palaces, not eſteeming them in the place of Riches; or Treafure. Moreover there was much more difficulty in digging Silver, than in finding Gold. For Silver, as we ſee in the Mines of *Potosi*, is fetched from the Bowels of the Earth, into which they ſink ſometimes two hundred fathoms; as *Acoſta* reports in the 8th Chapter of his 4th Book, which ſuch as have the curioſity may read and learn with what incredible labour that Metal is extracted, for which cauſe the *Incas* would not exact their Tribute from the People in that Metal, but Gold is procured with much more eaſe, being found on the Surface of the Earth, being waſhed down from the Mountains with ſudden Rains, and with the fall of the Waters is found in Brooks, and on the Banks of Rivers; and generally

rally in all parts of *Peru*, though more in ſome parts than in others; this Metal, when the *Indians* find, they waſh it, and ſift it as Goldſmiths do their Cinders, and afterwards made Prefents thereof unto their Kings.

But to return again unto our purpoſe, which is to determine what the value was of that incredible Ranſome, for our better judgment wherein, we ſhall ſet down the ſeveral particulars mentioned by the aforeſaid Authours. As to the value and difference between Gold and Silver, there was in thoſe days, as well as now in *Spain*, about twenty *per Cent.* in the eſteem of Gold above that of Silver, and rather more than leſs; but for more plainneſs, we will reduce the Weights of Gold and Silver to Ducats of *Caſtile*, of eleven *Ryalls* and one *Maravedis* to a Ducat. Now to come to the Diviſion, *Carate* ſaith, that the ſhare to every Horſeman came to 12000 Weight, that is Ducats in Gold, beſides Silver; for every Horſeman had a fourth part more than a Foot-man, and yet notwithstanding *Atabalipa* had not complied with the fifth part of what he had promiſed for his Ranſome. And in regard that no ſhare of this Ranſome belonged to *Almagro* and his Souldiers, becauſe they were not then preſent when *Atabalipa* was made a Priſoner, howſoever the Governour beſtowed a thouſand Ducats on every Souldier, as a Gratiuity, and an Encouragement: This *Carate* affirms. *Gomara* ſaith, that the ſhare to every Horſeman amounted to 370 Marks of Plate, beſides Gold; and to the Captains thirty or forty thouſand Ducats a-piece. And now after we have ſummed up the whole, which theſe Authours put to account, of every parcel, let us ſubtract the fifth, and then we ſhall eaſily compute what the ſum total amounted unto, and how much belonged to every Man for his ſingle ſhare and proportion.

To the Governour they divided 200000 Ducats, of which 150000 was in Gold, and 50000 in Silver; beſides the Chair in which the *Inca* was carried, weighing 35000 Ducats of Gold, which being thrown into the Heaps amongſt the other Riches, appertained to him, as Captain General. To the three Captains of Horſe their proportion was 90000 Ducats in Gold, and 30000 in Silver. To the four Captains of Foot the like ſum was proportioned of 90000 Ducats in Gold, and 30000 in Silver. To the hundred Foot Souldiers their ſhare amounted unto 900000 Ducats in Gold, and 195000 in Silver. To the two hundred and forty *Spaniards* which came up with *Almagro*, a largels was given of 80000 Ducats in Gold, and 60000 in Silver. And to *Almagro* himſelf 30000 Ducats in Gold, and 10000 in Silver, beſides the Allowance which his Companion made him out of his own ſhare, as ſhall hereafter be more particularly mentioned. The fifth of all which, deducted from theſe ſeveral parcels in Gold, amounted unto 546250 Ducats, and the fifth from the Silver unto 13750 Ducats. And in regard, as Hiſtorians report, that the Silver was purified, and much finer than that which we call Standard, and was by four *Ryalls per Mark* better, or of more value; we ſhall add the ſum of 38160 Ducats unto this Account, being for ſo much as this Silver was more refined and better than the common Standard. And not to weary the Reader farther with theſe long Accounts of every particular ſum, we ſhall caſt up the total, with allowance of twenty *per cent.* advance, in the value between the Gold and the Silver; with twenty *per cent.* difference between the Piece of Eight and the Ducat; ſo that an hundred *Peſos* in Gold are worth an hundred and forty four Ducats, according to which we ſhall eaſily make up the ſeveral ſumms in Gold. And in regard that Hiſtorians do not mention whether the Gold was fine, as they do that the Silver was refined and purified, we ſhall ſuppoſe that the Gold was worth twenty two Quilats and an half, as in the Standard in *Peru*, and not twenty four Quilats, as in *Spain*, for then we ſhould add to the whole value of the Gold 218500 Ducats, which ariſes on the Quilar and an half of Advance; but becauſe the *Spaniſh* Writers do not mention that difference, we ſhall likewiſe leave it out in this Account, left we ſhould ſeem to infer any thing without good Authority. As to the Silver, there is no other difference than of twenty *per cent.* between the Piece of Eight and the Ducat. We ſay then that the Gold, which fell to the ſhare of the Governour, together with the Royal Chair, amounted unto—

the Silver unto—	252000 Ducats.
To the three Captains of Horſe in Gold—	60000
in Silver—	129600
	36000

To the sixty Horsemen in Gold—	1036800 Ducats.
and in Silver—	129600
To the hundred Foot-souldiers in Gold—	1296000
and in Silver—	162000
To the 240 Men which came with <i>Almagro</i> in Gold—	259200
and in Silver—	72000
To <i>Almagro</i> himself in Gold—	43200
and in Silver—	12000
The fifth deducted from the Gold—	786600
and from the Silver—	126900
The difference of the refined Silver above the Standard—	38170

So that the sum total of the Ranfome of *Atahualpa* amounted unto 4605670 Ducats, of which sum 3933000 Ducats are the value of the Gold, and the 672670 Ducats are the value of the Silver, accounting therein the advantage upon the fineness above the Standard; both which summs together amount to the aforesaid total of 4605670 Ducats. This was the value of those Riches which the *Spaniards* gained in *Peru*, but much greater was that which they found in *Cocco*, when they made their entrance into that City, as *Gomara* and *Carate* report, and as we shall declare hereafter in its due place. *Blas Valera* saith, that the Ranfome of *Atahualpa* amounted unto 4800000 Ducats, the which he reports on the Authority of the *Indians*, who had set down an account by their knots of every particular parcel which was brought from the several Provinces; but we shall rather follow the account given by our Historians herein, than that of the *Indians*; though *Blas Valera* differs from the others, and makes the sum greater by 194330 Ducats, than what is before mentioned. In those former times such great summs seemed incredible, because they were not known, though now they create no great Wonder, since it is manifest, that for these thirty years past, there have been imported ten or twelve Millions every year in the River of *Guadalquivir*; the which my Countrey having sent as an Offering to *Spain*, and all the old World, hath thereby been more profitable to Strangers, than kind and natural to her own Children.

Gomara in the 118th. Chap. of his Book speaking of this Ranfome, hath these Words. "*Francisco Pizarro* sent the fifth part of his Spoils, together with a Relation of his Successes, by his Brother *Hernando*, unto the Emperour, and with him returned many of the Souldiers very rich, with twenty, thirty and forty thousand Ducats a Man. In short, they brought away almost all the Gold filling the Bank of *Seville* with Money, and the World with the fame and discourse thereof, and with desires of that enterprize. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*. It is well-known, that those who returned were sixty in number. The Governour shared to his Companion 120000 Ducats, being so much as appertained to him out of his proportion. To *Hernando de Luque*, the Schoolmaster, nothing was divided, because it was known, that he being already failed, could be no farther usefull, so that Historians have no occasion to make other mention concerning him.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Of the Discourses which the Spaniards made upon these Affairs.

BY the Death of these two Brother-Kings, (or rather Enemies) *Huascar* and *Atahualpa*, the *Spaniards* became absolute Lords and Masters of both their Kingdoms; there being none remaining to defend the People, or make head against them; for the race of the *Incas*, being almost extinct, the *Indians* were like Sheep without a Shepherd, having none to govern them, either in Peace or War; and besides, the Civil and intestine Discords between the Factions of *Huascar* and *Atahualpa* were become irreconcilable, so that both Parties, being desirous to gratifie the *Spaniards*, made them the Instruments of each other's Revenge. Moreover those Captains who were of *Atahualpa's* party were divided amongst themselves; for some of them made head against the *Spaniards*, as we shall see hereafter, and others disbanded the Armies under their Command, with intention to set up an *Inca* of their own choice, supposing that he would be more kind and indulgent to them than a strange Prince; the Person whom they elected was *Paulu*, the Son of *Huayna Capac*, being one of those who had made his escape from the Cruelty of *Atahualpa*. The Person who had the principal hand in this Election, was the Major General *Quizquiz*, who was in *Cuntisuyu* when the News came of the Imprisonment of *Atahualpa*, and untill that time had been an Enemy to *Paulu*. But urgent and violent necessities cause Men to stoop unto mean and low Actions, and more especially Tyrants, and Men of poor and base Souls, who finding themselves sinking, regard neither Honour nor Conscience, but onely such means as tend to their own vile and mischievous Designs. *Quizquiz* was an Officer of *Atahualpa*, and a stout and an experienced Souldier. To *Paulu* they gave the coloured Wreath, but he received no satisfaction in that Royal Signal, because he knew that the lawfull Inheritance belonged to *Manco Inca*, and not to himself; which when *Quizquiz* observed, and that *Paulu* was cold, and not desirous of the Government, he then set up for himself, resolving to contend with his own Force and Prowess; and accordingly having raised an Army, he marched towards *Cocco*, to know what was become of his King *Atahualpa*; upon which March we shall leave him, untill we come to the time and place of his Actions.

The *Spaniards* observing with what Honour and Adoration they were generally received by the *Indians*, and that, according to the report made them by the six *Spaniards* who went on Discovery, all Veneration and Service was paid to them; they often entertained familiar Discourses one with the other on that Subject, making various Reflexions on the causes thereof, as the fancy of every Man did suggest. Some would attribute the success of all to their own Prowess and Valour, for that the *Indians* seeing them so stout and resolute, believed them to be invincible, and so out of mere fear and terror submitted and yielded, and framing a thousand Rodomontado's of their own Conduct and Courage, searched not for any cause beyond themselves, nor reflected on the Prophecies of *Huayna Capac*, which foretold the coming of the *Spaniards* into their Countrey, who should destroy their Idolatry, and their Empire; and out of this superstitious Belief yielded all up without resistance. Howsoever there were some more considerate than the rest, who being zealous for the service of God, and for the propagation of the Christian Faith, attributed all their Successes to the miraculous Operations of God, in favour to the propagation of the Gospel, that so the Faithfull, as well as Infidels, beholding them with wonderfull attention, the one might be thereby induced to receive the Faith with readiness and love, and the others be encouraged

to preach it with fervour and charity towards their Neighbours, and with due respect towards God, who hath shewed them such great and miraculous works. And indeed we may aver it for a truth; that it could be no less than miraculous, That a Spaniard or two should travell alone two or three hundred Leagues in an Enemies Countrey, and be carried through it on Mens Shoulders, and all Respect and Adoration paid to them, as if they had been Gods, whenas they might have thrown them over some Bridge, or down some precipice, or by other means have easily destroyed them, is a conservation above all humane Wisdom and Direction, and ought to be solely attributed to the Divine Providence, by such as profess themselves good Christians, and Preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Others improving this consideration and Argument farther, did some times in preface of the Governour discourse to this effect. That in regard *Atahualpa* had received Baptism, it had been more conducing to the quiet of that Kingdom, and propagation of the Catholick Faith, to have conserved him alive, and paid him all Honour and Respect, requiring of him, that since he himself was become a Christian, that he should publish an Edict in favour of that Religion, commanding all his Subjects and Vassals within a certain time to be baptized; certainly this course would have been extremely prevalent for three or four most pungent Reasons, every one of which singly might have been sufficient to have converted the whole Nation, how much more, when they all concurred together.

As first, The Command of the *Inca*, to which in the most trivial matters Obedience is yielded, as to the Law of God; how much more would it be in the Case of Religion, delivered by those whom they in their own Minds esteemed to be Gods.

Secondly, the Natural Obedience which they always yielded to their *Incas*.

Thirdly, The Example which the King had given in being baptized, would easily have begotten a conformity in his People. And,

Fourthly, That which would have appeared most specious and obligatory, and which comprehends the force of all together, would have been the Precept of *Atahualpa*, declaring, That in pursuance of the Prophecy of his Father *Huayna Capac*, delivered in his last Will and Testament, signifying the Obedience they were to yield to those new Guests, who were to enter into their Countrey, whose Law and Religion was much better, and more excellent than theirs.

Had (I say) the Preachers taken advantage of this convincing Method of Arguments, certainly the Gospel would have entred and spread without opposition; but God in his secret Judgment would not admit of these Methods, that so those matters might come to pass, which afterwards succeeded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

The Effects which the Civil Discords between the two Incan Kings, who were Brothers, did produce.

THE War which was raised between the two Kings *Huascar* and *Atahualpa*, who were Brothers, vvas the cause of the total subversion of that Empire, and facilitated the Entrance, and the Conquest vvhich the Spaniards made of that Countrey, vvhich being for the most part craggy and mountainous, and full of difficult Passages, might othervvise have been easily defended. But God, vvho in his Mercy designed the propagation of the Gospel in those Countreys, vvas pleased for the more easie introduction thereof, to permit those feuds betveen those vvvo Brothers.

Acosta speaking summarily of this Point, in the 22d. Chapter of his 6th Book, hath these Words. "*Huayna Capac* vvas succeeded in *Cuzco* by one of his Sons, called *Tito Cusi Gualpa*, (he means *Inri Cusi Gualpa*) afterwards he vvas called "*Gualpa Inca*, and his Body burned by the Captains of *Atahualpa*, vvho also vvas the Son of *Huayna Capac*, and raised Arms against his Brother in *Quito*, and came against him vvith a powerfull Army. At that time the Captains of "*Atahualpa*, namely *Quizquiz*, and *Chilicuchima* seized upon *Gualpa Inca* in the City of *Cuzco*, after he vvas declared Sovereign Lord and King, and indeed he vvas the lawfull Heir and Successour. Great was the Confusion and Noise vvich this Action made through all parts, both of the Kingdom, and of the Court. And whereas it was their Custome upon all great Emergencies of Affairs, to have recourse unto Sacrifices, the People finding themselves in no capacity to relieve their King, who was in the Hands of the Captains of *Atahualpa*, and guarded by a powerfull Army, they therefore agreed, and, as they say, by order of their Captive King, to offer a solemn Sacrifice to the *Viracocha Pachachacchi*, (he should have said *Pachacamac*) who is the Creatour of the Universe, praying, that since they were not able of themselves to deliver their King out of Prison, that he would be pleased to send some People from Heaven, who might procure his Freedom. Whilst they were intent to the solemn performance of this Sacrifice, News was brought, that a certain People was come by Sea, and having landed, had seized *Atahualpa*, and kept him Prisoner. And in regard that this Affair happened just in that conjuncture of time, when this Sacrifice was offering, and that the People were very few in number, who had seized on *Atahualpa* in *Caxamalca*; they gave the name of "*Viracochas* to the Spaniards, which name continues to them unto this day, upon a belief, that they were sent from God for rescue of their King; and indeed the People would have been confirmed in this opinion, had the Spaniards followed those Methods which were pursuant thereunto. And on this occasion we ought seriously to contemplate the Wisdom of the Divine Providence, vvich conducted the Spaniards into those Countreys in that seasonable conjuncture of Affairs, when the Divisions between the two Brothers were grown up to a Civil and an Intestine War; vvithout vvich advantage, vvich begat in the Indians a belief, that the Spaniards were a People dropped from Heaven, it had been impossible for such a handful of Men to have become Conquerours of that numerous People, the loss of vvhole Countrey was recompensed to them, by the gain vvich Heaven was to their Souls. Thus far are the Words of *Acosta*, vvith vvich he concludes that Chapter, vvherein vvith much brevity he sums up the War between the two Brothers, the Tyranny of the one, and the Right of Succession vvich appertained to the other, the Imprisonment of them both, and the small number of Men vvich took *Atahualpa* Prisoner, and how gracious the Divine Providence was to those poor Gentiles in their Conversion; vvhat Name they gave to the Christians, and the Esteem vvich they

they had of them, upon an opinion that they were come from Heaven: All which particulars we have already declared, and set forth at large. We are now to tell you the reason of that name of *Viracocha*, given by them to the *Spaniards*, which was this: So soon as they saw the *Spaniards* in their Countrey with that Beard and Habit, in which the Phantasm appeared to their *Inca Viracocha*, the which Apparition the *Indians* ever afterwards adored for a God, as he declared himself to be. And that when some time after they saw that the *Spaniards* had at their first entrance taken *Atabalpa* Prisoner, and in a few days afterwards had put him to death by form of Law, and in such manner as is due to Murderers and Malefactours, and had at his Execution, by the Voice of a Crier, published the Tyrannies, Cruelties and Treason against *Huascar*, for which he suffered; they were then really convinced, that the *Spaniards* were Sons of the God *Viracocha*, and were descended from their Father the Sun, to punish *Atabalpa* for his Crimes, and to revenge upon him the Blood of his Brother, and of all that Family. And what did moreover confirm this Belief, were the Cannon and Musquets which the *Spaniards* used, and which the *Indians* took for proper Arms and Ammunition of the Sun, giving them the name of *Ullapa*, which signifies Thunder, and Lightning, and Thunderbolts. And to the Name of *Viracocha*, they added the Title of *Inca*, as properly belonging to them on fore of the Relation they had to the Sun their Father, from whom they descended; the which Title they gave to all the Conquerours of Peru, from the first, who entred with *Francisco Pizarro*, to those who came in with *Almagro*, and afterwards with *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, all whom they adored for Gods; the which Esteem and Veneration for them continued untill the Coverousness, Luxury, Cruelty and Severity, with which in a barbarous manner many of them treated the poor *Indians*, discovered the falsity of this vain Opinion, and opened their Eyes; giving them to understand, that such as were so different in their Morals, and in all their Actions to their ancient *Incas*, could not be descended from the Sun, and consequently could not merit the Title of *Inca*; howsoever they continued the Name of *Viracocha*, for the similitude they had in their Habit, and Beard to the Phantasm, or Apparition. Thus did the *Indians* judge of those *Spaniards* who were cruel, and ill natured to them, calling them *Cupay*, which is the Name they give to the Devil; but on the contrary, such as were gentle, kind and compassionate towards them, they not onely confirmed their former Titles which they had given them, but added thereunto such other appellations as they attributed to their Kings, as *Tinipachurin*, Child of the Sun, *Hanc-chacuncay*, a Lover of the poor; and when they would higher exalt the Goodness and Vertue of those *Spaniards*, who treated them kindly, they called them the Sons of God, which when they would express in *Spanish*, for the Name of God, which is *Dios*, they would pronounce it *Tium*, because the Letter *D*. is not in the *Indian* Language. So *Tinipachurin* is with them the Son of God, though in these times, by learning the *Spanish* Tongue, they are come to a better pronunciation. Such Honour and Veneration did these poor *Indians* shew at the beginning to those *Spaniards* who were compassionate, and good natured towards them, and the like respect do they still bear towards the Clergy, as well as to the Seculars, in whom they observe the brightness of Vertue to shine with Humility and Gentleness, without Avarice or Luxury; for the *Indians* are naturally of a good disposition, very meek and humble, cordial to their Benefactours, and gratefull for the least favour or good they receive. The which natural proneness to make acknowledgments for good Offices done, they derived from the ancient Customs of their Kings, whose Studies were for the publick welfare of their People, by which they merited all those Names and Surnames of Renown, which were attributed by their People to them.

C H A P. XLI.

Of the Faithfulness which the Indians of Peru shewed unto the Spaniards when taken by them in the War.

THE *Indians* of Peru held this Maxime or Principle. That if any yielded himself, or having been taken by a *Spaniard* in the War, he was thereby become his absolute Slave, and esteemed him by whom he was taken to be his Idol, and his God, and that he ought to honour and revere him for such; and to obey, serve, and be faithfull to him unto the death, and not to deny him either for the sake of his Countrey, Parents, Wife or Children. Upon this Principle they preferred the Wellfare of a *Spaniard*, who was their Master, before all other considerations whatsoever, and would sell or betray their own Family, if their Master required it, and that it were necessary or conducing to his Service; by which means the *Spaniards* never wanted Spies, nor Intelligence of whatsoever passed amongst the *Indians*, which was of great use to them in the Subjection and Conquest of that Countrey; for they believed it to be a real duty in them to be obedient unto those to whom they had yielded themselves Captives; and therefore would engage in fight on their Masters side, against their own Countreymen and Relations, as if they were their mortal Enemies: When some *Spanish* Troops in their March had taken some *Indian* Captives, and that the Commanders would share them amongst the Souldiers according as every Man wanted a Servant, the *Indian* would refuse to acknowledge any other for his Master, than him onely to whom he had yielded himself; and when they were told, that it was the Rule of War to divide equal shares to every Souldier, and that he who was already provided, was to permit his Companion to be equally accommodated: The *Indian* answered, that he would obey on condition, that when the Christian to whom he was allotted had taken another Captive, that he might have the liberty to return to his Master to whom he had first submitted; the like Fidelity the Women also professed. Three *Indians* taken in this manner I left in the House of my Father, and Lord *Garcilasso de la Vega*, one of which was called *Alli*, which is as much as to say Good; he was taken in a Battel, of which there were many in *Collao*, after the *Indians* had made their general Insurrection, in one of which this *Alli* fought like a very stout Souldier, and having engaged far with some few Persons, he took no care to save himself, untill he saw all his Companions put to flight, and hardly pursued by the *Spaniards*, and having then little hopes of safety or refuge, he laid himself amongst the dead, to which posture he had opportunity to compose himself by the darkness of the night, and casting away his Shirt, he wallowed in the blood of the slain, that so he might seem to be one of them.

The *Spaniards* returning from the pursuit unto their Camp in several Companies, three or four of them happened to pass that way, where this *Indian* lay counterfeiting the dead Man; and whilst they were viewing the dead, my Lord and Master *Garcilasso de la Vega* observed one of them to pant, and draw his Breath, whereupon he went near him, and touched him with the point of his Spear, to try if he had sense, and were living; so soon as the *Indian* felt the prick he immediately started up, and cried for quarter, fearing that there was nothing less than Death for him. After which he remained in the Service of my Father; with that Fidelity and Subjection which we have already expressed, being desirous to evidence the same on all occasions. He was afterwards baptized, calling himself *John*, and his Wife *Isabel*.

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

Don Pedro de Alvarado goes to the Conquest of Peru.

THE Fame of the great Achievements in *Peru*, and the Riches thereof was now spread in all parts with such Renown, that as *Lopez de Gomara* in the 26th Chapter of his Book reports, the *Spaniards* crowded in such numbers to take a share of the Gold, that *Panama*, *Nicaragua*, *Quahutemallan*, *Cartagena*, and other Plantations, and Islands were almost dispeopled, and left desolate.

Amongst the rest Admiral *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, one of the most famous and renowned Captains of that age, being not contented with the Glory and Riches he had acquired by the Conquest of the Empire of *Mexico*, *Yucatan*, and *Quahutemallan*, resolved to augment his Greatness by his attempts upon *Peru*. To which end he obtained a Commission from the Emperour *Charles the fifth*, to conquer, plant and govern all that Countrey which he should gain, at such a number of Leagues distant from the Jurisdiction and Conquests of *Francisco de Pizarro*. For this Enterprize he made Levies of many stout Fellows, and moreover many Gentlemen of Quality from all parts of *Spain* offered their Services, especially those of *Estremenos*, because *Don Pedro* himself was a Native of *Badajoz*.

This noble Person, amongst his many other Excellencies of Nature, was endued with such nimbleness and activity of Body, that thereby he saved his own Life, when the *Marquis del Valle* was forced to make a retreat from *Mexico*: for the *Indians* having broken the Bridge over which the *Spaniards* were to pass: This *Don Pedro*, with the help of a Lance which he carried in his hand, the point of which having fixed in the Bodies of the dead, he took a running leap of twenty five Foot clear over the Bridge; at which the *Indians* were so much astonish'd, and wondred, that they called him a Son of God. This Passage *Lopez de Gomara* touches in the 107th Chapter of his Book, where treating of the Conquest of *Mexico*, and of *Hernando de Cortes*, he hath these Words, which we have delivered verbatim: "When he returned to them, though some fought very stoutly, yet he found many killed. He lost his Gold, his Baggage, and Prisoners. In fine, his Men were routed, and his Camp disperfed, and nothing remained in that posture in which he had left it; howsoever he rallied as many as he could, put them in the front, and he himself brought up the rear. And *Pedro de Alvarado* was ordered to rally what Forces he could, and to make head against the Enemy, but they charged him so home, that he was not able to withstand them; when seeing his Men slain round about him, and that if he staid, there

" was no possibility to escape; he followed *Cortes* with the Lance in his hand, and passing over the dead bodies, and such as were wounded and groaning, he came to the Bridge *Cabrera*, and leaped over it with his Lance, at which not only the *Indians*, but the *Spaniards* were astonished, for that no other was able to do the like; some indeed there were who attempted it, but falling short, they were drowned. This fact is recorded in the *World on Gemas*.
 " *Remember*, when I was a Boy, that I have heard the *Spaniards* discourse much of the great activity of this Gentleman; and that the second time after *Mexico* was subdued, how he had set two Marble Pillars at each end of the Arch of the Bridge, for marks of the leap which he had taken; to which, for the truth of what I have said, I refer my self, in case they be still remaining, though it is a wonder if envy and emulation of this Age hath not destroyed them.

The first time that this *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was at *Seville*, with design to embark for the *Indies*, he, with some other young Sparks, his Companions, ascended to the top of the Steeple of the Great Church to enjoy the Air, and take a view of that most pleasant prospect; where seeing a Beam thrust out from the Tower of about ten or twelve Foot long, and had been there placed some few days before for a Scaffold, to mend some part of the Steeple. One of those Gentlemen that was with him, I do not well remember his Name, but he was a Native of *Cordova*; knowing how much *Don Pedro* did boast, and avail himself of his activity, he on a sudden laid aside his Sword and Cloak, and without speaking a word, went out of the Tower upon the Beam, measuring it of foot by foot, until he came to the end of it; and then turning about, walked back again with the same even steadiness as before.

Don Pedro observing this bold action, and believing that it was onely to dare him, scorned to be out-done; and therefore keeping on both his Sword and Cloak, threw one end of his Cloak over his left shoulder, and the other part holding close under his right arme, and his Sword with his left; he in that posture marched forth upon the Timber, and going to the end thereof, gave a sudden turn round, measuring it with the same footing back until he came to the Tower. Certainly it was a very bold and daring action both of one and the other. Another time it happened, that this *Don Pedro*, with some other of his youthful Companions, going to Hunt, met some Country fellows, who to out-vye each other, were jumping over a certain Well, that was very broad, some of which leaped over it, but some would not adventure. At length came *Don Pedro*, and he placing his feet together, just at the brink of the Well; *Now*, said he, *this were a good standing jump, if I durst adventure it*: With that he gave a leap, and reached the other side onely with the fore-part of his feet, and gave again on a sudden a jerk back to the very place where he had taken his leap forwards. These and such-like feats of activity are recounted of this Gentleman, and others who were employed in the Conquest of this new World, as if God, who had that great Work for them to do, had endued them with abilities of body and mind proportioned to so great an enterprize; for if the very Journey it self through those unknown parts with peace and quietness, were a matter of labour and hardship; how much more difficult must it be to pass those Straits and craggy Mountains by force of Arms? But in reality, it was the Divine Assistance which co-operated with the Prowess of these Heroes; for without such a miraculous concurrence, humane power could never have attained to such mighty Achievements. Thus we have mentioned something of the Activity of *Alvarado*; but his Acts and Monuments of his Valour are recorded in the Histories which write of *Mexico*, *Nicaragua* and *Peru*, though not so fully as his great Worthiness deserved.

Moreover, he was so comely a Person both Walking, and on Horse-back, that returning one time from *Mexico* into *Spain*, to clear himself of some Aspersions which his envious Adversaries had charged upon him; and coming, as his duty was, to kiss the Emperour's hands, and render him an account of his Services: His Majesty being then at *Aranjuez*, in one of the Walks of that Garden, and seeing *Don Pedro* with a manly gait, and handsome Air coming towards him, asked who he was? and being told that it was *Alvarado*; *This Man*, said the Emperour, *hath not the fashion and mien of a person that can be guilty of such actions as are charged upon him*: And so acquitting him of all the calumnies with which he was slandered, he gave him his hand to kiss, and received him to favour.

It was upon this Voyage when he returned a Married Man into New Spain, and carried with him several young Ladies for Wives, to those who had conquered that Country, and were settled there in good Houles with riches and prosperity. *Alvarado* being arrived at *Huabtimallan*, was there received with great joy of the people, and in his own House, with Balls and Dances, which continued for many Days and Nights. It happened that one day, when all the Conquerours were fate in the great Hall, to behold the Dancing; and that the Ladies were also looking out of the *Jesoloutes*, or Lattices, where, after the modest fashion of *Spain*; they remained unseen: One of them said to the others, *What, are these the Conquerours with whom we are to Marry?* *What*, said another, *with these Old rusten fellows?* *Let these Marry with them that will, for my part, I will have none of them; the Devil take them, for they look as if they had been come from Hell; for some of them are Cripples, others lame and Maimed; some without Ears, others with one Eye, or half a Face, and the best of them hath been slashed and hacked over and over again.* *No*, replied the others; *we are not to Marry them for their good Looks, but to inherit the Estates they have gained; for they being old, and worn out, are to dye quickly, that we may Marry again, and chuse what young brisk fellow we please, as if we were to change an old Kettle for a new Pot.* One of these Old Gentlemen standing near these Ladies, and not seen by them, overheard all this discourse; and not enduring the scorn with which they treated these Old fellows, he replied upon them with affrontive terms, and high indignation, and told all that he had heard unto the company; saying, *Marry with them who will for me; and I'll warrant you they will well reward your kindness to them.* Having said thus much, he returned home, and presently sent for the *Parson*, and Married his Indian Woman, who was of Noble Birth, and on whom he had already begot two or three Children; which he made legitimate, that they might inherit his Plantations and Estate, rather than that Gallant, whom the Lady should chuse to enjoy the fruits of his labours, and make servants and slaves of his Children. There have been some few in *Peru*, who have followed his example, and Married Indian Women; but the most part have yielded to the pleasure and counsel of the Lady. The Children of these Conquerours can by experience tell us the truth of this matter, and in the *Alms-houses*, where they now remain, may lament the loss of their Inheritances, acquired by their Fathers Toils and Valour, and enjoyed by Strangers and Aliens, not related either to Father or Mother: In the beginning of those times, when an Indian Woman had brought a Child to a *Spaniard*; all the whole family of that Woman were devoted, and swore themselves slaves and servants to that *Spaniard*, worshipping and adoring him as their Idol, because he had entered into an affinity with them; and hereby they became very usefull to the *Spaniards* in their Conquest of the *Indies*. It was one of the Laws made by the Conquerours of the new World, That every one should enjoy the Lands which were divided to him for two Lives, that is, for his own and his Son's life; and in case he had no Child, then the *Spanish* Wife was to come into the Inheritance, and barred all the natural Children, as if the Lady had contributed more towards the Conquest, than the Indian Mothers: by which means it came often to pass, that the fine Ladies changed their old Husbands for young Gallants.

C H A P. II.

Of the difficulties and dangers which Don Pedro de Alvarado and his Companions sustained in their Voyage.

THIS brave General *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was accompanied with many other worthy Gentlemen of Quality, in which number was *Garcilasso de la Vega*, my Lord and Father, whom *Cieza de Leon* calls Captain *Garcilasso*; and in the 4th Chapter of his Book uses these words: "General *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was accompanied with *Diego Gomez*, and *Alonso de Alvarado*, which latter is now Marquis in *Peru*, as also with Captain *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *John de Saavedra Gomez de Alvarado*, and other Persons of Quality, and arrived at a place near to the Quarters of *Diego de Almagro*; upon which such contests and quarrels arose between the two Parties, that it was feared, that matters would have broken out into an open defiance, &c. Thus far are the Words of *Cieza*; where it is observable, that he onely calls *Garcilasso de la Vega* Captain; and the others Gentlemen; with all whom I had a personal acquaintance, unless it were with *Pedro*, and *Diego de Alvarado*. In their passage by Sea from *Nicaragua* to *Puerto Viejo*, they suffered much for want of Water, and other Provisions; for upon a belief or supposition, that the Voyage would not be long; and being in great haste to depart, they omitted to take Aboard all those things which were necessary for their Voyage. The like want both of Victuals and Water, they suffered after they were Landed, as will appear by the Relations of the Accountant *Augustin de Carate*; and the Priest *Topi de Gomara*, both which agree in the same Narrative, onely with this difference about the value or price of the Horses which they were forced to kill in the Journey, wherewith to give food to their Men. Wherefore I have thought fit to set down the Words of *Gomara* in the 12th Chapter of his Book; wherein he briefly touches on all the particular Labours and Difficulties which *Don Pedro* and his Companions endured in this Expedition; part of which are as followeth:

"The Riches of *Peru* being published in all parts, *Pedro de Alvarado* obtained a Commission from the Emperour to discover and plant Colonies in those Countries, which were not as yet inhabited by any Spaniards: And in the first place he dispatched *Garcilasso* with two Vessels to discover the Countrey, and bring intelligence of what had lately passed in those parts. *Holguin* soon after returned with great commendations of the Countrey, and with mighty admiration of the vast Riches which were taken and seized by the Imprisonment of *Atabaliba*, reporting also that *Cusco* and *Quinu*, a Countrey not far from *Puerto Viejo*, were extremely rich. Upon this advice they resolved to sail thither; and accordingly in the year 1535, they armed out five Ships, and embarked thereupon four hundred Spaniards, and many Horses. With these *Alvarado* Landed in *Puerto Viejo*, and marched towards *Quinu*, enquiring always for the way, until they came to certain great Plains, encompassed with very lofty Mountains; where they had all perished for want of Water, had they not by chance lighted upon a sort of Canes, which were filled with Water; and to satisfy their hunger, they ate the Flesh of their Horses, which they were forced to kill, though they were worth above a thousand Ducats a Horse; though *Carate* saith, that every Horse was worth about four or five thousand pieces of Eight Spanish Money; and truly I think, that this was the most probable value, because I heard so much in *Peru*. The Volcano of *Quinu* (which is a burning Mountain) threw up such quantities of Ashes by a terrible irruption which continued for many days, that all the Earth was covered with them for above eighty Leagues round; and when it burns with its fierceness, such flames ascend from it, that they may be seen at a hundred Leagues distant, and make such a noise, that they astonish more than Thunder and Lightning: They were forced also to Fell the Woods

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"to make a passage: They passed also several snowy Mountains and Desarts, (a thing very strange so near the Equinoctial) in that cold Countrey fixty of their people were frozen to death; so that when they were escaped from the Snows, they returned hearty thanks to God; who had delivered them from that danger; and cursed all the Gold and Silver to the pit of Hell, which had enticed and tempted them to a condition of starving both with cold and hunger. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*; and then *Carate* proceeds, and says, "Thus did they travel (without hope, or comfort, or power to succour one the other; for it happened, that a Spaniard, who carried his Wife and two little Children with him, finding them so tired and weary, that they could travel no farther, nor himself able to carry them; he sat down with them to take some repose, during which time they were all frozen to death; and though the Man could have escaped, yet such was his compassion to his Wife and Children, that he would rather perish with them, than forsake them in that condition. With such labour and difficulty as this they passed the snowy Mountain, rejoicing much when they had got over to the other side. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, in the 9th Chapter of his second Book. And here we may condole this unhappy fate, that the first Spanish Woman which came to *Peru*, should thus most miserably perish.

As to the five hundred Men which these Authours account to have been with *Alvarado*, I have been informed from several that were with him, that they were no less than eight hundred Spaniards; perhaps they might be no more than five hundred that came from *Nicaragua*, and that when they were landed in *Peru*, other recruits might join with them; so that in the Plains of *Kivocampa*, where *Alvarado*, and *Diego de Almagro* entered into Articles of Confederacy together, they might arise to the number of eight hundred: But another Historian makes a difference of three years time between these matters, but that is not much to our purpose.

As to the Canes in which they found the Water, called *Tpa*, they are commonly as big as a Man's leg or thigh, though the end of them is not thicker than the finger of a Man's hand: they grow in no other than in hot Countries, where they make use of them to Thatch their Houses: The information they had of the Water was from the people of the Countrey, who guided them to the Canes, some of which contained six Gallons of Water, and some more, according to the bigness of them, which is proportionable to their height. *Augustine Carate* in the 10th Chapter of his second Book, writing the Journal of this *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, gives this description of the Canes: "In this Journey, saith he, they endured much hunger, and greater thirst; for such was their want of Water, that had they not met with Groves or Thickets of Canes, which yielded good and wholesome Water, they had all perished. These Canes are commonly about the bigness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water, having a natural propriety to imbibe or suck in the nightly Dews which fall from the Heavens; besides which there was no Water nor Springs in that dry Countrey; and herewith *Don Pedro* refreshed both his Men and Horses. Thus far *Augustine Carate* gives us an account of General *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, where we shall leave him for a while, and return to the Spaniards and Indians which we left in *Cassamarca*.

C H A P. III.

How the Body of Atahualpa was carried to Quito; and of the Treason of Rumminavi.

SOON as Don Francisco Pizarro, and Don Diego de Almagro had buried Atahualpa, they travelled to Cuzco, visiting in their way thither, that very rich Temple, which was situated in the Valley of Pachacamac; from whence they carried away all the Gold and Silver which Hernando Pizarro had left behind, not having been able to take it with him. From thence they proceeded to Cuzco, in which Journey, though they had many steep and craggy Mountains, many swift Torrents and deep Rivers to pass, yet they met no very great difficulty, but that only which we shall hereafter relate.

And thus leaving them on their way, let us return to the General Challeuchima, and other Captains of Atahualpa, who joyned themselves with the Nobles of the Court, and other principal persons, who remained in Cassamarca. So soon as the Spaniards were departed from that Province on their Journey to Cuzco, the Indians took up the Body of their King, and according to his Command transported it to Quito, where they interred it with such decency as became the Burial of a Prince, and yet with such little pomp, as was agreeable to a conquered people, that had yielded to the subjection of a foreign and stranger Nation.

Rumminavi seemed the most forward of any both to receive the Body of the King, and to Embalm it, though already corrupted, and tending to putrefaction; and in the mean time he secretly made Levies, and prepared a way to set up himself in the Government, dissembling all respect and obedience to Quilliscacha, the Brother of Atahualpa; and that he might try in what manner his mind stood affected to Rule and Dominion, he persuaded him to bind his head with a coloured Wreath, if he were desirous to revenge the Death of his Brother. All which Rumminavi uttered with design to blind the understanding of Quilliscacha; and cover his plots and evil intentions, untill he could bring his affairs to maturity; but to this persuasion Quilliscacha refused to hearken, saying, That the Spaniards would not easily quit their Empire; and in case they would, yet there were so many Sons of Huayna Capac surviving, who were ready to lay their claim to the Government, and had a better right and title to it than himself; that some or other of them would adventure to assume the Government; and that the people would appear in vindication of the just title and cause of the undoubted Heir, for whose sufferings by the late unhappy Wars and Miseries they had a true sense and compassion.

This prudent and cautious Answer of Quilliscacha did not alter the sinister designs and intentions of Rumminavi, for being both a Tyrant and Barbarous, he resolved to proceed, and set up his own interest, telling his familiar friends in their private discourses with him, that according to the Practices and Examples which he had seen, the right to Rule and Govern belonged to the strongest; for that he who could wrest the Power into his own hands, and kill his Master, as Atahualpa had Murdered his Brother, and as the Spaniards had Atahualpa; the same had title sufficient to constitute himself Chief and Supreme Lord. Rumminavi remaining firm in this principle, and resolute in this design, made great preparations to receive Atahualpa, assembling the people together under pretence of performing the funeral Obsequies of their late Inca; the which Solemnity, though formerly continued for the course of a year, was now concluded within the space of fifteen days. At the end of which, Rumminavi judging not fit to let pass so

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fair an opportunity whereby to compass his designs; for that fortune having put into his hands all those whom he intended to kill, as namely the Sons and Brother of Atahualpa, the chief Captain Challeuchima, with many other Captains and Lords then present, he resolved to execute his bloody purpose. To which end he invited all the great Persons there present to a Dinner, that being together they might treat of affairs, and consider of the way and means how to secure and defend themselves from the Spaniards; he also nominated Quilliscacha for Vice-king, or Regent, in the Kingdom of Quito, during the Minority of the eldest Son of Atahualpa, who was as yet but an Infant.

The Captains and Curacas accordingly assembled in the Palace of the Inca, where many things were proposed, but nothing determined: At length Dinner was brought in, which was very sumptuous, having been provided at the cost and charge of Rumminavi. Dinner being ended, and the Meat taken away, the Drink was brought in, which they call Sora, and in other Tongues Vinapu, which, as we have said, is a sort of Liqueur forbidden by the Indian Kings upon pain of Death; for that on a sudden it seizes the spirits, and intoxicates in such manner, that such as drink it remain (as it were) dead for some time, and without sense. Acofa saith, that it inebriates much sooner than Wine. For though of their common liquour they make great quantities, yet this immediately intoxicates. So soon as Rumminavi perceived these Captains and Curacas belotted, and stupified with this Liqueur, he fell to his work, and cut all their throats; amongst which was Challeuchima, Quilliscacha, and all the Sons and Daughters of Atahualpa, not leaving one alive that was capable to oppose his design. And to create a greater terror of himself in the minds of the people, for he pretended not to be obeyed for love, but for dread and fear, he flaid off the Skin of Quilliscacha, and therewith covered a Drum, the Skin of the head hanging to it, that so like a good Scholar and Officer of his Master Atahualpa, he might appear with all the Ensigns, and marks of tyranny and cruelty. Carate mentions onely, in short, this barbarous Cruelty. Peter de Cieza saith, that Francisco Pizarro burnt Challeuchima in Sacahuanna, but this was not the Challeuchima whom we mean, but a Kinsman of his of that Name, but of less fame and renown. He also adds, that the General Challeuchima was present at the Death of Atahualpa, and that he carried his Body to Quito, as before related, and that he was afterwards Murdered there by the hands of his own people.

C H A P. IV.

Rumminavi takes all the Select Virgins of a Convent and Buries them alive.

TWO Spanish Historians treating of the Cruelties of *Rumminavi*, specify amongst the rest, one of the most barbarous pieces of inhumanity that ever was committed: They say, that when *Rumminavi* came to *Quinu*, where entertaining some discourse with the Women, he said to them, *Cheer up, and be merry, for the Christians are now coming with whom you may solace your selves*; at which some of the Women happening innocently to laugh, thinking no hurt; he spoiled their jest, and cut their throats, and burnt down the Closet or With-drawing-room of *Atahualpa*: These are the words of one of the Writers, and the other agrees with him in the same sense. But the truth of the story is this: The Tyrant one day went to visit the Convent of those who are called the Select Virgins, with intention to chuse out from those Women who were there placed, and separated for the use of *Atahualpa*, some of the most beautiful and pleasing to his fancy; in regard that he being declared King, all the Women, Estate, and Riches of his Predecessour devolved to him with the possession of the Kingdom. Discouraging one day with these Ladies concerning the present state, and successes of affairs, he described the behaviour and habit of the *Spaniards*, whose Bravery and Valour he extolled to a high degree, saying, That it was no shame to fly from their irresistible fury; that they were a strange sort of people with Beards in their faces, and were mounted upon creatures called Horses, which were so strong and fierce, that a thousand *Indians* were not able to withstand the violence of one of them, and with the swiftness of his carriage was so terrible as to rout, and put them all to flight. He added farther, That the *Spaniards* carried Thunder and Lightning with them, by which they could kill the *Indians* at two or three hundred Paces distant from them, and that they were armed with Iron from head to foot. In fine, after he had described them with high admiration, he said, that they wore a certain kind of Codpiece, like a Box wherein to inclose their Genitals; it is to be supposed, he meant the Codpiece to the Breeches, (used in the days of Our Henry the Eighth) which was a fashion neither modest nor useful. The Women hearing the latter part of the Story, burst out heartily into a laughter, supposing that they had rather pleased than angered *Rumminavi* therewith: but he on the contrary interpreting their laughter to be an effect of unchast and dishonest desires, and that they would joyn and concur with the *Spaniards* when occasion offered, he was transported with such rage, that it broke forth into this furious language: *Oh wicked Whores and Traytoreesses, if onely with talk of the Spaniards you are so pleased, what would you doe and doe with them, if they were present? But I shall take care to spoil your sport and pastime with them.* So soon as the words were out of his mouth, he immediately commanded his Officers to take and carry all the Women, as well the young as the old, to a stream of water which runs by the City, and to execute upon them the same punishment which their Law inflicts, which is to bury them alive; according to the Sentence they were carried thither, and there interred alive under great heaps of stones, which were thrown upon them from certain Mountains and Rocks, which lye on both sides the River. Thus did this barbarous Tyrant discover more unhumane cruelty, and relentless bowels, by this Murder committed on poor silly Women, who knew nothing but how to Knit and Weave, than by his bloody treachery practised on stout Souldiers, and Martial Men; and what farther aggravates his crime, was, that he was there present to see the execution of his detestable Sentence, being more pleased with the objects of his cruelty, and his eyes more delighted with the sad and dismal sight of so many perishing Virgins, than with any other prospect or colours which could have been presented before his view. Thus ended these poor Virgins,

gins, dying onely for a little feigned laughter, which transported this Tyrant beyond his senses: But this villany passed not unpunished; for after many other Outrages he had committed, during the time of his Rebellion, against the *Spaniards*, and after some Skirmishes with *Sebastian Belalcázar*, who was sent to suppress him, as we shall hereafter relate; and after he had found by experience, that he was neither able to resist the *Spaniards*, nor yet by reason of his detestable cruelties to live amongst the *Indians*; he was forced to retire with his Family into the Mountains of *Anti*, where he suffered the fate of other Tyrannical Usurpers, and there most miserably perished.

C H A P. V.

Of two Skirmishes between the Indians and the Spaniards.

THE Governour *Don Pedro de Pizarro*, and his fellow Souldiers, which with the recruits that *Almagro* brought with him, made up the number of about three hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, marched carelessly towards *Cusco*, and with such security, as if they had no Enemy to encounter, and as if the whole Kingdom had been their own, travelling from one Town to another, as in their own Country, without fear or apprehension of any thing. *Carate* in the 8th Chapter of his second Book, touches on this particular, and relates a brave Exploit performed by the *Indian* Captains, as we shall see hereafter, though he varies something from others in their Names. The *Inca Tim Ananchi*, Brother of *Atahualpa*, seeing the King a Prisoner, and his Ransome agreed, travelled into divers parts of the Kingdom to collect all the Gold and Silver he was able, that therewith he might purchase the freedom of his Brother; and being returned as far as *Cassamarca* with vast riches in Gold and Silver, he received news of the Death of his Brother, and that the *Spaniards* were departed for *Cusco*, and securely travelling on their way thither in no order or posture to receive an Enemy: the which when *Tim Ananchi* had heard and considered, he disburthened himself of his Riches; and having gathered and joyned what forces he could in a Body, he pursued the *Spaniards* as far as to the Province *Huayllas*, and amongst the people called *Tocto*, where with six thousand Men he made an assault upon the *Spaniards*, and took eight of them Prisoners, who were as yet in their Quarters, amongst which was *Sancho de Cuellar*, who was the Clerk that drew up the Indictment and Sentence of Death against *Atahualpa*. *Carate* touches upon this passage, and says it was *Quizquiz* that did this Exploit, but he mistakes one for the other, and makes no mention of any taken. Whilst matters passed thus in *Huayllas*, the *Spaniards* had another Skirmish with the *Indians*, who were Commanded by Major-General *Quizquiz*, one of the most famous Captains belonging to *Atahualpa*, of whom we have already made mention: For he having at *Cusco* received advice that his King was taken and made a Prisoner, marched with his Squadron, consisting of eleven or twelve thousand Men towards *Cassamarca*, to endeavour either by fair or foul means the releasement of his *Inca*; but meeting with the *Spaniards* on his march thither, he engaged with them, and fought a stout Battel, which Historians relate in short and confusedly, but much in favour of the *Spaniards*. The truth of what passed is this: *Quizquiz* having understood by his Scouts, that the *Spaniards* were approaching, and that they marched carelessly, and without order, he laid an Ambuscade within the Woods and Rocks; and having ranged his Men in a half circle, he attacked them in the Rere with such bravery, that four *Spaniards* were wounded, and ten or twelve *Indians*, their Servants, were killed. The Governour, who marched in the Van-guard, being Allarmed at the surprize of his

Rere, detached two Captains of Horse for the succour and relief of them, supposing that the *Indians* upon sight of the Horse would immediately run, and be put to flight, as formerly they had done in *Cassamarca*, where they abandoned and forsook their King. So soon as the Horse came up to the Station of *Quizquiz*, he made a feigned retreat to certain Rocks and Mountains, where the Horse could not pass; nor do any service, continuing still a defensive Fight, as they retired; entertaining the *Spaniards* with a Skirmish for the space of three hours; by which time their Horses became faint and tired; of which the *Indians* taking advantage, fallied forth with that whole Body, which by the Command and Conduct of *Quizquiz* were lodged within the Rocks and Mountains; and assailed the *Spaniards* with such fury, that they killed seventeen of them; though a certain Historian mentions onely five or six, besides some that were wounded, and others taken Prisoners, and the rest escaped by the swiftness of their Horses. Of the *Indians* seventy were slain; those that were taken, were *Francisco de Chavez*, who was one of the Chief Commanders; *Pedro Gonzales*, who was afterwards an Inhabitant of *Truxillo*, *Alonso de Alarcon*, *Hernando de Haro*, *Alonso de Hojeda*, who some years afterwards fell into so deep a melancholy, that he lost his senses and understanding, and died in *Truxillo*; also *Christopher de Horosco*, a Native of *Seville*; *John Diaz*, a Gentleman of *Portugal*, besides several others of less account, whose Names time hath abolished. *Alonso de Alarcon* was taken by the fall of his Horse, with which his Leg was broke short off at the Knee; and though the bone was afterwards set by the *Indians*, who took great care of him, and of the others who were wounded, yet he remained lame for ever after.

Quizquiz having gained this advantage, like an experienced Captain, would not stay until the remainder of the *Spanish* Forces were come up, but retreated with his people towards *Cassamarca*, to meet with *Titu Atacchi*, Brother of the late King, who (as he had heard) was on his march: And to cut his way as short as he could, he passed a great River, and then burnt the Bridge, because it was made of Oiers, that so the *Spaniards* might not be able to follow in the pursuit of them.

Having met with the *Inca Atacchi*, they both agreed to return to *Cassamarca*, there to consider of Affairs, and to treat of those things which might conduce to the common good, and welfare of the people; and so accordingly they proceeded.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

The Indians put Cuellar to Death, and enter into Articles with the other Prisoners.

SO soon as the *Inca Titu Atacchi*, and *Quizquiz*, were entred into *Cassamarca* with the *Spaniards* their Prisoners, they examined the *Indians* concerning the Death of their King *Atahualpa*; and being informed that *Cuellar* had been Clerk, and drawn up the Indictment, and made all the Process against *Atahualpa*, and had been present to see their King executed: And being likewise informed that *Francis de Chavez*, and *Hernando de Haro*, and others then Prisoners, had appeared in favour of *Inca Atahualpa*, and that they interceded for his Life and Liberty with such heat and earnestness, that they adventured their own lives in his cause: Upon which full hearing and information of the matter, *Titu Atacchi*, and *Quizquiz*, and the other Captains, resolved that the Clerk *Cuellar* for his bold attempt on the Life of their King, and for having notified the Sentence, should be put to death in the same form and manner as their King was executed. But as to the other *Spaniards*, out of respect to *Francis de Chavez*, and *Hernando de Haro*, who had appeared in favour of their *Inca*, order was given for their Cure, and that they should be well treated, and civilly used; and that being recovered of their wounds, they should be dismissed with freedom and presents. According to this determination the Counsels were executed; for *Cuellar* being taken out from the very Prison where *Atahualpa* had been lodged, and being carried to the very same place of Execution, with a Cryer before him, Proclamation was made as followeth: *The Pachacamac commands that this Auca, which signifies as much as Tyrant, Traytor, &c. and all those who have had a hand in the Murder of our late Inca, should be put to death.* Not that this form of a Cryer was according to the use of their Country, but onely in imitation and revenge of what had been done to their *Inca*, and accordingly *Cuellar* was tied and strangled at the very same Post at which *Atahualpa* had been Executed; with which a shout was made, *Thus may all thy Companions perish.* *Cuellar* being dead, they left his body exposed the whole day to common view, and towards the Evening buried it, imitating in all particulars the forms used by the *Spaniards* in Execution of *Atahualpa*. But as to *Francis de Chavez*, and his other Companions, so soon as they were cured of their wounds, and were in a condition to travel, they bestowed on them Presents of Gold, and Silver, and Emeralds, and dispatched them away with several *Indians* to carry them on their shoulders: But first they capitulated with them, as Representatives for the other *Spaniards*, and agreed on several Articles of Peace and Friendship: the principal of which were these: "That all the Acts of War, and Hostility, and Injuries hitherto committed on either side, shall cease, and be pardoned, and forgotten. That for the future a Peace shall be established between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, and that they shall offer no hurt or damage to each other. That the *Spaniards* shall not deprive *Manco Inca* of his Empire, because it is his right to Govern, being lawfull Heir. That the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in all their Commerce and Negotiations shall treat amicably together, and afford help and succour each to the other. That the *Spaniards* shall set those *Indians* at liberty, whom they hold in Chains, and that for the future they shall put none of them into Irons, but freely to use them in their service. That the Laws made by the past *Incas*, in favour, and for the benefit of their people, and which are not repugnant to the Christian Law, shall be conserved inviolably in their force and virtue. That the Governour *Don Francisco de Pizarro* shall in a convenient time send these Capitulations into Spain to be there ratified and confirmed by his Imperial Majesty. All which the *Indians*, as well as they were able, gave to understand unto *Francis de Chavez*, partly by signs, and partly by words, which were interpreted

by the *Indians*, who were Servants to the *Spaniards*, and had been taken with them, and whom *Titu Atacuchi* taught and instructed word by word, that so having the matter well inculcated to them, they might be better able to utter and express his meaning. The *Spaniards* observing the great generosity with which they were treated by *Titu Atacuchi*, and his people; and that when they were Prisoners to them, and lay at their mercy, and that they might have proceeded against them as guilty of the Murder of their King, and Disturbers of the common peace and quiet of their Nation; yet then on the contrary they frankly restored them unto their liberty with Presents of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, dispeeding them away with attendance to carry them, and with other Accommodation for their Journey: In fine, when they considered all this, and the reasonable Articles and Terms which the *Indians* proposed, they could not but admire, and remain confuted at the peaceable and quiet disposition of the *Indians*: Moreover, when they were under custody, and in hourly expectation of Death, and had time, as Men, to reflect on their present condition, they much lamented their remissness, and want of care to instruct the *Indians* in the Doctrine of the Gospel; howsoever, resolving for the future to make amends for that default, and being emboldened by the gentle temper of the *Indians*, they adventured to ask leave, that they might demand only two things from them: To which the *Indians* replied, That whatsoever they should require, should readily be granted. Hereupon *Francisco de Chavez* said, that he did in the Name of the Governour, and all the *Spaniards*, require that the *Incas*, and all their Captains and Lords, should receive the Law of the Christians, and consent, that it should be freely preached in all parts of their Empire. Secondly, That whereas the *Spaniards* being Strangers and Aliens in that Countrey, had neither Servants nor Lands to serve and maintain them; that a subsistence should be granted to them, as to the Natives of the Kingdom, that *Indian* Men and Women may be allowed to serve them, not as Slaves, but as hired Servants. To which answer was made, That as to what concerned the Law of the Christians, they did not only not reject it, but did earnestly intreat them immediately to send to the place where the Governour resided, desiring him with all convenient speed to furnish them with such Preachers and Priests, as might instruct them in those Precepts and Principles which were necessary for them to know, promising for their parts to treat and use them kindly, and with such honour and reverence, as if they were Gods; for they were well assured from the testimony of their late *Inca Huayna Capac*, that the Law of the *Spaniards* was much better than their own; and though they had no other reason to entertain such a belief, than the bare recommendation of their *Inca*, yet that was so prevalent, as to engage them to all obedience, usefulness and service towards the *Spaniards*; the truth of which had been evidenced by their *Inca Atahualpa*, had he been suffered to live, yet he had sealed this sincere obedience with his blood; and therefore they might be confident they could ask nothing but what would be granted to their satisfaction. The Covenants which were thus agreed, were by their Historiographers recorded on their Knots; and licence being given to the *Spaniards* to depart, they took their farewell, and being laden with Presents, and accompanied with a numerous Attendance, they proceeded on their Journey in search of their Governour. And as they were on their way, *Francisco de Chavez*, and his Companions, being considering Men, fell into discourse concerning the late passages; and reflecting thereupon, they were of opinion, that the words and actions of that people were so well agreeing to reason, as did not favour of the Gentilism and Barbarity in which they were nurtured, but were Miracles of the divine inspiration infused into the Souls of that people, disposing their minds to receive the Doctrine of the Gospel with ease and readiness; on which encouragement they resolved to persuade the Governour, and the other *Spaniards*, to send Missionaries to that intent and purpose into those parts: And though they were all generally of the same mind in this particular, yet the Devil, who is the common enemy of Mankind, endeavoured by all his wiles and artifices to obstruct the conversion of those *Indians*; the which in a great measure he effected by the aid and assistance of his diligent Ministers the seven mortal Sins, which being in those times of liberty let loose, greatly prevailed, committing all those outrageous Villanies which might bring a disrepute on the profession of the Gospel. Hence arose those Wars, which in a short time after were waged between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, occasioned by perfidiousness and non-performance of the

the Articles, for that Pride would not stoop, nor consent to a restitution of the Kingdom to his proper and lawfull Master. Afterwards Anger prevailed, and raised War between the two Companions *Pizarro* and *Almagro*; which being maintained by Envy and Emulation, one not supporting the greater power of the other, continued untill both of them perished in a competition for Authority, for *Almagro* was killed by the Brother of *Pizarro*, and so was *Pizarro* slain by the Son of *Almagro*. These Wars were followed by others between that good Governour *Vaca de Castro*, (with whom I was acquainted at *Madrid* in the year 1562,) and *Don Diego de Almagro Junior*; for Pride, which is the Mother of Dissention, was so prevalent in the mind of this Youth, that having neither a Spirit to submit to his Lord and Sovereign, nor Power to maintain his Dominion, he perished in his folly. Soon after Covetousness and Tyranny raised a War between the Vice-king *Blasco Nunnez Vela*, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*; the which in a few years after was followed by Stris and Combuitions between *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, and *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, occasioned by Gluttony and Luxury. All which Wars succeeding one after the other, for the space of twenty five years, were raised by the malice and contrivance of the Devil, as we shall demonstrate in their due place, and were great obstructions to the propagation of the Gospel; for by reason of continual disturbances, neither the Priests could freely Preach, nor had the Infidels leisure nor convenience to receive the Doctrine of Faith, being under the continual amazements of Fire and Sword, and other miseries; in which the *Indians* had a greater share than the *Spaniards*, being oppressed by both sides, and compelled to supply both Camps with Provisions, and carry the burthens for them on their shoulders with wonderfull patience and labour; of which I my self have in part been an Eye-witness.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Entrance of the Spaniards into Cozco, and of the great Treasure which they found there.

SO soon as the *Inca Titu Atacuchi* had dispeeded *Francisco de Chavez* and his Companions with the aforesaid Capitulations, he sent an Express Messenger to *Inca Manco Capac*, who was his Brother by the Father's side, with advice of the Articles agreed, and of all particulars which had passed; that so being well informed of all matters, he might be provided to act and treat with the *Spaniards*. The General *Quisquiz* sent in like manner to advise him, that he should by no means disband his Army, but rather increase it, untill such time as he had wholly concluded and settled matters with the *Spaniards*, lest being secure, and over confident of their kindness, he should fall into the same snare, and run into the same fate which his Brother *Atahualpa* had already suffered.

With these Informations and Advices the *Indians* sent their humble Submissions to *Manco Inca*, acknowledging him for their Supreme Lord and King; for though they had been Enemies to him whilst he stood in competition with his Brother *Atahualpa*, yet that difference being now ended by his Death, all was reconciled; it being agreed at a Council of War, that the Empire should be restored to that person unto whom the Succession did by lawfull Inheritance appertain: And on this foundation they resolved to unite their forces for Expulsion of the *Spaniards*, in case they could not live in amity with them, believing themselves much more formidable by this concord and union, than when they were divided into several Factions and Parties.

The Prince *Manco Inca* received the Advices of his Brother, and the Addressess of *Quisquiz*, with much joy, being much pleased to find that those who were his late Enemies, were now reconciled and joyned with him in his just claim and title to the Empire. And herein he was the more satisfied to understand, that the *Spaniards* concurred in the like intentions, having on all occasions openly declared their inclinations to right and justice. Upon which presumption the *Inca* ventured to apply himself to the *Spaniards* to demand Peace and Friendship, and in a simple and sincere manner to require the Government and Dominion over his Kingdom, according to the Capitulations which his Brother *Titu Atahuchi* had sent to him. And here we shall leave him for a while in his preparations for such an Address, until its due time and place, and return to our *Francisco Pizarro*, who being better advised by the late damage which his people had sustained from *Titu Atahuchi*, did now march with more caution, and less security than before; so that they met no considerable Encounters, unless a few flying Skirmishes near the City of *Cuzco*, from whence the Inhabitants sallied out to defend a Pass; but making a feeble and poor resistance, they hastily fled to their Houses, from whence carrying away their Wives and Children, and what Stock and Goods they could collect, they retired into the Mountains, being greatly affrighted with the reports of what had succeeded in *Casamarca*, for that Country having been subject to the power of *Atahualpa*, made some resistance, being desirous, if possible, to revenge the Death of their Prince. *Gomara* treating of this particular passage, hath these words: "The next day the *Spaniards* entered into *Cuzco* without any opposition, and presently they fell to work, some to unrip the Gold and Silver from the Walls of the Temple, others to dig up the Jewels and Vessels of Plate, which were buried with the Dead, others pillaged and rifled the Idols, and sacked the Houses, and the Fortrefs, where still great quantities of Gold and Silver were conferved, which had been there amassed and laid up by *Huayna Capac*. In short, there was more Gold and Silver found in this City, and in the parts about it, than what was produced at *Caxamalca*, by the ransom of *Atahualpa*: Howsoever, the particular share belonging to every individual person did not amount unto so much as the former Dividend, by reason that the number was greater which was to partake thereof; nor was the second fame so loud as the first, which published the Triumph of Riches with the Imprisonment of a King. A certain *Spaniard* entering into a Vault, found there an entire Sepulchre of Silver, so thick and massy, that it was worth fifty thousand pieces of Eight; others had the fortune to find such as were of less value, for it was the custome of rich Men of those Countries to be buried in this manner up and down the Fields, and there to be laid in State like some Idol: Nor were the *Spaniards* contented with this prize, but still thirsting after greater Riches, were hot in the pursuit of the Treasures of *Huayna Capac*, and of others hidden by the ancient Kings of *Cuzco*, but neither then, nor afterwards, were any of those Treasures known; howsoever they tortured and vexed the poor *Indians* with ferreys, usage and cruelties, to shew and discover to them the rich Sepulchres. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, extracted verbatim from the 124th Chapter of his Book. Carate in the 8th Chapter of his second Book, speaking of some *Spaniards*, who went in pursuit of an *Indian* Captain, saith as follows: "And not being able to meet with him, they returned to *Cuzco*, where they found a great prize both of Gold and Silver, than that in *Caxamalca*, all which the Government divided amongst his people. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*. And now I suppose by these Authorities, it hath been sufficiently proved, that the Riches which the *Spaniards* found in *Cuzco*, were greater than those taken in *Casamarca*; and to acquit my self in the truth of what I relate, I am pleased to cite, on this score, the *Spanish* Historians; and to specify their Names, lest I should seem like the Magpye, to deck my self with borrowed feathers.

But to return now to those Treasures, which, as *Gomara* mentions, were discovered by the *Spaniards* underground both in *Cuzco*, and in the parts adjacent: It is certain, that for the space of seven or eight years after the *Spaniards* had remained in quiet possession of that Empire, several Treasures were discovered both within and without the City; and particularly within the Precincts of that Palace called *Amurcancha*, (which upon the division made, fell to the lot of *Antonio Almirano*) and where it happened that a Horse galloping round a Court-yard

yard of that Palace, strook one of his feet into a hole; which they supposed at first to be some old Sink, or drain for Water from the House; but looking more narrowly, they found the hole opening to a Jar of Gold, weighing above two hundred pounds weight; for the *Indians* make greater, or less, of these, as their occasions require, using them to boil their Drink and Liqueurs in. With this great Jar, they found others of Gold and Silver; and though they were not so large, yet they were valued at above eighty thousand Ducats. Moreover, in the Convents of the Select Virgins, and particularly in that part which fell to the share of *Pedro del Barco*, and afterwards came to the possession of *Hernando de Segovia*, who was an Apothecary, and with whom I had an acquaintance; this *Hernando* altering his House, and removing some part of the foundation, found a Treasure of seventy two thousand Ducats, with which, and with above twenty thousand Ducats more, which he had gained by his Practice, he returned into *Spain*, where I saw him at *Seville*, where, in a few days after his Arrival, he died for mere grief and sorrow that he had left *Cuzco*, as several others have done, whom I knew in the same condition. Hereby it is manifest, that the Treasures which the *Spaniards* found in that City, when they made their entrance first into it, were very considerable, as were those also which were afterwards discovered. And it is probable, that the Riches had been much greater, had not the *Indians*, as we have said in the first Part, hid them away, to conceal them from the sight of the *Spaniards*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Conversion of an Indian, who desired to be informed of that which was the true Law of Mankind.

THE first day that the Christians entered into the Imperial City of *Cuzco*, an extraordinary matter passed between a *Spaniard* and an *Indian*, which was this: A certain Gentleman, who was a Native of *Truxillo*, called *Alonso Ruys*, roving about, and sacking the City as the others did, chanced to enter into a House, from whence the Master came forth courteously to receive him; and at first speaking to him with a smiling countenance in his own Language, bidd him welcome, telling him, that for many days he had expected his coming, for that the *Pachacamac* had by Dreams and Visions assured him, that he should not dye until a stranger Nation should come, which should instruct him in the true Law which he was to follow. And since, said he, I have languished all my life with this desire in my heart, I am confident that you must be that person which is designed to instruct me. The *Spaniard* not understanding at first the words which the *Indian* said to him, yet he apprehended, that what he uttered was very kind, for he had learned those two words in the *Indian* Language, *You are very welcome*, which the *Spaniards* express in four; and also guessing by the cheerfulness of the *Indian*'s countenance, that he was desirous of his conversation, so often as his leisure would admit, nor so much out of a placency in his company, as for some sober and religious end, he resolved to stay, and take up his Lodging with the *Indian*, who, during the time of his abode, entertained and treated him with as much kindness and accommodation, as his Cottage could afford. At length three or four days being past, and things a little settled and quieted after the *Spaniards* had sacked the City, *Alonso Ruys* went out to find *Philip* the Interpreter; and having found him, he returned with him to his Lodging to be better informed of what he as yet imperfectly understood; and at first he proposed several Queries concerning his Customs, and manner of living; in answer unto which, he gave them to understand, that he had been a Man of an humble and peaceable Spirit, contented with his own fortune,

fortune, and never offered injury or violence to his Neighbour; That he was desirous to be informed of that which was the true Law of Mankind, for that his own Law did not answer or satisfy the many notions he had conceived in his mind of a better and a more sublime Religion. Hereupon the Spaniard endeavoured in the best manner he could to instruct him in the Principles of the Catholic Faith, which true Faith was; That he should worship God in the Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity: And because (as we have intimated before) that there wanted words in the Indian Language to express that Mystery, he advised him to keep the word *Trinity*, and the word *Credo* in his memory, for that those words would let him in unto that Faith, which the Roman Church, which is the Mother of all good Christians, doth believe and embrace. And having repeated these words often, and having to several questions made to him, answered, *Yes* in the Affirmative; a Priest was called, who being satisfied in what had passed, and that the Indian desired to be a Christian, he was baptized to the great satisfaction of all three, that is, of the Priest, the Person baptized, and of *Alonso Ruiz*, who was his Godfather; in a short time after which, the Indian ended his days with much joy and comfort, that he died a Christian. Afterwards *Alonso Ruiz* returned into Spain with fifty thousand pieces of Eight in his Purse, the which he had gained in *Callamayo*, *Cocha*, and other parts; but being troubled with scruples of Conscience for having gained his Wealth unjustly, he applied himself to the Emperour with words to this purpose:

Most Sacred Majesty, I am one of those Conquerours of Peru, to whom a share or proportion of the spoils thereof have been divided to the Import of fifty thousand pieces of Eight, which I have brought with me into Spain; but being troubled in Conscience for these ill-gotten goods, I come here to make restitution thereof unto your Majesty, who is Supreme Sovereign of that Empire. If your Majesty will be so bountifull as to grant me any share thereof, I shall receive it as from the true Lord and Master, who hath power to make me a just and lawfull title thereunto; and if not, I shall remain contented, and believe my self unworthy of your Majesty's Grace and Bounty.

The Emperour accepted the Restitution as an effect of an honest and a conscientious mind; and in lieu thereof, bestowed upon him a Revenue in fee of four hundred thousand *Maravedis* of yearly Rent, together with the Command or Lordship of a small Village called *Maria*, situate near the City of *Truxillo*; which now a Nephew of this *Alonso Ruiz* doth possess and inherit; and besides the quietness of conscience which this *Ruiz* reaped by this restitution, he also increased and improved his Estate thereby, having obtained a greater parcel of Land than his money could have purchased, given in fee to himself and his Heirs for ever, and which at present is descended and possessed by his own kindred; whereas the Divisions made in the *Indies* were not to continue longer than for two Lives, which are almost all extinct at this time. And it is very remarkable, that what Estate hath been brought from the *Indies*, (though not arising by the Division of Lands, but by other ways) hath not continued to the third Heir; whereas this Estate of *Ruiz* wears like Iron, and descends intailed to the right possessor, and his Heirs for ever. And so let us return to the thread of our History.

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

Don Diego de Almagro joins his Forces with Don Pedro de Alvarado, and Belalcazar to suppress Rumminavi.

Don Francisco de Pizarro, and Don Diego de Almagro, were busily employed in gathering, heaping and disposing of the Treasure which they had found in *Cosco*, and the parts thereabouts, when the News came that Don Pedro de Alvarado was arrived in Peru with Commission to Govern and Command all those parts which he should conquer; that he was enforced with five hundred Men, most of which were Gentlemen of Noble Birth, and of the flower of Spain, well mounted on Horse-back, well Armed, and well Accoutred with all matters fit for War. This news possessed the minds of the Spaniards with an apprehension of jealousy, that these people came to dispossess them of the Riches and Wealth which they had gained; for such is the condition of humane nature, which can never be entirely happy, or prosperous without some mixtures of alloy. Wherefore the Governour sent his companion Almagro with a hundred Spaniards to prevent the mischief which might happen; and so to defend the Sea-coast, as to obstruct their Landing, or otherwise to corrupt the Army by certain insinuations and promises, alluring them to abandon the design of their own Leader, and join with them in an enterprize which was already prosperous, and brought to maturity. Almagro acted according to these Instructions, but the success thereof we shall declare afterwards, being obliged first to recount other important matters which were transacted at that time; for we must know, that soon after the departure of Almagro, Francisco de Chavez, and his Companions, arrived at *Cosco*, giving an account unto the Governour, and the other Spaniards of the civil and generous treatment which he had received from *Tim Atanchi*, and his Captains, specifying the Care, the Entertainments, and the Presents bestowed on them, as also the Attendance and Accommodation which had been afforded them for their Journey; and also the Articles which they had entered into, in behalf of the Spaniards with the Indians; and, in fine, they related the methods of Justice which had been executed on *Cuellar* with the formalities of the Cryer and Executioner.

Great was the joy which the Governour, and the others conceived to see Francisco de Chavez and his Companions, (whom they had given over for lost) to return in safety; and more was their wonder, to understand and hear the civility and kind treatment which the Indians had used towards them; as also the Particulars of the Death of *de Cuellar*, being a passage very observable, that they should only vent their anger and revenge on his single Person, and not only suffer the others to escape, but to contribute to their departure with freedom and honour: But that at which the Spaniards most admired, were the Capitulations and Conditions proposed by the Indians, which evidenced a sincere desire of Peace and Friendship with the Spaniards, and a Zeal to embrace the Doctrine of the Holy Gospel; in all which the Spaniards were desirous to agree, and comply with them; but the troubles which arose upon the coming of Don Pedro de Alvarado gave a stop to those intentions, so that there was no farther discourse of peace and quiet, or propagation of the Gospel, only alarms and incitements to War and Cruelty were heard, which involved the Indians and Spaniards in a mutual calamity, as will appear by the sequel of this History.

At the same time almost intelligence was brought to the Governour of the great slaughters and tyranny which Rumminavi had committed in *Quit*, that he was there raising Men against the Spaniards. To suppress which Insurrection, and punish this Tyrant, and obviate all those mischiefs which these beginnings might produce, the Governour immediately dispatched away Captain Sebastian de Belalcazar with Horse and Foot, well provided of all things, to re-inforce Almagro; who marching with all diligence, and with more care and watchfulness than formerly,

formerly, to prevent surprize, met some Encounters on the way, with certain Captains of *Atahualpa* of small note, who hearing of the Imprisonment of their King, had raised some people in a confused manner; and being but few in number, were fled to the Mountains, to guard some Passes on the Rocks and Precipices, which were difficult to take. And though they had been informed of the Death of *Atahualpa*, yet they Disbanded not their people in expectation of Summons from some of the next of Blood, who might require their assistance to revenge the Murder of their King: For which reason several small Companies were scattered over the Countrey without Chief or Commander to Marshal or Conduct them, which had they been united together to guard and defend those difficult Passes, might have done the Spaniards great mischief. With this sort of Souldiers *Sebastian de Belalcazar* had several slight Skirmishes, but they quickly deserted the Fight, and gave over before much hurt was done; onely *Cupay Yupanqui*, which is as much as to say, *Yupanqui* the Devil fought very stoutly, having killed five Spaniards, and wounded fourteen, and might have cut them all to pieces, had he been supplied with force sufficient. *Lopez de Gomara*, who was one of his Catholick Majesty's Chaplains, writing of these Skirmishes in the 128th Chapter of his Book, calls him Captain *Zopo Copagui*; and *Angustin Carate*, who was the Emperour's Accountant, in the 10th Chapter of his second Book, names him *Capa Copagui*, which comes nearest to the true word; but to give him his true Name, we must call him *Cumac Yupanqui*, which signifies the handsome *Yupanqui*, because that when this Indian was young, he was of comely features, and of a well shaped and proportioned body; for the word *Cumac*, as we have mentioned in the Poetry used by the *Incas*, signifies handsome or beautiful.

He was a natural Son of one of the Royal Blood, his Mother was of the Kingdom of *Quitu*; he was bred up with *Atahualpa*; and for his skillfulness in Martial affairs, merited the honour to be one of his Captains. After that *Atahualpa* had taken his Brother *Huascar* Prisoner, and committed many cruelties; this Man was a chief instrument in the execution of all his bloody practices, and invented many exquisite torments to be inflicted on the Enemies of his Master, which could never enter into the head of the King, or any others to perform; following herein the custome of wicked Servants, who having neither the fear of God, nor the shame of the World before their eyes, perpetrate all Villanies to gain the good will and favour of their Masters, for which reason the Captains and Servants of *Atahualpa* observing his cruel and diabolical nature, changed his Sir-name of *Cumac* into that of *Copay*, which signifies the Devil. This Indian after he had made some little opposition against *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, and done him what hurt he was able, retired into some obscure places unknown both to Indians and Spaniards. Howsoever it is believed, that being abhorred by the Indians for his wicked practices, and living in fear of the Spaniards, not daring to cohabit with his own people, nor trust himself with Strangers, he fled to the craggy and wild Mountains of the *Andes*, there to live and associate with Tygers and Serpents, in such manner as other Captains his Companions had done.

From this Enterprize *Belalcazar* proceeded, and came to *Quitu*, there to give a stop to the Cruelties of *Rumminavi*, and to punish him; *Rumminavi* (as we have said) sallied forth to meet and skirmish with him; but in all Encounters, the Indians, who were few in number, and ill disciplined, were worsted without almost any damage to the Spaniards. For this Captain, by reason of the many cruelties he had executed on his own people, having Murdered his fellow Souldiers, with the Brother and Sons of his own King, and buried the Select Virgins alive without any reason or justice, he became so hated and detested by the Indians, that none would appear on his side against the Spaniards, though he pretended to revenge the Death of their King *Atahualpa*. Thus not being able to make head against *Atahualpa*, he retired with melancholy and despair into the Mountains; the which place, according to these Examples, became also a refuge to some Spaniards, as we shall hereafter declare.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

The hopes and fears of Almagro; he is forsaken by his Interpreter; and an Agreement is made with Alvarado.

THus honest *Don Diego de Almagro* marching in Quest of *D. Pedro de Alvarado*, encountered some Skirmishes by the way with the Captains of *Atahualpa*; but so inconsiderable they were, that they were scarce worthy to be mentioned: And in regard he had certain intelligence that *Alvarado* was Landed, and was marched up into the Countrey, he proceeded slowly, that he might not miss his way, or wander into parts distant from him, of whom he went in search.

Sebastian de Belalcazar, who was sent with recruits to re-inforce *Almagro*, having chased *Rumminavi* and his Captains from *Quitu*, proceeded with all diligence in Quest of *Almagro*, and having joined his Forces with him, they defeated some Squadrons of Indians, which were scattered over those Provinces. In which Enterprize they chose rather to employ themselves, than to attempt *Alvarado*, for knowing that he was a Man of courage, and his people stout and good Souldiers, they would willingly have declined all engagements with him, could they have come off handsomely, without shame or dishonour. In these doubtful terms they mained, untill *Alvarado* approached near their Quarters, and had taken seven of their Horse which *Almagro* had sent for Forrage into the Countrey; but *Alvarado* immediately released them, so soon as he understood unto whom they belonged, and had been informed of all other matters and circumstances of these affairs, for the design of *Alvarado* was not to trouble or disturb the first Adventurers in their Conquests of *Pernu*, but onely to assist and join with them in their Enterprize. This generous Action of *Alvarado* eased *Almagro* in a great measure of his fears, esteeming it for an evidence of Peace and Friendship: But in regard he had sent no Message by the Horse-men which he had freed, he remained doubtful between hope and fear, not knowing what his intentions and meaning might be.

Whilst *Almagro* remained in this thoughtful condition, an unhappy accident increased his fears, which was the flight of his Interpreter *Philip* the Indian, who hearing that *Alvarado* was nearly approached, he took occasion one night to run to him, carrying away with him a principal Cacique. When he was come to *Alvarado*, he informed him of the small number that was with *Almagro*, and that the *Curacas* which were with him were desirous to revolt, and take his part, and to serve him; the like Example he assured him, that the people of that Kingdom were inclinable to follow, undertaking to bring them all under his Dominion and Obedience, and in the mean time to guide him to the Camp of *Almagro*, where he might easily surprize, and take him without much opposition. Though *Alvarado* was well pleased with the report and proposals of *Philip*, yet he thought not fit to follow his counsel, having a more advantageous prospect of succeeding better by another method; for he was jealous of this Indian, who having been false, and perjured in the evidence he had given against *Atahualpa*, he could not believe that he would ever prove faithfull to him; for this Traytor had falsly sworn, that *Atahualpa* designed to Massacre the Spaniards; upon which testimony Sentence of Death was passed upon him: But to be short in this story; an interview was agreed upon between *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Don Diego de Almagro*, and accordingly they met in the Plains of *Rivecampa*, which the Spaniards call *Riobamba*, where both Squadrons were drawn up, and remained in a posture to engage in Battel; but when they came near to make the on-set, both sides were touched with a natural sense of Blood, and proximity of Alliance, being almost all of the Countrey of *Estremenas*, so that the common Souldiers, without permission or Orders of their Generals, mixed together in common discourse, offering to each other Conditions and Articles of Peace and Amity, as it hath at other times happened between the Souldiers of *Julius Caesar* and *Pompey*, and of *Petrus* and *Afranius*;

for though *Almagro*, who was much inferiour in number, not having the fourth part of the people which *Alvarado* had with him, was well pleased with the Treaty; yet rather than condescend to base and dishonourable terms, both he and his people were ready to dye bravely with Swords in their hands: But the Souldiers on both sides (as we have said) being inclinable to an Accommodation, a Truce was made for twenty four hours; during which time the Generals met, and with the assistance of the Lawyer *Caldera*, a Native of *Seville*; they agreed on several Articles and Conditions, as followeth: That both sides should equally share in the prize already gained, and in what should be gained for the future. That *Alvarado* should march with his Forces along the Coast to the Southward, to make discovery of the Kingdoms and Provinces which lay on that side. That *Pizarro* and *Almagro* should remain in possession of the Countries they had subdued, and labour to secure their Conquests. And that the Souldiers both of one part, and the other, might freely pass, and travel from one Jurisdiction to another, either into the new Discoveries, or into the Countries already conquered. These are the Articles which were then published to please and gratifie the Souldiers of *Alvarado*, who, as *Cieza*, *Gomara* and *Carate* report, were composed of many Gentlemen, that were apt to resent the least matter which might be ungratefull to them.

But the secret Accord not fit to be published was this: *Almagro* engaged to pay unto *Alvarado* a hundred thousand Pesos of good Gold, (accounting four hundred and fifty *Maravedis* to each Peso) a Peso in English money makes about a Noble. In consideration of the Souldiers Horles, and other Accoutrements of War which he had brought with him, that having received this Money, he should return to his Government of *Huachuapallan*; and that he should swear, as afterwards he did, never more to return unto *Pern*, during the Life of the two Companions, *Pizarro* and *Almagro*: upon which agreement both parties remained with mutual satisfaction.

The Articles being in this manner concluded and signed, *Almagro* burnt the *Cu-raca* alive, for having treacherously forsaken his Colours, and had in the same manner dealt with *Philip* the Interpreter, had not *Alvarado* interceded in his behalf. Upon which passage *Gomara* in the 129th Chapter of his Book, discourseth as follows: "*Almagro* (saith he) did not find wherewith to pay these hundred thousand Pesos of Gold in compliance of his obligation to *Alvarado*, out of the benefit and gains of the late Acquisitions, although in *Caramba* there was a Temple plated in the inside with Silver, which perhaps he would not take away, until such time, as either he had first procured the consent of *Pizarro* thereunto, or else had found some ways to dispose thereof. And so both of them proceeded together unto *St. Miguel de Tangarata*; but *Alvarado* dismissed several of his Company, suffering them to plant and settle themselves with *Belalcázar* in *Quit*, conferring to himself the bravest and stoutest of his Companions. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, which I repeat and alledge his Authority for what I have declared. Of all which matters and occurrences *Almagro* gave intelligence to *Don Francisco de Pizarro*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XI.

Almagro and Alvarado march together unto Cozco. The Prince Manco Inca comes to treat with the Governour, who gives him a magnificent Reception.

THE Spaniards having with mutual joy solemnized the Peace and Amity which was concluded and agreed between both Parties, the two Governours, *Almagro* and *Alvarado*, (for to the last I attribute the Title of Governour, as well as to the others, because that he was entred into the same Confederacy and League with them,) gave orders to Captain *Sebastián de Belalcázar*, to return unto *Quit*, for securing the Peace and Quiet of that Kingdom; for that some petty Commanders of the Indians roved up and down the Country, to cause Disturbances and Insurrections. This being dispatched, other matters were to be provided for, and particularly it was thought fit to raise a Fortref, and furnish it with a Garrison to defend themselves from the Spaniards, who upon the fame of the vast Riches of *Pern*, crouded in great numbers from *Panama*, and *Nicaragua*, to take a share thereof with the present possessours; to oppose which the Garrison was provided with Men, and Arms, and Provision sufficient to defend it. As to *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, who, according to the Articles agreed and published, was to return unto his Ships, and sail along the Coast towards the Southward, there to conquer and possels new Dominions of Kingdoms and Provinces, declared, that he had a mind to travail by Land, and make a visit to the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and to divert himself a while in the fight and survey of those parts; the which was but a bare pretence, that he might the better colour and conceal the secret agreement; and upon this occasion it was resolved, that *Almagro* should send one of his Officers, who was called *Diego de Mora*, (with whom I was afterwards acquainted,) to command the Fleet in his place and stead; and accordingly *Alvarado* dispatched his Orders to *Garcibolguin*, to deliver up the charge of the Fleet into the Hands of *Diego de Mora*, the Person commissioned and entrusted by both Parties, in regard, that according to the late Agreement, the Ships and Men, and all that belonged unto them, were to be employed in the publick Service, and defrayed at the common expence. Necessary Orders being taken herein, the two Governours proceeded on their way towards *Cozco*, where we shall leave them in their Journey for a while, and return to the Successes of *Pizarro*, who being left at *Cozco*, as we have said, many particulars were transacted by him, which we shall mention in order, that so we may keep the due Method of our History, both as to time and place.

Manco Inca, moved by the Advices which his Brother *Titu Atahuchi*, and his Major General *Quizquiz* had sent to him, (as we have before specified) prepared himself to make a visit to the Governour, and to demand of him the restitution of his Empire, and performance of those Capitulations which his Brother, and the principal Nobles of his Kingdom had made, and concluded with the Spaniards; upon which point entring into divers Consultations with his Confidents, whether it were better to go in a peaceable and friendly manner, or attended with a strong and powerfull Army; in which matter the Counsels were much divided, sometimes being of one Opinion, and sometimes of another; though the generality followed the Advice of *Quizquiz*, who was of opinion, that the *Inca* ought to be well guarded, lest his Fate should be like to that of his Brother *Atahualpa*, who trusting to the good Nature and generous Disposition of Strangers, fell into those snares wherein he perished. But whilst they were thus in Dispute, and controverting the matter, the *Inca* spake to them in this manner:

Sons and Brethren of mine; We are now going to demand Justice of those whom we esteem for Persons who are defended from our God Viracocha, and who at their first entrance into these our Countries, declared, that it was their sole and proper Design to administer Justice to all the World; so that I cannot imagine that they should refuse the concession and grant of that which is so just and reasonable as our Claim and Title to the Kingdom: for if these people are of the true Race and Off-spring of the Sun, as our Forefathers were, who taught us Truth for a Principle, and that our Actions are to square and correspond with our Words and Promises, then certainly they cannot deny what they have so solemnly engaged to perform; for if they do, why should we longer esteem them Godlike, or to have any thing of Divinity in them, who so palpably disown it by their Tyranny and falleness? For my part, I would in them, who so palpably disown it by their Tyranny and falleness? For my part, I would rather confide in the Reason and Justice of our Cause, than in our Power and Arms; for if they be, as they pretend, Messengers from the God Pachacamac, they will fear to offend him, knowing that there is nothing more inconsistent with the Divine Nature than Injustice, and especially in those who being made his Ministers for the execution thereof, do usurp that to themselves, which is the Right and Property of another. Let us therefore go to them, without the Justice of our Cause, for if they are Gods, (as we believe them to be) they will all like the true and legitimate Off-spring of the Sun, and like our Incas, will readily yield our Empire to us. For our Ancestors did never deprive the Curacas of their Hereditary Rights, nor take a Forfeiture of them in the Case of Rebellion; much less ought these Spaniards to debase us of our Inheritance, and of our Empire, who did never oppose them, but rather yield and resign up all upon their first Summons. Let us therefore go to them in a peaceable manner; for if we go armed, they will imagine we intend to make War upon them, and with that pretence deny the most reasonable thing we can demand; for covetous Men, armed with Power, are glad of the least excuse, or pretence to deny that which is required of them. Instead of our Arms, let us carry such Presents with us, as may serve to appease the Anger of enraged Men, and pacify the Displeasure of offended Gods. Let us gather what Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones we can gather; let us take what Birds and Beasts we can get, as also the best and most delicious Fruits that our Country yields; and with these let us in the best manner we are able present our selves before them, for though the Ancient Power, and force of our Kings is low, and failing, yet let us still keep up the Honour of a truly Noble and Royal Spirit of the Incas. And if all this will not prevail with them to restore unto us our Empire, we may then absolutely conclude, that the Prophecy left unto us by our Father Huayna Capac is accomplished; that our Monarchy is to be translated to a foreign and stranger Nation, our political Government destroyed, and our Religion abolished, part of which Prophecy we our selves have seen fulfilled; and if the Pachacamac hath ordained these things, what can we do but submit and obey? Let them do what they please, but let not us be wanting either to the Rules of Reason, or Justice.

When the Inca had uttered these Words with a Majesty becoming his Quality and Condition, the Captains and Curacas burst out into Tears, lamenting to consider, that the time was now coming, which would be the ultimate Term and Period of their Empire. Having wept a while, and dried their Eyes, the Curacas and Officers made provision of such things as the Inca had appointed, and prepared such an Equipage as might become the Majesty of their King, though inferior to the Train and Magnificence of his Ancestours. In this manner he travelled to Cuzco, attended with many Curacas and Lords, together with their Relations and Dependents; for of his own Kindred there remained but few, who had escaped from the Cruelty and Tyranny of Atahualpa. At the News of their near approach, all the Spaniards, both Horse and Foot, came forth to meet and receive them at a far distance from the City. So soon as the Governour was come near to the Inca, he alighted from his Horse; as also the Inca did from his Chair, which was not, as formerly, made of Gold, but of Wood; for though the Counsellours of the Inca advised him to take his Chair of Gold, and march in that State which became the Dignity, and wear the coloured Wreath about his Head; yet he refused both one and the other, esteeming it very improper for him, who was a Petitioner, and came to ask the Restitution of his Kingdom, to appear before them with the Ensigns of his Regality, as if he intended in despite of the Spaniards, by appearing with the Badge of his Regal Power, to assume and vindicate the Possession and Dominion of his Empire; wherefore he judged it more proper for him to wear the Wreath of a pale yellow Colour, for that, as he said, the Viracocha, meaning the Spaniards, would understand him thereby to be the true Heir apparent of the Kingdom. In short, being come near one to the other, the Governour made his Reverence to the Inca after the Ca-

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stilian manner, and bid him welcome; and the Inca replied, that he was come to serve and adore those whom they esteemed for Gods, and as Messengers sent from the supreme Pachacamac. Their Words were few, and their Discourse short, for want of good Interpreters; after which the Governour presently retired to give place to the other Spaniards, and to his two Brothers, John and Gonzalo Picarro. The Inca being advertised that these two were Brothers of the Apu, which is, Captain General, he embraced and shewed them great respect; for it is observable, that the Inca, before he came to this Interview with the Spaniards, had provided himself with a certain Indian, who was well acquainted with the Spaniards, and gave him notice of the several Captains, and Commanders, and Officers, and of their Degrees and Qualities: This Indian was Servant to a Spaniard, and informed a Curaca which stood near to the King of every Man's condition, which he accordingly whispered him, so that being advertised thereof, he treated every Man with some kind of difference, testifying to all in general his Love and Affection for them, which he expressed by the cheerfulness of his Countenance, his Words and Gestures. And at last, turning to his own People, he said to the same purpose as Atahualpa had done, when he first saw Hernando Picarro, and Hernando de Soto. These Men (said he) are the true Sons of our God Viracocha, for so they resemble him in their Behaviour, in their Beards and Habits, and therefore do justly challenge all Duty and Service from us, according to the Commands enjoined us by our Father Huayna Capac, as appears by his last Will and Testament.

CHAP. XII.

The Inca demands Restitution of his Empire; and what Answer was returned to him thereupon.

These Discourses being ended, the Spaniards mounted on Horseback, and the Inca into his Chair; then the Governour took the Left hand of the Inca and his Brothers, and the other Captains and Souldiers marched in the front, each Company by it self, one Company was commanded to bring up the Rere, and a Guard of twenty four foot-Souldiers were ordered to attend and march by the Chair of the Inca. Thus when the Indians found themselves to join in one Body with the Spaniards, they were highly pleased to be so honoured, and esteemed worthy to associate and to join company with those whom they adored for Gods. In this order they entered into the City with great Joy and Triumph, the Inhabitants going forth to meet them, with Dances and Songs composed in Praise of the Viracocha; for the poor people were overjoyed to see their Inca, and to understand that the true and lawfull Heir, which had escaped from the Tyranny of Atahualpa, was now to succeed into the Throne of his Ancestours. The Street through which the Inca was to pass, was covered with a sort of their Rushes and Canes, and some triumphal Arches erected at a certain distance each from the other, decked with Flowers after the Fashion which they used at the Triumphs of their Kings. The Spaniards conducted the King to one of the Royal Palaces, called *Cassana*, situate in the Market-place, fronting to the *Colosseo*, belonging to the Jesuits, where they left him highly pleased, and big with expectation to be restored to his Empire; for measuring the good Intentions of the Spaniards by the kind reception which they gave him, the Inca and his Attendants were fully persuaded that the days were now returned, in which they should enjoy the ancient Peace, Quiet and Freedom, which flourished in the time of their Incas. So soon as the King was settled in his Lodgings, the Officers delivered the Presents which they had brought to the Governour and his Viracocha, who received them with so many Thanks and kind Words, that the Indians were infinitely pleased and overjoyed

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at the gratefull acceptance of them. This was the onely happy day, crowned with Honour and Contentment, that this poor *Inca* had ever known in all the course of his former Life; for in the time of his Brother *Atahualpa*, he remained under great persecutions, flying from place to place in perpetual dread and fear; and the remainder of his Days, until the time of his Death, admitted of little more Consolation than the former, as we shall see hereafter in the Sequel of this Story. When the *Inca* had a little repofed himself in his Lodgings, he sent to *Francisco Chaves*, and his Companions, letting them know, that he was desirous to see, and to be acquainted with them on the good report and character he had received from his People concerning them; so soon as they were come he embraced them with all demonstration of kindness, and having drank with them, according to the custome of the *Incas*, he told them, besides many other kind expressions, that their Actions shewed them to be the true Offspring of the God *Viracocha*, and Brethren of the *Incas*, because they endeavoured to deliver *Atahualpa* from Death, which worthy Act he would ever acknowledge and recompence, desiring them to esteem him for their Brother, considering that they were all descended from the same Race and Lineage of the Sun; and then he presented them with Vessels of Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones, which he had brought apart for this Gentleman, and his Companions, which were taken so kindly, that *Chaves*, in the name of the rest, returned his Complement, and said, that they were all Servants of his Highness, and would evidence so much when occasion should offer, and that what they had endeavoured for his Brother, was onely in compliance with their Duty, and Obligation, and that if he doubted of their Reality, they desired him to make a trial of their good-will and services for him. Then the *Inca* embracing them again, dismissed them, highly satisfied with the Presents he had made them of Jewels, and of Gold, and Silver, Turquoises, and Emeralds.

Two days after his Arrival, the Prince *Manco Inca* proposed to the Governour that he might be restored to his Empire, according to the Articles agreed between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, and that a firm Peace and an Alliance might be made between them: That Priests should be sent to preach and propagate the Law of the Christians unto the *Indians*; as the *Spaniards* had themselves proposed; and that for what concerned the *Inca* to perform, he was ready to give his orders, that they should be well received, and treated with high Veneration, and Esteem in all the principal Provinces of the Empire; where they would find the People very docible, and willing to be instructed in their Faith, upon the assurance they had received from their Father *Huayna Capac*, who at the time of his death did attest, that the Law of the Christians was better than our own: And whereas this their Father had by his last Will and Testament ordained, that his People should obey and serve the *Spaniards*, they were ready to comply with his Injunctions therein, and to resign so much, and what part of the Kingdom they should desire, into their Hands.

To which the Governour returned this Answer, That his Highness was welcome to his own Imperial City, and that he should rest, and take his Repose with quietness and security: That he was very well pleased to know his Will and Pleasure, that so he might give him a proof of his readines to comply with his Desires: And that as to the Capitulations which were agreed, they were so just and reasonable, that nothing could be objected against the performance of them. After which some Discourse past, but very short, for want of an Interpreter.

The next day the Governour holding a Consultation with his Brothers, and the rest of the Captains, touching the demand which was made by the *Inca*, several opinions arose upon the Debate, but it being considered, that the possession of the Kingdom had no other meaning than the binding of the *Inca's* Head with the coloured Wreath; the Governour, with his Attendants, went to the House of the *Inca*, and without farther Preface, or long Oration, desired him to take immediate possession of his Empire; for had he been acquainted with the custome of his Countrey, he should not have remained one moment without the Ensign of his Royal Dignity upon his Head; and that as to the Division of the Kingdom, they would treat more fully hereafter, when matters were a little better settled in quietness, for that at present the *Indians* had made Insurrections in divers places, which were not yet appeased; but as to the Services which the *Indians* were to perform towards the *Spaniards*, and the modification of the Peace, which was to be maintained, he remitted all to the Disposition of the *Inca*, to order and design that

that which should be most agreeable to his own Good-will and Pleasure, which the *Spaniards* would embrace with a chearfull readines; but as to the Preachers which were intended to instruct his People in the Divine Law, they had so few Priests amongst them, that as yet they could not spare any, but that when a new supply came, which they did shortly expect, they should be immediately dispatched upon this Errand; for that the chief Design of the Christians was to retract the *Indians* from the Errours of their ways, and to shew unto them the folly of their Superstition and Idolatry. With these Assurances the *Indians* were greatly satisfied, and the *Inca* delayed not immediately to bind his Head with the coloured Wreath; which Ceremony was attended with great Joy and Triumph, though for want of those of the Bloud Royal, and of many *Chiracas* or Barons, who were cut off by the Cruelty of *Atahualpa*, the solemnity was nothing so splendid and magnificent as in the times of the ancient *Incas*, when the great numbers of Nobility added Glory to the Court; yet the young Gallants rejoiced to see that Festival, how mean soever, at which the old Men grieved, who remembered the times of the Great *Huayna Capac*, and had seen the splendour of his Court.

C H A P. XIII.

How the two Governours marched in pursuit of Major General Quizquiz.

IN our former Discourse, we left *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Don Diego de Almagro*, with their brisk Souldiery on their march towards *Cusco*, where the Governour *Don Francisco de Pizarro* kept his Court; and as they were on their way, News was brought them, that the Major General *Quizquiz* had gathered great Forces, and was encamped in the Province of *Cannaris*, having with him much Gold, and Silver, and other precious Commodities, with great Flocks and Herds of Cattel. The Fame hereof increased in the telling, as is usual, wherefore the Governours resolved to march that way to defeat that Army, and destroy the Tyrant, having understood from the *Indians*, that there was no other Army besides that in all the Empire. Though *Quizquiz* was strong in his numbers, yet he was not willing, or very ready to engage with the *Spaniards*; for in regard that both he, and the *Inca Titu Atahuchi*, had sent the Articles and Capitulations to the Governour, which they had concluded and agreed with *Francisco de Chaves* and his Companions, (as we have before mentioned,) they remained in expectation to hear of a general Peace between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, and little dreamed of any Forces which were marching to destroy them. This security and confidence was much increased by the persuasion of the *Inca Titu Atahuchi*, on whose Words uttered at the hour of his Death they much relied; for we must know, that this poor *Inca* died a few days after he had dismissed *Chaves* and his Companions; his end being hastned by the melancholy, he conceived for the sad fate of his Brother *Atahualpa*, and by the news of the bloody Tragedy, acted by that Traytor *Ruminavi* in *Quitu* on his Kindred, Brothers, Captains, and on the innocent select Virgins. All which Massacres and Villanies committed by a Vassal on the Bloud Royal, and on the Life of his own *Inca*, he esteemed to be fore-runners of the entire subversion of the Empire, and of the Majesty of his Family, and being overwhelmed with the sense thereof, he called for *Quizquiz*, and his other Captains, and told them plainly, that they should endeavour to make a Peace with the *Viracochas*, and should serve and adore them, according as the *Inca Huayna Capac* had by his last Will and Testament ordered and commanded them; who being the Oracle of that time, his Ordinances and Rules were esteemed indispenfible, therefore they should endeavour to please the *Viracochas*, who were the Offspring descended from their Father the Sun, and of the same Lineage with the *In-*

car; all which he farther enforced and confirmed by virtue of the Command and Charge committed unto him by his Father *Huayna Capac*.

With such Arguments as these, and in hopes and expectations that the Capitulations would be maintained, *Quizquiz* remained very secure in the matters of War; and though he received intelligence that the Governours were marching towards him, yet he apprehended no hurt, nor received an Allarm, onely he detached about an hundred Souldiers, under a Centurion or Captain, (which is the smallest number that the *Indians* have in a Company,) this Centurion the Historians *Gomara* and *Carate* call *Sauroco*, which signifies six Mountains, for *Cocha* signifies six, and *Oreo* a Mountain, for he was born in a Valley between six lofty Mountains, (such as are common in that Countrey,) and they say, that his Father and Mother were in his company, which must be upon some extraordinary occasion, for Women never go to the War with their Husbands; perhaps it might be to keep up the story of his Birth, and of his Life, for the *Indians* by such like Names, and by such Sayings, or by Cyphers, or Hieroglyphicks, and by their Verses and Poetry have conserved the Traditions of their History; and have therein comprehended the success of all their Matters in a compendious manner, as for example; the Embassies sent to their *Incas*, and their Answer thereunto; the Speeches made in Peace and War; what such a King or Governour commanded, with the punishments inflicted; and in short, whatsoever was transacted in the publick Affairs. All which the Historians, or Notaries, taught unto their Children by Tradition, instructing them in Cyphers, and short Versicles, and in such short Words as the Name of this Captain, and in such other Brief Sayings as we have already declared; by help of which, and of their Knots, an *Indian* would read or recount the passages of his Time, as well, or faster than a *Spaniard* could read Books writ with Letters, as *Acosta* testifies in the 8th Chapter of his 6th Book; not that these Knots furnished him with Words, but onely called things to his Memory, which having studied day and night, he became versed in every particular, so as to be able to render an account of his Office. All which though we have formerly declared at large, yet having so pertinent an Instance as this Name of Captain *Cochaco*; we have thought it not impertinent to repeat the same, that we may verifie what we have formerly reported, and to help the Memory of the Reader. This Captain, as we have said, was sent by *Quizquiz* for a scout to discover the March and Force of the *Spaniards*, and to know their Intentions towards him; but the silly Wretch was not so cautious as he ought to have been, but suffered himself to be surpris'd, and taken by the *Spaniards*, who carried him to *Alvarado*; and by him the *Spaniards* were informed of the place where *Quizquiz* was quartered, and of the numbers and force he had with him, so they marched with all expedition towards him, and being near, they watched all night to beat up his Quarters early in the morning. This Exploit was committed to a party of Horse, which travelling over rocky Hills and Ways, for the space of a Day's Journey, most of the Horse cast their Shoes, so that they were forced to shoe them by candle-light, as the Writers of this matter do generally agree. All the next day they continued their Journey with great haste and expedition, lest *Quizquiz* should receive intelligence of their March, by return of some of those they met, and so they proceeded untill the next day in the Evening, by which time they were come within sight of the Camp of *Quizquiz*, who upon their appearance immediately fled, with all his Women and Attendants. This is affirmed by *Carate*, and *Gomara* reports almost the same thing; the which is a sufficient proof, that *Quizquiz* never intended to make War on the *Spaniards*, or was provided for it; for if he had, certainly he would have been better guarded, than by a company of Women, and domestick Attendants; nor were his Souldiers so ineexpert, or unskillfull in War, as not to have appeared with Arms at the Camp, or Rendezvous upon the Summons of their Captain, which might have been speedily effected by passing the Word from one to the other. But this amusement and stupid security of *Quizquiz* may well be attributed to the Providence of Heaven, which had designed the *Spaniards* to be Preachers of the Gospel. Moreover *Quizquiz* depended on the Capitulations which the *Indians* had made with *Francisco Chaves*, of which those *Spaniards* who marched against him were not informed, for *Don Diego de Almagro* was departed from *Cusco* with his Forces, in search of *Alvarado*, before *Francisco de Chaves* had brought the News thereof. So the *Spaniards* being ignorant of the Goodwill and Intentions of *Quizquiz*, went with Design

to destroy him, which had been avoided, had there been a true and right understanding of matters between them; but the Devil, who always delights in Discord and Mischief, had by his Artifice contrived to prevent the true Information, that so matters proceeding to Blood and Tyranny, the *Indians* might be possessed with a sinister and prejudicial esteem of the *Spaniards*, and of the Christian Doctrine they professed to propagate.

CHAP. XIV.

Three Battels between the Indians and the Spaniards; and of the Number of the Slain.

Quizquiz observing the haste which the *Spaniards* made towards him, did imagine that their Design was to engage him to fight, and therefore repenting too late of his Security and Neglect, and being mad, and ashamed for his Folly and stupidity, he retreated as well as he could, unto the top of a craggy and rugged Mountain, which was unpassable, and inaccessible for Horses, where he secured his Women and useless People; and in the mean time, to amuse and employ the *Spaniards*, he sent a certain Captain, whom the *Spaniards* call *Guaupalco*, though his proper Name was *Huaypalca*, the signification of which I do not well understand, because it is a word of the Language of *Quinu*; but this Person, as we said, was sent with Commission to raise what Forces he was able to oppose the *Spaniards*, and having gathered some numbers together, he durst not assault *Alvarado*, fearing the great Body of his Horse, which drew themselves up on such Ground, where they might be most serviceable, and not fight upon a disadvantage. Howsoever he found an opportunity to engage *Almagro*, who, to encompass *Quizquiz* between him and *Alvarado*, was mounted with his Horse to such a craggy and alperous part of a mountain, that he was in danger of being entirely lost and defeated, as *Carate* confirms by these Words: "*Huaypalco*, says he, with his Souldiers, went to engage *Almagro*, who, with his Horse, was got up to the ridge of a Mountain, the ascent unto which was so steep, that they mounted by turnings and windings, and had wearied and tired all their Horses; and besides, the *Indians* threw down from the top mighty great Stones, called *Galgas*, which tumbling five or six furlongs down, carried thirty or forty more before them, and these drove innumerable others, before they came to the bottom. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, the which are confirmed in like manner by *Gomara*, as we shall see hereafter.

Almagro was greatly incommoded by the fall of these Rocks which killed both his Men and Horse, and he himself also was in great danger of his Life, to avoid which, he was forced to take another way less rugged, that so he might be enabled the better to come at *Huaypalca*, who fearing to fall between the two Commanders, retreated to the safeguard of a steep and craggy Mountain, by help of which he valiantly defended himself untill night; for in such inaccessible places as those, neither the Horse nor Foot could be of Service; and the *Indians* had a great advantage of the *Viracochas*, or *Spaniards*, who were laden with Armour and offensive Weapons. The night being come, *Huaypalca*, by help of the darkness retreated with his Souldiers into more fast and secure places. The Day following the *Spaniards* fell in with the Rere-guard of *Quizquiz*, who not dreaming of War or fighting, marched with their Army divided into two Bands, at least fifteen Leagues distant one from the other; as is reported by *Carate* in the 12th Chapter of his 2d Book, and in the same Chapter he hath these Words following. "*Don Diego*, and *D. Pedro* rallied all their Forces together, and the *Indians*, by the obscurity of the night, escaped, and went to join themselves with *Quizquiz*, and the 3000 *Indians*, who taking their way by the Left-hand, cut off the Heads of

"fourteen *Spaniards*, whom they had encountered at a distance from the Main Body, and so marching forward they overtook the Rere-guard of *Quizquiz*; then the *Indians* fortified themselves at the Pais of a River, where they faced the *Spaniards* for a whole day, and suffered none of them to pass, whilst others of them passed over above; then the *Spaniards* intended to make an Attempt upon the *Indians*, who had taken the side of a very high mountain; but it had like to have proved fatal to them, by reason that the *Spaniards* in that craggy and rugged ground, could not make a Retreat when they pleased; so that many of them were wounded, as namely, Captain *Alonso de Alvarado*, who was run through the thigh, as was likewise a Lieutenant, and all that night the *Indians* kept strict Watch. But so soon as it was day, they quitted the pass on the River, and fortified themselves in the Mountains, where the *Spaniards* left them in quiet, because *Almagro* did not judge it convenient to continue his Quarters in that place. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, with whom *Gomara* agrees, and in the 130th Chapter of his Book hath these Words: "*Quizquiz* flying, and running away, had not gone many Leagues before the *Spaniards* fell upon him; where; which when the *Indians* perceived, they defended the Banks of a River to keep the *Spaniards* from passing. Their numbers were so great; that whilst some maintained the passage of the River, others above got over, and put themselves into a posture of fight, intending to encompass the *Spaniards* on all sides, and to kill and take them as they pleased; then they possessed themselves of a little Hill, which was very rocky, to secure themselves from the *Spaniards* Horse, from which with some advantage and fresh courage they renewed the Fight, and killed some of the Horse, which could not easily turn or move in that rugged place, and wounded several *Spaniards*, of which *Alonso de Alvarado de Burza* was run through the thigh, and *Don Diego de Almagro* himself narrowly escaped. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*. The *Spaniards* which were killed in this Fight, and died afterwards of their wounds, received in the three late Skirmishes, were fifty three in all, reckoning the fourteen which *Carate* mentions, and eighteen were cured of their wounds: The Horses killed were thirty four, one of which was that of *Almagro*, which was overthrown by the rowling down of a Galga or Rock, which struck him a-thwart his hinder leg, and broke it, with which Man and Horse came to the ground; and had the Horse taken them full, both of them had been beaten to pieces. Of the *Indians* not above sixty were killed, for the Rocks were their protection, on which the *Spaniards* and their Horse fought with great disadvantage; for which reason *Almagro* withdrew his Forces, and would not farther engage in those places, being troubled at the loss he had received in those two days Engagements; which *Gomara* in the 130th Chapter of his Book mentions in short, and describes the unhappy Encounter which our Men had with the Rere-guard of *Quizquiz*, &c. *Blas Valera* reckoning up the most Memorable Battels, and which had been the most fatal to the *Spaniards* of any in *Peru*, he mentions eight, besides several other Skirmishes of lesser moment; and numbers this in the first place, calling it the Battel of *Quit*, because it was fought on the frontiers of that Countrey; and says, that the *Spaniards* had then been most certainly defeated and destroyed, had not the Divine Providence, which designed by their means to propagate the Gospel in those parts, appeared for them: And also the *Spaniards*, who were then present in those Engagements confirm the same; and I have heard many of them declare, that they often gave themselves over for lost in their Fights with the *Indians*; and that when things seemed to be desperate, and according to humane reason, without all hopes, and possibility of escape, then presently, and on a sudden, their fortune would turn, and by some unexpected accident from Heaven they became victorious. And discoursing on these matters, and of the great dangers and hazards they had sustained, they would often say, that if the *Indians*, who came with no intention to fight, and without any order being divided into four Squadrons, were able to doe them so much hurt, and put them into so much disorder; what would they have done, had they been aware, and had come with design to engage under the Command and Discipline of their Commander *Quizquiz*, who was accounted a famous, and a renowned Captain, as *Gomara* reports, when he relates the Story of him, and of the manner whereby he was put to Death by his own Souldiers.

After all which *Don Diego de Almagro* sent to gather the spoils, which the Historians mention to have been a thousand head of Cattel, and about a thousand

Indian

Indian Men and Women for service, which were forced or pressed to attend the Camp; and which finding themselves free, and at liberty, ran away, and fled to the *Spaniards*. As to the fine Linen and Cloth, little appeared, for the *Indians*, rather than be troubled with too great baggage, burnt it; and likewise made away with the Gold and Silver, and concealed it in such manner, as it never after came to light; of all which *Almagro* gave intelligence to the Governour, and of the success of the two Battels, and dispatched his Advices by *Indians* whom he sent with his Letters: And also that *Don Pedro de Alvarado* was on his Journey towards *Cuzco* to make him a visit, that so he might accordingly provide for his reception.

CHAP. XV.

The Governour departs from Cuzco to meet Alvarado; he sees him and pays him the Money according to agreement.

THE Governour *Pizarro* having received intelligence of the loss of the Men and Horse, which were killed by the Souldiers of *Quizquiz*, was very much troubled, esteeming it of ill consequence for the *Spaniards* to be baffled, or the reputation which they had gained, to suffer and be impaired in the opinion of the *Indians*; but there being no remedy for what was past, but onely patience, he encouraged his Souldiers, and advised them to proceed more warily for the future. And in regard he was advised that *Alvarado* was marching towards *Cuzco*, he was desirous to prevent him, and save him the trouble of a long Journey; and therefore to cut matters short, he provided to make him the payment for which *Almagro* had agreed, and with that to persuade him to return; for though he desired to see him, yet it might be inconvenient, and cause some disorders to have three Governours, as in reality there would be within that Jurisdiction. For these Governours, when they were poor, might possibly agree in co-ordinate rule each with other; but being rich and powerfull, and in a condition of Sovereignty, which admits of no equal, and perhaps of no Second, they could not long continue Peace, and a Brotherly Alliance; the which discord caused by Ambition, was the Original of all the misfortunes and fatal calamities which befell them, as will appear in the sequel of this History. On this consideration the Governour, that he might hasten the dispatch and return of *Alvarado*, resolved to go and meet him as far as the Valley of *Pachacamac*; so that he might neither travel at too far a distance from the Sea-coast, and might excuse him from a Journey of two hundred and forty Leagues, as the going would be from *Pachacamac* to *Cuzco*, and the return back again to that place; and besides, he was not willing that he should see the Imperial City, and the Grandeur and Riches thereof, left the temptations of that Wealth should cause alteration, and a breach of the Articles agreed; and therefore he was impatient untill he saw them again ratified and confirmed. As to the Equipage for his Journey, he took the opinion and sense of his Brothers, and other Officers of his Army; recommending in the mean time the Person of the *Inca* unto their care, and all other matters which were necessary to conserve their Peace and League with the *Indians*. And in order thereunto he discoursed with the *Inca*, and told him, that it was convenient for him to absent himself for some days, whilst he could make a Journey to the Valley of *Pachacamac*, for performance of some agreements made with the *Spaniards*, who were lately come into those Countreys; on confirmation of which, the Articles made between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* did much depend, which should be faithfully complied with

at his return; and therefore he desired his licence to make that Journey for a few days, leaving in the mean time his Brothers, and other *Spaniards*, in the Service of his Highness, who, he supposed, would be acceptable to him, in regard he esteemed them for his Kindred, and to be of the same Lineage and Offspring from the Sun. To which the *Inca* made answer, that he wished him a prosperous Journey; and as to his two Brothers; and the other *Viracochas*, he would take them into his care, and treat them with such respect and kind usage, as that he should have cause to render him thanks for the same at his return. And having said this, he immediately dispatched a Message to the Commanders of the several Places and Countries through which the Governour was to pass, that they should appoint their Subjects and Vassals to attend his coming, and wait on him in the same manner, as on his own Person; and moreover, that they should provide a Guard of two hundred Men to attend and conduct the Governour, and to change them every three days, so that they might be more fresh and active in his Service.

The Governour having understood what the *Inca* had appointed in reference unto him, took his leave and farewell of him, making choice of thirty Horse to attend him on this Journey; and being come to *Sausa*, he received intelligence that *Don Diego*, and *D. Pedro de Alvarado* were to pass by the way of *Pachacamac*, to visit that great Temple in those parts: Wherefore he hastened his Journey, that he might meet them in that pleasant Valley, and there receive and treat *Alvarado*, and demonstrate that honour to him which was due to a famous Captain of his Quality and Renown, and accordingly preparations were made for his reception and treatment. Twenty days after the Governour had been at *Pachacamac*, *Don Pedro de Alvarado* arrived there, being received by him with all the careffes and demonstrations of respect and kindness that could be expressed; for he gave positive command to his People and Officers, to own and acknowledge *Alvarado* for their Chief and Governour, and to give him that title solely; and as to himself and *Almagro*, to distinguish them by no other titles of Honour, than their own proper Names; and accordingly, during all the time that *Alvarado* remained at *Pachacamac*, *Pizarro* refused to take cognizance of any cause, matter, or thing, whatsoever, but referred all to the judgment of *Alvarado*, whom he commanded his people to observe and obey; seeming extremely rejoiced with the sight and presence of so many Illustrious Cavaliers, who were come in the train and company of *Alvarado*, and whom he honoured and complemented with all the demonstrations of respect and civility that could be expressed. After some days had passed with ceremony and complement, and with the satisfaction of mutual contentment, *Pizarro* paid to *Alvarado* the hundred thousand Pesos of Gold, as was agreed, with an additional Aid of twenty thousand more to pay the charges of his Journey thither, besides many Emeralds and Torquoises of considerable value, and several Vessels of Gold for his use and service. And indeed the succour and reputation which *Alvarado* brought to this enterprize might well deserve such a reward for the Horse, Men and Arms which he brought with him, so terrified and affrighted the Souldiers of *Atahualpa*, that they entirely yielded and resigned their whole Empire into the hands of the *Spaniards*: In consideration of which, the Governour honestly and justly, without farther dispute or scruple, paid the Money, as was agreed, with the other advantages as aforesaid; though others were of opinion (as *Gomara* and *Cavate* report) that *Pizarro* had done better if he had not paid the Money, but rather had taken *Alvarado* and sent him Prisoner to Spain, for having by force of Arms invaded his Territory, in regard that such a compact which was made with *Almagro* by force of Arms, was not obligatory; or at least if the Money was to have been paid, yet that he should pay him no more than fifty thousand Pesos of Gold, (which made one hundred thousand pieces of Eight) because that the Ships and Arms were not more worth, two of the Ships belonging to *Pizarro* himself; and as to the Men, Horses and Arms, they belonged not to *Alvarado*, but were the Goods and Estates of other Men. Howsoever, *Pizarro* being a Man of honour, and one who more regarded his word and reputation, than the evasions which some would suggest to him, whereby to cause him to violate and break his Faith and Word: He paid *Alvarado* in that noble and generous manner as we have expressed, with regard to that honour and respect which one Gentleman ought in all dealings to perform towards another. And though the agreement was made by his Partner, yet he esteemed it obligatory to himself, preferring his Paroll of Honour before any interest whatsoever. And though some did

Every Peso of Gold is about sixteen Ryals Plate, which is nine shillings English.

object, that *Almagro* made a blind bargain, and did not well consider of the value of the Ships, or perhaps was enforced to that Engagement; yet *Pizarro* returned a full answer thereunto, That a Gentleman ought well to consider of his promise before he gave it, and not to pretend afterwards that he was surprized, being by the rules of a Souldier, and of a Gentleman, engaged to a performance of his words. And on the contrary *Alvarado* might have alleged, that in case they esteemed themselves agrieved, they needed onely to restore things to their former state, in which they were before the agreement, and leave him then to make his best advantage. And as to the price of the Ships, which they supposed might be over-charged, were the advantage duly considered, which they brought by the succours and recruits of Men, Horse, Arms and Guns; the reputation of which brought a terror on all that Empire, and reduced it to subjection, nothing could have been esteemed too great to have procured that assistance, much less when it was obtained at so small a rate, as the bare freight did amount unto. In fine, *Pizarro*, who was noble and sincere in his dealings, replied to those who gave him contrary advice, that no consideration of benefit or profit could balance or stand in competition with his Faith and Honour; and so with this constancy and resolution he rejected the low and degenerate counsels of mean-spirited Men, and applied himself to receive and treat *Alvarado* with all the esteem, kindness and magnificence that he was able.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the unfortunate Death of Don Pedro de Alvarado.

Admiral *Don Pedro de Alvarado* being greatly satisfied with the kind and obliging treatment which *Don Francisco de Pizarro* had made him, they took their leave and farewell each of other with all the kind expressions and complements imaginable, offering mutual succours and assistences as the affairs and emergencies in which they were now engaged, should respectively require. So *Alvarado* returned to his Government of *Huastimallan*, where he reposed not long, or enjoyed the riches and prosperity which he had acquired; but being exalted with his triumphs and his good fortune, which had ever attended him from his Youth, he proceeded to higher Actions and Achievements; being restless, and desirous of vain-glory, until he perished therein, as we shall find hereafter. And though the success hereof doth not properly appertain to this History; yet considering the unhappy and lamentable end of this famous Captain, who had performed so many brave Exploits in divers Countries, which the Renowned *John de Grijalva* had discovered, and in the Conquest of the Empire of Mexico in company with *Hernando Cortes*; and lastly, in the Province of *Guatemala*, or *Huastimallan*, which he conquered by his own Arms, and in other parts of New Spain: Besides all which, we may add the Conquests which he made in *Pernu*, for without his aid and assistance that Empire could never have been secured. Howsoever, he died, as *Gomara* in the 210th Chapter of his History of the Indies reports, besides many other particulars worthy to be mentioned, which I have extracted *verbatim*, as followeth:

"*Pedro de Alvarado* remaining quiet, and peaceably settled in his Government of *Huastimallan* and *Chiapa*, the latter of which he exchanged with *Francisco Montejo* for his Dominion of the *Honduras*, obtained licence of the Emperour to discover and plant a Colony in *Quintanaro*, which was one of the Provinces of *Pernu*, and a Countrey which was rich, and not as yet possessed by the *Spaniards*. On this Adventure, in the year 1535, he armed and set forth five Ships, upon which and upon two others which he freighted in *Nicaragua*, he embarked five hundred *Spaniards*, and many Horses; the which being landed at *Puerto Viejo*, he

"he marched to *Quitu*, having in that Journey endured much cold and hunger; the news whereof affected the minds of *Pizarro* and *Almagro* with jealousy and fear. At length he sold the Ships, Guns, &c. for two hundred thousand pieces of Eight; which having received, he returned rich and triumphant unto *Huamillan*. After which he built ten or twelve Ships, one Gally, and other Pinaces which were light, and rowed well with the Ore, with design to make a Voyage to the *Espeeria*, and a farther discovery towards the Cape of *Valenas*, called by some *California*. In the year 1538, Friar *Marcos de Niza*, and other *Franciscan* Friars travelled by Land through the Countrey of *Culhuacan*, at least three hundred Leagues to the Westward, and much farther than the *Spaniards* of *Xalisco* had as yet discovered, and returned with high commendations of the Countries, and of the Riches and good Air of *Sibola*, and other Cities. Upon the relation of these Friars, they resolved once to send an Army by Sea to those parts under the Command of *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, Vice-king of New Spain, and *Don Fernando Cortes* Marquis de *Valle*, who was Captain-General of New Spain, and first Discoverer of the Coast along the South-Sea; but not agreeing upon Articles, they quarrelled, and so *Cortes* returned into Spain, and *Alvarado* was sent in his place with the Ships before mentioned; for which the Money, as aforesaid, was paid him. *Alvarado* failed, as I conceive, with his Fleet to the Port of *Navidad*, and thence travelled by Land to *Mexico*, where he agreed with the Vice-king upon an adventure to *Sibola*, without any regard to the gratitude he owed to *Cortes*, who was the Author of all his fortune. In his return from *Mexico*, he passed through *Xalisco*, to subdue and reduce the people of that Kingdom, who had made an Insurrection, and were in defiance against the *Spaniards*. At length he came to *Ecatlan*, where *Diego de Lopez* was making War against the Rebels, and joining his Forces with him, they stormed the *Indians*, who had fortified themselves on the corner of a Rock with such resolution, that having killed thirty of them, they put the rest unto flight; and having climbed up into a high and narrow Rock, many of their Horses came tumbling down the Precipice: And whereas one of them came sliding down just upon the Horse of *Alvarado*, he, to avoid him, alighted, intending to give him way, and save himself; but the Horse in his fall striking on the edge of a Rock, turned his fall just on *Alvarado*, and carried him headlong with him down to the bottom; the which misfortune happened on Midsummer-day, in the year 1541, and in a few days after died of the bruises he had received at *Ecatlan*, which is a place about three hundred Leagues distant from *Huamillan*; he conferred his Senses, and the judgment of a Christian, untill the last; for being asked where his chief pain was, he answered, in his Soul: As to other matters, he was a Man of a free and chearfull temper. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*; and at the end of the same Chapter he adds, "That he left no Estate, nor did there remain any Memory or Relicks of him, unless what is before related, and a Daughter which he had by an Indian Woman, which was afterwards Married to *Don Francisco de la Cueva*; and so he concludes that Chapter. This Relation is the very same which is commonly current in *Peru*, with all the circumstances thereof; onely they differ in this, that one says it was a Horse that tumbled upon him; and the other, that it was a Rock, which was thrown down by the fall of a Horse; 'tis probable that it might be the one as well as the other, and that the Horse and Stones might come all rowling down together. Besides, I was acquainted with his Daughter, and with one of his Sons, who was a Mongrel or *Mestizo* (as we call them) born of an Indian Woman, named *Don Diego de Alvarado*, a Son worthy, and not degenerating from a Father of such great renown, for he resembled his Father in all his Vertues; was a true pattern of him in all circumstances, nor did he differ from him in the very misfortune of his Death; for having with other *Spaniards* made his escape from the Battel of *Chelqui Inca*, he was afterwards killed by the *Indians* in the pursuit, as we shall hereafter relate in its due place.

Thus ended the Life of this worthy Cavalier *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, he was Knight of the Habit of St. *Yago*, and one of the most dexterous with his Lance of any that passed into the New World. His unhappy Death was greatly lamented at *Cusco* by all those who had been his followers in that Empire; many Malles were said for his Soul at that time, and for several years afterwards; I my self have been present at some, which were said for him, when I was there. Whenever

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any occasion was offered to make mention of him, I have heard several Gentlemen remember him with great praise of his Goodness and Vertue; and some of them specified and recounted the kindnesses and good offices he had shewn to them in particular: And whereas he was very familiarly acquainted, and conversant in my Father's house, I have been an Ear-witness of divers passages relating to his good Nature, and to the generosity of his great Soul: One of which was this; That in their Voyage to *Peru* his people suffered much for want of fresh Water; so that when they came to *Tumbez*, they became very sickly, and many of them were so weakned by the Calenture Fever, by reason of the Thirst they had endured, that they were not able to leave the Ship and Land on the shore. Wherefore *Alvarado* himself landed from the Ship, and provided them with Water; and though he had suffered as much by Thirst as any of them, yet he would not taste a drop of Water untill he was assured that the Sick had drank, and all the Ships-company had been provided. Many other generous Acts of this nature were related of this worthy Gentleman; though *Gomara* in his Writings gives a different character of him, which he must have received from some of those (as there were many) who were envious and emulous of his Vertues and Fortune: And though it was impossible to suppress the fame of his Exploits and Adventures, which were notorious to all the World, yet at least they endeavoured to eclipse and disparage the glory of them. Of which this Author being sensible, did in part excuse and clear himself of the falsity of those reports which were given; and so concludes the 192d Chapter of his Book with these words: *He that doth well, and is not praised, lives amongst bad Neighbours*, &c. And this he said, because he knew that in all Estates of Men, there are some who are envious and slanderers, and unworthy the society of good Men, being inclined to speak a lye, rather than to utter truth in commendations of another. And now we shall return to the Affairs of *Peru*, and to the Transactions therein since the departure of *Don Pedro de Alvarado* from thence.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Foundation of the City de los Reyes, and of the City of Truxillo.

SO soon as the Governour had dismissed *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, he immediately gave notice thereof to his Partner *Don Diego de Almagro*, then at *Cusco*, and therewith sent a great number of those Gentlemen which came with *Alvarado*, to be entertained in the Service of the Prince *Manco Inca*, and his Brothers, *John* and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, desiring them to be serviceable to the *Inca*, and kind to the *Indians*; for in regard the *Inca* surrendered himself voluntarily, and of his own accord, he would not have him lose that confidence and affection which he had conceived of the *Spaniards*; in the mean time the Governour remained in the Valley of *Pachacamac*, with design to build a City near the Sea-coast for the better advantage of Trade and Commerce: And having considered upon this matter with his friends, he dispatched several persons experienced in Maritime affairs, to discover on both sides where was the most convenient place for a Port or Harbour. At length being informed, that four Leagues to the North of *Pachacamac*, there was a very safe Port right against the Valley of *Rimac*; which when the Governour had viewed and surveyed, he transplanted the people which had begun to settle a Colony in the Valley of *Sausa*, which is thirty Leagues from *Rimac* within the Land, unto that convenient place where he founded the City of *los Reyes* in the year 1534.

But as to the precise year, Authors differ very much: for some make it sooner, and others later; and some will have it in the year 1530, leaving out the 4. But not to insist on these several opinions, let us compare the times with the great and notable Actions which succeeded; for it is most certain, and therein all Authors agree, that it was in the year 1525, when *Pizarro*, *Almagro*, and the School-master *Hernando de Luca*, did first enter into Articles of their Triumvirate. Three years afterwards were spent in the discovery, before they arrived the first time at *Tum-piz*. Two years farther passed before they could finish their Voyage into *Spain* to procure their Commission to make a Conquest, and before their return back to *Panama* with Ammunition and Provisions for such an undertaking. In the year 1531, they invaded the Island *Puna*, and also *Tum-piz*; and in December of the same year they took *Atahualpa* Prisoner; and in March following, being the year 1532, he was put to Death, in October following they entered into *Cusco*, where the Governour resided until April 1533, when news came of the Arrival of *Alvarado*; and in September he departed from *Cusco* to meet him, and pay him the Money according to agreement. And about the beginning of the year 1534, being Twelfth-day, or the Day of the Kings, he laid the Foundation of that City, and so called it *la ciudad de los Reyes*, or the City of the Kings. In remembrance of which he made the Arms of the City to be Three Crowns, with a Star shining over them; the Form or Model of it was very beautiful, for the Market-place was very wide and large, unless perhaps it was too wide for the City, the Streets also were wide and straight; so that from every corner of them cross-ways, the Fields may be seen on all sides. On the North-side there is a River, from which several Channels are cut, to water the Lands round about, and to supply every House in the City with water. This Town, at a distance, makes no good shew, nor appears well, because the Houses are not covered with Tile, but thatched with a sort of Straw which that Country yields; for in regard it never rains in that Climate, nor for many Leagues distant on either side along the Coast, the coverings of the Houses are all made of a sort of Straw, or Rushes, which grow in that Country; on which laying a kind of Mortar, or Earth, mixed with Straw, two or three fingers thick, it makes a good defence against the Heats of the Sun: But as to the Buildings themselves, both within and without, they are good and commodious, and they daily improve their Art in Architecture. This Town is about two small Leagues distant from the Sea; but as the report is, the parts nearest to the Sea are best inhabited. The Climate is hot and moist, and much of the same temperament with that of *Andaluzia*; the difference of which is only, that the Days there are not so long, nor the Nights so short in July and August, as they are here; so that the Sun arising there more late, and setting more early, hath not time to heat and warm the Earth, as in those Regions where the Days are longer; so that though the situation be nearer the Sun, yet the Nights being long, the Earth hath more time to become cool, and to be refreshed: But in regard the Heats are constant, and admit of small remissions, the Inhabitants being habituated or accustomed thereunto, do invent and contrive preventions and remedies against the Heats, both in the coolness of their Houses, Garments and Bedding, which they so cover and fence, that the Flies and Gnats (with which that Country is much infested) can have no passage to hinder or disturb their repose, either by day or night; for in these low Grounds and Marishes, the Gnats are extremely busie and troublesome, as well by day as by night; those which are busie at night, make a buzzing, and are of the same colour with such as we have here, onely that they are much greater, and sting so terribly, that the *Spaniards* say, that they will bite through a pair of Cordovan Boots; perhaps indeed they may pass a knit Stockin, with a Linen one under it, but not if it were of Cloth or Kersey; and indeed in some Countries they are much more keen and hungry than they are in others: The Gnats which are troublesome by day, are little, and not much unlike those which are here bred in Shops, and generated from Wine; onely they are of a yellowish colour, and so thirsty of blood, (that as I have heard credibly reported) many of them have been seen to burst at the same time that they have been sucking: To try this experiment, I have suffered some of them to suck of my blood, as much as they would; and when they were full, they would drop off, and rowl, but were not able to go or fly: The stings of these Gnats are in some degree poisonous, especially to some sorts of flesh, in which they will make little wounds, though not dangerous, or of great moment.

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By reason that the City of *los Reyes* is of a hot and moist Air, Flesh will immediately corrupt in it; and therefore when it is newly killed and bought, it must be eaten the same day, which are all qualities different to the Climate of *Cusco*, that being hot, and this cold, of temperate. The Cities and other Colonies of *Spaniards*, which are situate along the Coast of *Pera*, are all of the same temperament with the Town of *los Reyes*, being under the same degree. All the other Cities within the Land from *Quito*, as far as *Chiquisaca*, which runs for the space of seven hundred Leagues North and South, are of a pleasant Climate, not being cold as *Cusco*, nor hot like *Rimac*, but of an equal and moderate temperature, excepting onely the situation of *Porosi*, where the Mines of Silver are, is extremely cold, and the Air penetrating. The Indians call it *Puna*, which is to say, a Climate, not habitable by reason of coldness; howsoever the love and thirst of Silver had invited such numbers of *Spaniards* and *Indians* to that place, that at present it is the most populous, and the best served with Provisions of any Country in all Peru. As he in the 6th Chapter of his 4th Book, mentioning the Circumstances of that Colony, says, that the Town, that is the place inhabited is two Leagues (which are six miles) in compass.

It may much that be sufficient to have spoken in general of all the Cities and Plantations of *Peru*, so as that we need not treat farther of any one in particular. But to return to the City of *los Reyes*; we say, that the Governour *Francisco Pizarro*, having founded this City, and divided the Lands, Fields, and Inheritances together with the *Indians* amongst his *Spaniards*, he descended to the Valley of *Chimu*, about eighty Leagues Northward from *los Reyes*, along the Sea-coast, and there built another City, which to this day is called *Truxillo*, and was so named in remembrance of his own Countrey: At which place also he made a division of Lands to the first Conquerors, to whom he marked out the several Provinces, Lands and Possessions, which belonged to every person in reward of the labours and hazards which every person had sustained. The like he performed in the City and Countrey of *los Reyes*, where he with great applause and satisfaction assigned to every Man his share and due proportion; so that it appeared as if the Land began to be at peace, and all things to dispose themselves towards quietness and enjoyment: And having thus justly shared to the first Conquerors their dues, it was not to be doubted, but that he would deal with others, who were to follow with the like equality. And being thus well employed, as this famous Cavalier ever was in all the course of his life, we shall now leave him for a while to treat of other matters, which at the same time passed amongst the *Indians*.

C H A P. XVIII.

How the General Quizquiz was slain by his own Souldiers.

THAT we may omit nothing material of all those matters which occurred at that time in *Peru*, it is necessary for us to give an account of what success befell the General *Quizquiz*, the Captain *Huaypallica*, and their Forces; who being animated and encouraged by the advantages they had gained over *Don Pedro de Alvarado* and *Almagro* in three several Skirmishes, began to presume themselves able to drive the *Spaniards* out of their Empire; and especially *Huaypallica* was the more confident, because in the absence of *Quizquiz* he had been the Chief Commander in those late Battels, which so vainly puffed him up in his own imagination; that he became presumptuous, and secure in his strength and fortune. Hereupon these two Commanders marched towards *Quitu*, with design to make new Levies of Men, and Provisions for a War against the *Spaniards*; but they had not made many days march before they were disappointed of their hopes and expectations; for the *Curacas*, as well as the common *Indians*, being affrighted and forewarned by the late treachery of *Ruminavi*, and jealous lest they should act over the like practices that the others had done, refused either to follow them to the War, or obey their Commands, which were for bringing in of Provisions; for amongst all the Captains of their Army, there was none of the Blood-Royal that appeared, nor any person with a Title to the Kingdom of *Quitu*, either derived from *Atahualpa*, or *Manco Inca*, who being the only Lawfull and Universal Heir of all that Empire, might countenance the design. With these difficulties, and in straits of Provisions, *Quizquiz* was labouring when his Purveyors fell into the hands of *Sebastian de Belalcázar*, by the Advices which his friends the *Indians* had given; for they being generally desirous of a Peace, were troubled at all acts and motions which tended to a War; and in regard that there was no Army a-foot against the *Spaniards*, but this only, they were desirous to see it defeated; so that upon this advice *Belalcázar* surprized the Foragers, and easily destroyed them, and took many of them Prisoners; such as escaped, carried the news of their defeat, and that the *Viracochas* were very numerous and strong; for having but the day before found so many of them in a body together, they were deceived in the reports they had, that the *Spaniards*, or greatest part of them, were departed out of the Country with *Alvarado* and *Almagro*. Upon this advice *Quizquiz* assembled all his Captains to consider what would be most expedient in this case, proposing it necessary to make a retreat for the present, in order to gather Provisions, which were greatly wanting, and then on a sudden to assault the *Viracochas*, and prosecute them until they had entirely destroyed and extirpated them out of their Country; but the Captains amongst whom *Huaypallica*, (who ever since the late successes, was acknowledged the Chief) were of a different opinion, esteeming it their best course to render and submit themselves unto the *Spaniards*, to desire Peace and Friendship with them; whom to subdue, it was a madness to imagine, since experience had shewn them to be Invincible; and that it was impossible to get Provisions from the *Indians*, who had withdrawn themselves from their obedience; and in that starving condition, how difficult would it be for them to make War upon a victorious Army; and which it were more easie to overcome with fair words, and kind treatment, than to resist a people come from Heaven, which upon submission would readily entertain Friendship and Peace with them. And in regard the Prophecy foretold by the *Inca Huayna Capac* (namely, that a stranger Nation should be Lords of that Nation) was now fulfilled, it was in vain to tempt the fortune of War longer. But *Quizquiz* being a stout Man, and a Souldier, declared against this manner of submission, upbraiding his Souldiers with cowardise and pusillanimity of spirit; and

with haughty and proud Language told them plainly, that he had no need of their Counsel in this case, nor in any other whatsoever; and therefore he required them as their General to obey and follow him, if they hoped for Success and Victory in this Enterprize. But the Captains, who from the time that they had been worsted in several Skirmishes, which they had had with *Alvarado*, and *Almagro*, began to lose much of the Respect and Honour which once they conceived for *Quizquiz*, because they believed he had not behaved himself with that Courage which he professed in divers Engagements against the *Spaniards*; so that now, quitting all Respect towards him, they told him plainly, That since he was so averse to all Peace and Friendship with the *Viracochas*, and so resolute to maintain the War, and confident of Victory, that he should make no Delays, but immediately engage in Fight with the *Spaniards*, which would be much better than cowardly to retire, and rather honourably to dye like brave Souldiers, than to perish in the Mountains and Defarts with hunger, like miserable People: And this they declared to be their ultimate Resolution in the Case.

Quizquiz was not a little nettled to find his Captains replying so briskly upon him, the which confirmed him in the belief of what he had for some days suspected, that there was some Mutiny contriving against him in the Army; and therefore he told them, That he plainly perceived that they passed or transferred the respect they had for him unto Captain *Huaypallica*, the which he could not endure, and thereof admonished them to amend speedily, before he proceeded to punish this their Offence. And in the mean time he gave them to understand, That he took notice of the liberty they used in their insolent Discourse, which favoured of Rebellion and Disobedience towards their Commander; into which he would make a strict Enquiry, and Examination, and punish both the Mutiniers, and the chief Leader of them. *Huaypallica* thinking himself reflected upon by this Discourse, began to huff, and be very angry; and being elated, and his Spirits raised by his late Successes, and being sensible of the great Esteem which the Captains had for him, he made an Attempt, which none believed he had Courage to doe, and wrested the Javelin which *Quizquiz* held in his Hand, and forced it from him; the which Weapon was the Ensign of his Command, like those Truncheons which our Generals carry in their Hands, and is called by the *Indians Chinquapu*; with this Lance, or Javelin, *Huaypallica* ran him through the Breast, and being in like manner seconded by the other Commanders, every one of which had a blow at him with his Weapon, he was soon dispatched. Thus *Quizquiz* ended his Days, being the last and the most famous Souldier of all the Captains and Servants of *Atahualpa*; his Fate was like that of his other Companions, for the Justice of Heaven allways provides punishments agreeable to Mens Offences, and raises up one Tyrant to punish and afflict another. Hereupon *Huaypallica*, and the other Captains disbanded their Army, and every one in a disguise shifted for himself, retiring into places where they thought they might live most hidden and obscure; howsoever they lived in perpetual fear and apprehension of being betrayed by their own People.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIX.

Don Diego de Almagro makes himself Governour without the King's Commission; and what Agreement was made between him and Marquis Pizarro.

Discord having now produced one of its effects amongst the *Indians*, which was the Death of *Quisquis*, did endeavour to avail in like manner amongst the *Spaniards*, had not Peace and Friendship, which are an opposite party thereunto, countermined its Works: For it is to be noted, that some Months after the News came to *Pern* of the Arrival of *Hernando Pizarro* in *Spain*, and of the kind reception which the Treasure he carried had made for him, and of the Honour and Respect which was shewed him in his Negotiations with His Majesty, who was pleased to bestow the Title of Marquis on his Brother, of which *Augustin Carate* gives an Account in the 5th Chapter of his 3d Book, in this manner:

"Amongst other things for which the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro* petitioned His Majesty, one was, That in reward of his great Services, performed in the Conquest of *Pern*, he would be pleased to grant to him and his Heirs, the perpetual Vassalage of twenty thousand *Indians* in the Province of *Atahualpa*, together with the Rents, Tributes and Jurisdiction belonging thereunto, and with the Title of Marquis. In Answer hereunto His Majesty readily bestowed on him the Title of Marquis of that Province; but as to the Command over the *Indians*, he would first inform himself of the nature and quality of the Countrey, and of what Damage or Prejudice such a Concession might prove; and that then he would shew him all the Grace and Favour which was convenient: From which time the Patent of his Marquisate taking date, we shall for the future style him with the Honour of that Title. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, who also affirms; that besides this Honour, his Government was enlarged for many Leagues, but yet doth not tell us how far.

Hernando Pizarro obtained for himself a Knighthood, with the Habit of St. *Jago*, with other favours; and for *Almagro* he acquired the Title of Marechal of *Pern*, with the extent of Government, reaching an hundred Leagues North and South, distinct from the Jurisdiction of *Marquis Pizarro*; the which second Government was called *New Toledo*, as the other was *New Castile*. The Advices hereof being wrote from *Spain*, *Almagro* received them at *Cusco*, where he resided with Prince *Manco Inca*, and with *John* and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Brothers of the Marquis, and being, as is the nature of all ambitious Men, impatient for Government and Command, he never staid for Commission from His Majesty, nor Confirmation of the News, but immediately from that time took on him the Title of Governour. And whereas (it was reported) that the Jurisdiction of the Marquis *Pizarro* was to extend 200 Leagues in length from the Equinoctial Southward, whether the same be measured along the Coast, or within Land, or by the degrees of latitude, it would fall out, that the City of *Cusco* would not be comprehended within his Lot, but would belong to *Almagro*; on confidence of which, without other Considerations, he laid aside the Deputation he had received from *Almagro*, and in virtue of his own Right assumed to himself the Government of that City, and shared the Vassalage of the *Indians* amongst his own Creatures by Authority from himself. All which he acted by the Advice and Counsel of several

several *Spaniards*, who being desirous of Novelty, and Dissention, moved and incited him thereunto. On the other side *John* and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and other Gentlemen, which came in with *Alvarado*, made head, and opposed him; of which were *Graviel de Rojas*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Antonio Altimirano*, *Alofso de Alvarado*, and the greatest part of that Regiment, and the Dissentions arose so high amongst them, and to that Rage, that many of them were often killed and wounded in the Scuffles. Of which intelligence being brought to the Marquis then at *Truxillo*, he immediately departed thence, being carried from one stage to another on the Shoulders of *Indians*, for the space of two hundred Leagues, which is the distance of that place from *Cusco*. In this Journey the Marquis travelled alone, and trusted himself to the Faithfulness of the *Indians*, on Confidence and Security of *Manco Inca*, who remained as a Pawn in the Hands of his Brothers, whom we call Prince, and not King, because he was never permitted to Reign, though the *Indians* did strive, and endeavour by all means possible, to oblige the *Spaniards*, in hopes that by such Compliances, they might be induced to restore the Empire unto their *Inca*. The Marquis being arrived, the Difficulties quickly vanished; for these two great Men having sworn Friendship, and ancient Brotherhood together, were immediately reconciled, and brought to a better understanding, by removal of evil Counsellors; and of such as designed to make a Benefit by their Differences.

And now *Almagro* was become sensible of his too hasty Declaration, and that he had been too forward in carving out a Jurisdiction to himself, upon a bare Information, before he had been authorized to claim his Right thereunto by His Majesty's Commission; on which acknowledgment the Marquis pardoned him, and both of them became as perfect Friends as if there had never passed any Difference between them: And for better Security and Conservation of this Confederacy, they renewed their Vows at the Holy Sacrament never more to violate their Faith each to the other, and by mutual consent agreed between themselves and their parties respectively, That *Almagro* should undertake the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Chili*, which abounded with Gold, and appertained to the *Incas*; upon which conditions they agreed to join together in their Petition to His Majesty, to grant unto him that Dominion; and in case that could not be obtained, that then they would make an equal Division of *Pern* between themselves.

On these Terms both Parties remained well satisfied, though some malicious persons suggested, that *Almagro*, who had been so good a Companion, and so necessary an Instrument in this Conquest, had been unjustly treated, and thrown out of all Right in the Division of *Pern*, and that the *Pizarros*, under the pretence of an hundred Leagues, had engrossed and appropriated the whole Dominion thereof unto themselves. And whereas upon the Fame and Noise which the Riches of that Empire had made in the World, great numbers of *Spaniards* had flocked from all places, and that the parts already conquered did scarce yield a Tract of Land, sufficient to satisfy the Merits and Expectations of the first Conquerours; it was therefore judged necessary to enlarge the extent of the Possessions by new Conquests; and that as *Almagro* was to subdue the Kingdom of *Chili*, so also Captain *Alofso de Alvarado* was designed for the Province of the *Chachapuyas*; which, though under the Command of the *Inca*, yet trusting to the Security of the Mountains, where Horfe can doe little Service, and to their own Skillfulness, and Valour in War, refused to yield any Obedience to the *Spaniards*. Captain *Garcilasso de la Vega* was designed for the Province which the *Spaniards*, by Irony, or contraries, call the Province of Good Fortune. Captain *John Porcel* was sent into the Countrey called by the *Spaniards* *Bracamoros*, and by the *Indians* *Pacamuru*. And farther, it was ordered, That Recruits should be sent to *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, for his Assistance in the Conquest of *Quiru*; by which means Provisions would not only be made to satisfy the Desires and Expectations of all Persons, but the Minds of the Adventurers employed, and amused in new Acquisitions and Enterprises, which remaining in Idleness and Sloth, would be inclinable to Mutinies and Sedition.

These Articles being concluded and agreed between *Almagro* and the Marquis *Pizarro*, the foregoing Designs were published, so that the Captains prepared themselves for their respective Enterprises; and accordingly raised and enrolled their Men. *Alonso de Alvarado* lifted three hundred Men for his Conquest, *Garciلاسco de la Vega* two hundred and fifty for his; and he that was intended for the *Pacamarus*, was provided with a like number; and all three entred into their respective Divisions, where they sustained great Labours, and Hardships, by reason of the high Mountains and Interruption of Rivers, as we shall hereafter shew in their due places. The Recruits sent to *Sebastian de Belalcázar* consisted of one hundred and fifty Men. But *Almagro* made up a Force five hundred and fifty, amongst which several of them had already Lands set out to them, and commands over *Indians*, yet in hopes of better Fortune in *Chili*, of whose Riches there was great talk, they left their Possessions and Estates about *Cusco*. For in those beginnings every poor Spaniard in the condition of a common Souldier, thought all *Peru* but a mean Share and Reward of his Labours. *Almagro* lent thirty Thousand Pesos of Gold to his Souldiers, to buy Horses, and Arms, and other necessaries; so that they were all very well provided.

John de Saavedra, a Native of *Seville*, (with whom I was well acquainted) was sent in the Van, or Forlorn Hope, with one hundred and fifty Men, to discover the Countrey, which they found to be very quiet, and in a peaceable posture, by reason that their *Inca*, Prince *Manco*, remained in the Hands of the Spaniards, and that the *Indians* were in very great hopes of his Restoration to the Empire.

Almagro left Captain *Roy Diaz*, and *John de Herrada*, his intimate Friend, to reside as Agents for him in the City of *Cusco*, to raise Men, and to send him Recruits, and supply him with what was necessary for the War against the Kingdom of *Chili*, it being reported to be a Countrey mountainous, and the People Warlike.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Almagro enters Chili with the great detriment of his Army; but is well received by the People of the Inca.

Matters being designed, as before related, *Almagro* departed from *Cusco* about the beginning of the Year 1535, carrying in his company with him *Paulu* the Brother of *Manco Inca*, of whom we have formerly made mention; as also the High Priest, which was as yet maintained in Honour, called *Villac Omu* by the *Indians*, but by the Spaniards *Villa Oma*. He was also accompanied with many *Indian* Nobles, and many of the common sort, who carried Arms and Baggage to the number of 15000 Men; all which were sent by the Command of *Manco Inca*, who imagined, that such Services as these would oblige the Spaniards, and in common Gratitude engage them to surrender his Kingdom to him. On this expectation he enjoined his Brother, and the High Priest to attend the *Viracochas*, whereby the *Indians* were much more ready to honour and doo them Service. But in the Relation of this passage, Historians mistake in not rightly timing matters, saying, That the *Inca* gave Instructions to his Brother to kill *Almagro* in the *Charcas*, or in some other convenient place. But this was afterwards certified, when the *Inca* perceived that the Spaniards never intended to restore him to his Kingdom, as we shall relate in its due place. But as to the present Affair, *Saavedra*, who led the Van before, came to the *Charcas*, which is about two hundred Leagues distant from *Cusco*, without the least misfortune, or unhappy accident by the way, worthy the notice; for the *Indians* received them with all amicable and kind Treatment in every place where they came. It was his fortune to meet in the *Charcas* with *Gabriel de Rojas*, sent thither by Marquis *Pizarro*, with a Force of about seventy Men, the which *Saavedra* would have taken without just reason, for since the Vice of Discord could not find entrance into the peaceable Minds of the *Indians*, it would make its way into the Humour of the Spaniards, to put all into Flame and Combustion; but *Gabriel de Rojas* having information hereof, took another way to the City of *los Reyes*, and so wisely avoided the Plot intended against him; but the most part of his Souldiers joined with *Almagro* in his Enterprise against *Chili*. In like manner *Almagro* came to the *Charcas*, without any Accident which befell him on the way worthy the notice: And now to proceed in his March, he caused every thing that was necessary to be provided, and because the Journey was a much nearer cut over Mountains, than by the Sea-Coast, he resolved to take that way, and though *Paulu*, and *Villac Omu* informed him, that the way over the famous Mountain of the *Cordillera* was not passable, by reason of the Snows, but at a certain season of the Year, yet he would give no credence to their Words, but told them, that the Countrey of *Peru* was to yield, and be obedient to the Discoverers and Conquerours of it, and that the very Elements, the Region, and Climates, and Heaven it self was to become propitious, and favourable to their Designs, as it had hitherto been.

With this Resolution *Almagro* departed from the *Charcas*, and proceeded on his Journey by way of the Mountains; for being jealous, that *Paulu* did not faithfully advise him, he slighted the Counsel which he had given him; but they had not passed many days Journey through the Mountains, before they began to repent of the Way they had taken, by reason of the many Difficulties sustained therein. The first that lead the Way, being not able to pass by reason of the Depths of Snow, were forced to throw it aside with their Hands and Arms, which was the cause that they made short Days Journeys. At length their Provisions began to fail, by reason that they were in the Way three times

longer than they expected; but their greatest inconvenience was the Extremity of Cold; for, according to the Description of Cosmographers, the Top of that snowy Mountain reaches as high as the middle Region of the Air; the which being extremely cold, and the ground covered with Snow, and the Season of the Year being about the time of our Midsummer, when the Days are at the shortest it froze so excessively, that *Spaniards*, *Negroes*, and *Indians*, and many *Horses* were frozen to Death. The poor *Indians* suffered most, being ill provided with warm Garments, so that ten thousand of the fifteen thousand *Indians* dyed with the Cold; nor did the *Spaniards* escape, who were better clothed, for of them also one hundred and fifty dyed, and so cruel and severe was the Frost, that their Fingers and Toes were so benumbed, that they were insensible of the freezing thereof, untill they rotted off from their Hands and Feet. I was acquainted with one of these persons, called *Jerónimo Castilla*, born at *Camora*, of as good a Family as any is in that City. Many of them lost their baggage, not by violence of an Enemy, because there was none in those parts to oppose them, but were forced to relinquish and leave them, the *Indians* being dead who carried their Burthens.

In fine, after a tedious Journey the *Spaniards* passed the Mountain, harassed and tired with their Travels and Labour, and being come to the other side, instead of Enemies they fell into the Hands of the *Indians*, who were their Friends, and who received them as kindly, and treated them as well as if they had been their Country-Men, and of their own Blood; for they being Inhabitants of *Copayapu*, and Subjects of the *Inca*, did, in respect to *Paulu Inca*, and the High Priest, Feast and entertain the *Spaniards* with all the plenty and variety of Curiosities which their Country could afford. And most happy was it for the *Spaniards*, for had the *Indians* proved Enemies, and not Friends, and taken them unprovided, and at that advantage they might all have perished, and not one escaped.

During the time that the *Viracochas* refreshed themselves, after their late sufferings and Labours, which were greater than can be expressed. *Paulu Inca*, and his Kinsman *Villac Umo*, entertained Discourse with the Captains and *Curacas* of the Empire, and gave them to understand all that passed in *Peru*, relating to the Story of *Huascar Inca*, and *Atahualpa*; and how the *Spaniards* put him to Death in Revenge of the Murder he had committed on his King, and all his Family, that at present the Prince *Manco Inca*, the lawfull Heir, was in their Hands and Custody, and treated by them with all imaginable Respect and Honour, and with Promises of being restored unto his Empire, and to the Height and Grandeur of Majesty; in expectation of which, all *Indians* were obliged to assist and serve them, the better to engage them unto a performance of their Promise to the *Inca*. And farther, they informed them, that these were Men descended from their Father the Sun, and for that Reason they called them *Incas*, and owned them for Kindred and Relations, with the Name of their God *Viracocha*. And in regard their General was Brother and Associate with him, that resided at *Cusco*, the Services and Kindnesses which were shewed to one, would be accepted by the other, and that the greatest Presents, and best Treatment, that could be given them, would be much Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones, for they loved those things very much; and since their Country yielded nothing besides Gold, they would do well to gather as much of it, as they could, and present it to the *Spaniards*, who would not only kindly accept it, but the Prince *Manco Inca* would likewise esteem himself very well served by those Gifts.

Upon this Information the *Indians* of *Copayapu* were infinitely rejoiced with the Hopes to see their *Inca* restored to his Empire, so that the same day they amassed together above the value of two hundred thousand Ducats, in Vessels of Gold, the which having been designed for the accustomed Presents which were due to their *Incas*, were reserved untill that time; for so soon as News came to *Chili* of the Wars between *Huascar* and *Atahualpa*, the *Incas*, who were the Captains, and ruled that Kingdom, desisted from their Services, and from making Presents to the *Inca*, untill such time as the Controversie about the Government was decided.

Paulu

Paulu having amassed the Gold, carried it to *Almagro*, and presented it to him in the Name of his Brother *Manco Inca*, and of all the Kingdom of *Chili*; which much rejoiced and encouraged *Almagro*, and his Souldiers to see, that a small People, in so short a time was able to provide such a quantity of Gold, which was a clear evidence of the Riches of that Country. When *Almagro* saw the Gold, he smiled, and heartily thanked *Paulu*, telling him, that such Gifts as these were so acceptable to him, as would oblige him for the future, as they did at present, to make him such gratefull returns as would be much to his advantage.

Paulu perceiving that these Presents extorted kind Words and Promises from *Almagro*, all which he believed, endeavoured more and more to oblige him with Presents of that nature, and accordingly sent to the Villages, and inhabited Valleys, which were thereunto adjoining, to bring in all the Gold they had conserved for the *Incas*, for that he had occasion thereof, to make Presents unto the *Viracochas*, who were Brothers to the *Inca*. Upon the Orders the *Indians*, in a few days, brought in three hundred thousand Ducats of Gold over and above the former quantity, and laid them before *Almagro*; which when he saw, he hugged himself with the thoughts of that rich Country, which was fain to his Lot, the which esteeming now for his own, in gratitude to his happy Fortune, he became munificent in a high degree, both to acquire Honour and Fame, of which he was very ambitious, and to gain the Good-will and Affection of his Souldiers and Companions; which that he might procure, he, in presence of them all, took out the Obligations and Bonds which every one of them, both before and on occasion of this Enterprize, had given him, which amounted unto above an hundred thousand Ducats, the which he tore and cancelled one after the other; telling those who were bound to him in those Papers, That he remitted, and made Presents to them of their Debts, wishing that the Summs had been greater, that he might have had occasion to have obliged them farther, and to those who were not indebted to him, he gave Money to defray their Charges, and make such Provisions as were then necessary; with which Liberality all the Souldiers were greatly satisfied and pleased.

Lopez de Gomara, in the 142d Chapter of his Book, says, That this act of Liberality was a piece of Magnificence, rather of a Prince than of a Souldier, yet when he dyed, there was not any who would cover him with a rag of Cloth at the place where he was beheaded, &c.

Yyy 2

CHAP.

C H A P. XXI.

New Pretensions obstruct the Conquest of Chili. Almagro designs to return unto Peru; and the Reasons why.

Almagro having repos'd a while, and refresh'd himself, his Men, and his Horses, after the Hardship sustained in the late Conquests, he then consulted of the Way and Method how to subdue the other Vallies and Provinces of the Kingdom of *Chili*, which were not subject to the Dominion of the *Incas*; for those that were, upon appearance of *Paulus*, Brother of their King, needed no other force to render them obedient; wherefore *Almagro* communicated unto *Paulus* his Intentions, who considering that such Conquests would be Enlargements of his Brother's Empire, readily assented, and in order to that Design drew out from the Garrisons, and places of Defence, all the Force that were in them, and issued out his Commands for making Provisions, and bringing them to the Camp; which having done, he accompanied *Almagro* to the Conquest of the Provinces of *Purumauca*, *Atuelli*, *Pincu*, *Cauqui*, and the Parts adjacent, as far as to the Province of *Aracuco*. In this Enterprize they had many Skirmishes with the Natives, who behaved themselves valiantly, and like Souldiers, being in a signal manner dexterous in their Bows and Arrows, with which they would shoot with admirable aim; but the particulars thereof we shall not relate, nor yet the Bartels, onely in general, that they were very bloody, and stoutly fought, because we must hasten to our History of *Peru*. In short therefore, though the Enemies made good resistance, yet the *Spaniards* gained upon them with happy Success, by the Assistance and Good-will of *Paulus*, and his *Indians*. But these happy and prosperous proceedings were soon obstructed by Discord, which always blowed the Flames of Feuds and Diffention between these two famous Brothers, which were never quenched, untill both of them were consumed, as will appear in the sequel of this History.

Thus *Almagro* proceeding in a prosperous course of Victory, though at the expense of *Spanish* and *Indian* Blood; at the end of five Months, from the time that he entred *Chili*, Recruits of an hundred Men were brought to him, under the Command and Conduct of *Ruis Diaz*, and *John de Herrada*, who (as we have said) were appointed to remain in *Cusco*, to make Levies of Men, and send him Succours. Their passage was over the same Mountains, and by the same way that *Almagro* had travelled before; and though it happened at a better season of the Year, that is, in the month of *November*, which is Summer in that Climate, when the Snows were not so deep, nor the Colds so intense, yet many *Indians*, and some *Spaniards* were frozen to Death; and those that escaped had perished with Hunger, had they not been sustained by the Flesh of those Horses which were found dead in the way, where having been frozen ever since the time that *Almagro* passed that way, the flesh thereof was as fresh and good, after five Months, as if they had been killed that very day.

The Difficulties of this Journey being overcome, (which were greater than we are able to express,) they were received by their General with all imaginable Joy and Contentment; and better was their welcome, when it was known that *Herrada* brought with him His Majesty's Commission, which invested *Almagro* in the Government and Jurisdiction of an hundred Leagues of Land, exempt and distinct from the Territories of *Marquis Pizarro*. This Commission was brought by *Hernando Pizarro*, when he last returned from *Spain* unto *Peru*, the which he sent from *los Reyes* to *Herrada* by the Post, knowing that he was then upon his departure for *Chili*. This particular is related by *Gomara* in the 135th Chapter of his Book, the which Words we have extracted *verbatim* in this manner.

Almagro

"*Almagro* being employed in his Wars in *Chili*, *John de Herrada* came to him with a Commission for his Government, which was brought from *Spain* by *Hernando Pizarro*, which, though it cost him his Life, yet he more rejoiced and triumphed than with all the Gold and Silver he had gained, for he was more ambitious of Honour than covetous of Riches. Hereupon he entred into consultation of the course he was to steer, whether to remain in *Chili*, or to return to *Cusco*; after some debate thereupon, the latter was resolved, namely, to return unto *Cusco*, to take possession thereof, since the Government of that place fell to his Fortune. It had been better for him if he had followed the Advice and Request of those who persuaded him to remain in *Chili*; or in the *Charcas*, which is a very rich and fruitful Countrey, and from thence to have sent and known the Will and Pleasure of *Francisco Pizarro*, and his Assistants at *Cusco*, before he attempted a matter, which proved a breach of their Affociation. The Persons who persuaded him to return, were chiefly *Gomez* and *Diego de Alvarado*, and *Rodrigo Organos*, his familiar and intimate Friend. In fine, *Almagro* resolved to return to *Cusco*, and assume the Government thereof by force, in case the *Pizarros* should not easily render and resign the same. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*.

The Motives which incited *Almagro* and his Captains to return unto *Peru*, were not the bare Command and Jurisdiction over a hundred Leagues of Land, for they possessed that, and much more, already in *Chili*, where the People received and treated them with excesses of Kindness and Service, and where their Dominions increased, and were daily enlarged with new Conquests over Countries that abounded with Gold, and other Riches; but the ambition of being Prince over the Imperial City of *Cusco*, over-balanced all other considerations; and was that Bone of Diffention thrown in by the Devil between those two Governours, from whence arose the Civil Wars which interrupted the propagation of the Gospel, and occasioned the Death of many Christians, and was the Cause that an innumerable company of others dyed without the Sacrament of Baptism; but the passion which *Almagro* and his Companions had for the Imperial City, transported them with a desire to return into *Peru*, not by the way they came, for the Difficulty thereof, and their Sufferings were still fresh in their memory, but taking their passage over a Sandy Desert, in which they endured extremity of Heat, with want of Water, the Sufferings were as great as when they sustained the contraries of Snow, Frost, and craggy Mountains; as we shall hereafter more particularly relate; and in the mean time we cannot but take notice of the different manner that these Historians, *Carate* and *Gomara* relate this Expedition of *Almagro* into *Chili*, for they say that he returned by the same way, and that he made several Lether Bottels, or Jacks, to carry Water, which was much wanting in those dry Deserts, in which there is a plain mistake; for where there is abundance of Snow, there can be no want of Water: But these Authours confound the going with the return of *Almagro*, which were two different ways, subject to contrary inconveniencies. And farther they say, that the Gold which *Paulus* presented to *Almagro* in *Chili*, was forced from the *Indians* of *Charcas* by *Saavedra*, as they were carrying it for a Present to their King; for that ever since the beginning of the War between the two Brothers, *Huascar* and *Atahualpa*, they had conserved their Gold, and had stopped all intercourse and correspondences by that way. Upon all which matter, that ancient Conquerour, (of whom we have made mention in the former part) taking notice in his Marginal Notes on the History of *Gomara* of the confused Relation of these passages; in a kind of anger makes the Exceptions following to the Chapter 135.

"In the Relation which this Authour gives of *Cusco* and *Chile*, there are many things that might be added, and many things omitted; for in writing his History, he seems to have taken his information from such as were as ignorant of matters as himself; the which appears in this particular passage; the truth of which is this: *Almagro*, as is evident, did not return from *Chile*, by the way that he went thither, which was by a passage over that Mountain, on which they endured extremity of hunger and cold, and by that entrance into *Copayapu*, which is the first Valley of *Chile* on that side, where fell so much Snow, that many *Indians*, *Spaniards*, and Horses were frozen to death; and many of those who escaped, lost their Toes and Fingers, benumbed by the Frost, but by another way, as we shall hereafter declare. Five Months after which, *Ruy-diaz*, and *John*

"*John de Herrada*, who were left in *Peru* for Agents to *Almagro*; passed that way with their people, and in like manner endured much extremity both by hunger and cold; for the passage is long, and of at least five or six days continuance, with hard travel; during which time they wanted Provisions very much, because the *Indians*, which carried them, were frozen to death: And yet they passed at a better season than did *Almagro*, the Snows not being so deep, nor the cold so intense; howsoever they suffered much, and many died: Their chief relief and remedy against Hunger they received from the Flesh of those Horses, which being frozen, were preserved from corruption. But *Almagro* (as is said) returned not by this way of the Mountain by which he came, but by the Plains, which run along by the Sea-coast, where the Country is desert, and uninhabited from *Atacama*, which is the most remote people of *Peru*, untill you come to *Copayapu*, which is eighty Leagues distant from thence, and in the way there are certain Pools of stagnated, or standing Waters, which do not run: For which reason, and because they are not drawn, they stink, and are corrupted, and are about six or seven Leagues distant one from the other; wherefore for better Accommodation of the whole Army, *Almagro* ordered, that the Horse should lead the Van, and be the first to pass the Desert in small Parties of five and six in a Company; so that the Wells being drawn by the first, the Waters became sweet and wholesome for the use of those that followed, and were again filled with a new supply of Water sufficient for a small Company, by which means the whole Army passed without much inconvenience; but *Almagro* himself, to avoid the Desert embarked on a small Vessel, which was brought for him by *Noguero de Ulloa*, one of his Captains, who was Son of the *Alcayde*, or chief Constable of *Simancas*, whom the Bishop of *Camara* put to death. *Gerónimo de Alderete*, who many years after was Governour of *Chile*, observing when he was at *Copayapu*, that the passage over the Mountains was clear of Snow, resolved to pass that way; and having many others in his company, they made search for the Remains and Relicks of that great Mortality which happened to those who passed with *Almagro*; and there they found a *Negro* standing against a Rock on his feet bolt upright, as also a Horse on his feet, as if it had been a Figure set up of Straw, and the *Negro* holding the Reins in his hands, which were rotten, the skin and flesh being fallen from the bones; and this was five or six years after that *Valdivia* had been Governour there, whom *Alderete* succeeded. And thus far are the Words of that ancient Conquerour, who made Marginal Notes on the History of *Gomara*, and farther expresses himself in the following Chapter.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXII.

Almagro leaves Chili, and returns to Cozco. Prince Manco Inca demands a second time to be restored to his Empire; and what Answer was made thereunto. Hernando Pizarro travels into Peru; and the Inca is imprisoned.

Almagro resolving to return unto *Peru*, (which in the end proved fatal to him) acquainted *Paulu Inca* with his intention, because he had found him faithful and useful to him, asking his opinion, by which way it might be most convenient to return, that he might avoid the like danger as before; for having considered the late disaster, for want of credence or belief to the words of the *Inca*, and that he and all his company had certainly perished therein, had not God, who designed to make them Preachers of the Gospel, and instruments to propagate the Catholick Faith, rescued them by his infinite mercy from such destruction; he therefore consulted *Paulu* and his *Indians*; who for answer gave him a description of the way by the Sea-coast, and told him, that since the Wars between *Huascar*, and his Brother *Atahualpa*, that way was rendered impassable for want of Water, for that the Wells and Fountains of which Travellers were used to drink, were filled up and covered with Sand, and for want of drawing were become dry, or yielded little Water, which also was corrupted and stinking. Howsoever, he would send some *Indians* before, who should open and cleanse the Wells, and drain the filthy Water thence, so that sweet and wholesome Water might spring in the place thereof; and that according to the Advices he should receive from these *Indians*, concerning the quantity of Water which these Pools yielded, he might proportion the number of his several Squadrons; for that Wells, the more they are drained, the more and the better Water they yield, and that he needed not fear to divide his people, for that there was no Enemy in all that Country to oppose them. And in regard that these Pools, or Wells, are some six, some seven Leagues distant one from the other; he would cause Leather Bottles to be made for carrying Water to supply their necessities by the way; in which manner the *Incas* his Ancestours did use to travel over those deserts. This discourse and proposal of *Paulu Inca*, *Almagro* and his Captains judged very rational, and therefore they desired him to order matters in the same course and method herein for the common good and benefit of all, as was agreeable to the custome of the *Incas* his Forefathers, from whom he was descended. *Paulu* being very proud of the Commands of the Governour and his *Spaniards*, and that they were pleased to repose such a confidence in him, in a matter where their lives and safeties were concerned, he instantly set to work, and with all diligence dispatched away his *Indians* to open and cleanse the Wells and Springs, with Orders to return him Advices according as they succeeded therein. And farther, he gave order to flea some Sheep, that with their Skins they might make Vessels for carrying Water, and that Provisions of food should be made sufficient to supply their necessities during their Journey, and travel over those eighty Leagues of desert Country. Whilst these matters were preparing, the *Indians* which were sent before to open and cleanse the Wells and Springs, sent Advices of their proceedings, and that the *Spaniards* might, when they were pleased, begin their Journey.

But *Almagro* did not think fit so absolutely to confide in a matter of such importance, wherein the life and safety of his whole Army did consist, unto the bare report of the *Indians*; but for more security, and better caution, he dispatched four Horse-men before with Orders to advise him from the end of every days Journey

Journey of the Waters, and of the way, not trusting to Advices by word of mouth, but to avoid mistakes to send all by writing. Upon the certainty of these Informations the *Spaniards* adventured to begin their Journey in greater and lesser Parties, untill they were all departed out of *Chili*. In this manner they travelled untill they came to *Tacama*, where *Almagro* received intelligence, that *Noguerol de Ulloa* was not far distant, who was that person whom the Marquis of *Piçarro* had employed in a Ship to make discovery of the Ports which were on that Coast, and to proceed as far as *Chili*, that he might from thence bring him intelligence of the proceedings and successes of *Almagro*, and accordingly send him recruits and provisions as his occasions required. *Almagro* (as we have said) hearing that *Noguerol de Ulloa* was near, wrote him a Letter, desiring to see him, that he might inform himself of all the Transactions in *Peru* since his departure. In answer whereunto, *Noguerol* gave *Almagro* a meeting, at which they had opportunity of discourse together at large; but that they might have more time mutually to relate the successes of both Kingdoms, and not retard the March of the Army; and that he might also oblige *Noguerol*, who was very much his friend; he told him, that he would go aboard his Ship, where he would be his Souldier and Seaman for three or four Days; and in the mean time his Army might proceed in their March to that place, where he designed to cross upon them by Sea, and again joyn with them. With this intention *Almagro* embarked on the Ship to the great contentment of *Noguerol*, and having a good passage by Sea, he speedily overtook his Army, where we shall leave him for a while, untill we have given an account of the general insurrection of the *Indians*, who, after the departure of *Almagro* out of *Chili*, revolted from the subjection of the *Spaniards*.

In order unto which, we must call to mind, that so soon as *Almagro* was departed from *Cusco* on his way to *Chili*, and the other Captains on their respective Enterprises; that Prince *Manco Inca* finding the Governour *Piçarro* at leisure and ease, moved him a second time to comply with those Capitulations which were agreed between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, and which he himself had promised to see executed and performed; that is, to see him restored unto the possession and enjoyment of his Empire; the which he now more earnestly urged, that so his people might live in peace and quietness, and be encouraged by such obligations to assist and serve the *Spaniards*. The Governour and his Brothers were much out of countenance at this motion, not knowing what substantial reply to make to this demand, nor how to entertain the *Inca* longer with vain hopes and expectations: Howsoever, not to make him desperate, they told him, that though they were not unmindfull of the Capitulations, to a performance of which they had obliged themselves; yet several accidents having lately happened, which had disappointed as yet the performance of the agreement, they could not put the same in execution, untill they had received an answer from the Emperor their Lord and Master; to whom having given intelligence of these Capitulations, and that one point of them was his Restauration to the Empire, they could not in good manners, and in duty, but attend his Majesty's pleasure therein, which they did not doubt but would speedily be brought by *Hernando Piçarro*, and prove to the satisfaction of the *Inca*, in regard that a Prince so just and religious as their Emperor, could not do less than confirm and ratify that agreement; and therefore desired him to have patience untill the Arrival of *Hernando*, who would clear and remove all the obstructions which at present retarded the execution of this agreement. In the mean time intelligence coming of the Arrival of *Hernando Piçarro* at *Tumbez*, and the Marquis finding hereby a good excuse to leave *Cusco*, as he had long desired, that he might avoid the importunity of the *Inca*, and visit his new Plantation of *los Reyes*, which he had lately begun, and desired to see finished; he told him, that to expedite the Commands of his Imperial Majesty in order to his Restauration, it was necessary for him to meet and receive his Brother *Hernando Piçarro*; and therefore he desired his leave for a short time to make that Journey, assuring him, that his stay should not be long, before he returned again to perform and comply with the Capitulations agreed; and in the mean time, that his Highness would be pleased to retire into his Fortres for his own better quiet, and satisfaction, and security of the *Spaniards*; and to remain in that place untill his return, where his Brothers and Companions would attend and serve him according to their duty and obligation.

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In this manner the Marquis and the others, thought fit to amuse the mind of the *Inca*, and flatter his humour with gentle hopes, lest being a Person of great spirit and courage, though he had long dissembled the abuses and affronts, which by vain delusions had been imposed upon him, he should at length grow impatient of longer delays, and plot and attempt something towards his Restauration; and to the execution of the agreement established. Though the *Inca* did not like this manner of proceedings, nor esteem them for good signs or symptoms of intentions towards his Restauration; yet not to anger the Marquis, or provoke him to some worse injuries and wrongs, he with prudence dissembled the whole matter, consenting to whatsoever the Marquis required of him; and so putting a good countenance on it, he cheerfully went to the Fortres; and to show his humility and plain dealing, he walked a-foot up the Hill unto the Castle: So soon as the *Spaniards* saw him there, they made him a Prisoner, as *Gomara* alleges in Chapter 134, according to these words following:

"*Manco*, the Son of *Guayna Capac*, to whom *Francisco Piçarro* gave the coloured Wreath at *Vilcas*, shewing himself to be a Man of Valour, and of a Spirit to resent affronts, was clapt into Irons, and imprisoned in the Castle of *Cusco*. Thus far *Gomara*.

So soon as the *Indians* perceived that their *Inca* was in Prison, and that their hopes were vain, and all the promises vanished, they made sad complaints and lamentations; but Prince *Manco Inca* comforted them, saying, that he was resolved to obey the *Spaniards* in every thing with a ready, and with a willing mind, and exhorted them to do the like, in regard that such was the Command of *Huayna Capac*, specified in his last Will and Testament; and therefore that they should not be instant, or precipitate matters, untill they had seen the ultimate issue of this resolution; hoping that the *Spaniards* had put him under this restraint, that their magnificence and generosity might be more evident to the World, when at the same time they should restore him to his liberty, and to his Empire; and in the mean time, that they should entertain no thoughts of the *Viracocha*, but such as were just and good, considering that they were a people descended from Heaven. Thus the Marquis fairly took his leave of the *Inca*, but privately enjoyed his Brothers, *Jelco* and *Gonzalo Piçarro*, and the Guards to take care of his Person, and secure him: And so he proceeded on his Journey to the City of *los Reyes*, where he received his Brother *Hernando*, who brought him his new Commission, Honours and Titles, and welcomed him with Magnificence and Triumph; which *Gomara* in the 134th Chapter relates in these words:

"Soon after that *Almagro* was departed from *Chili*, *Fernando Piçarro* arrived at *Lima*, a City of *los Reyes*, bringing to *Francisco Piçarro* the Title of Marquis de *los Andes*, and to *D. Diego de Almagro* Commission for the Government of the New Kingdom of *Tileto*, which was bounded by the Territories of the New *Casita*, then under the Command and Jurisdiction of *Piçarro*, and did extend a hundred Leagues South-East from thence: Moreover, *Hernando* required from the Conquerours, in behalf of the Emperor, the whole sum received for ransom of *Atabaliba*, for that the ransom of one King is the sole right of another: To which demand answer was made, that the Emperor had already received his Fifth, which was as much as his Right came to, and that nothing more was due to him: And hereon they grew so warm, that matters proceeded almost to a Mutiny, saying, that in the Court of *Spain* their Services were despised and vilified, and that they were esteemed rather for Slaves, than for Souldiers and Adventurers, who deserved the Countrey and Riches they had Achieved by their Industry and Valour: But to appease them, *Francisco Piçarro* told them, that what they had gained by their Bravery and Virtue, they deserved to enjoy; and that they merited the same Franchises and Dignities as those who assisted the King *Don Baldo*, and his Successours, to recover *Spain* out of the hands of the *Moor*; and therefore he told his Brother, that he was to seek and contrive some other expedient to satisfy the promise he had made to the Emperor; for that none of them would willingly refund, nor would he force any person to relinquish his right: Then *Hernando* demanded so much *pel rans*, out of the Gold which was melted down, by which he incurred the great displeasure and hatred

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" hatred of the people; but that not being granted, he went to *Cusco*, and endeavoured to gain the good will of *Mango Inca*, that by his favour he might procure a considerable quantity of Gold for the Emperour, whose Coffers were greatly exhausted by the expence of his Coronation, and by his Wars against the *Turk* before *Vienna*, and by his Expedition against *Tunisi*. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, with which he concludes that Chapter. But we say that the Marquis sent his Brother to *Cusco*, with Commission to be Governour there in his stead, and with Instructions to be careful to secure the *Inca*, whilst he himself remained at *los Reyes* to people and increase that Plantation.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Means which Prince Manco Inca practised in order to his Restauration unto the Empire.

THE Prince *Manco Inca* being now a Prisoner in that Fortref which his Ancestours had built, (for ostentation of their Glory, and as a Trophy of their Greatness, little imagining that it should ever become a Prison for any of those descended from them) did by his prudence and patience of mind endeavour to sweeten the bitterness of his Prison, by caressing and treating the *Spaniards*, both Commanders and Inferiours, with gifts and presents not onely of Fruit, Birds, Flefh, and other Provisions; but likewise with Gold and Silver, Emeralds and Torquoises: And moreover, his communication with them was so affable and obliging, and with signs of so little regret and discontent for his Imprisonment, that the Officers being well assured that he would not endeavour an escape, gave him the liberty to walk freely within the Precincts of the Fortref. During which time the *Inca* received intelligence, that *Hernando Pizarro* was upon his Journey to *Cusco* to be Commander in Chief in that City; upon which advice he made more urgent instances, that he might have the liberty to live in one of his Houses within the City; the which he easily obtained, for he was so much in favour with the *Spaniards*, that they refused him nothing of what he desired: And this request the *Inca* more earnestly pressed at that time; that *Hernando* at his coming might not find him a Prisoner, and under that notion suspect him, and cause him to pay his ransom, and not give him credit or belief in any thing that he should promise. In which particular we shall quote the testimony of *Gomara* and *Carate*, who relate the matter almost in the same words. *Carate* in the third Chapter of his third Book, saith as follows:

" *Hernando Pizarro* being arrived at *Cusco*, made great Courtship to the *Inca*; and though he treated him very kindly, yet he always had an eye upon him: We may believe that this extraordinary kindness was to introduce and usher in the Request he had to make him for some Gold; both for the Emperour and himself. Two Months after that *Hernando* arrived at *Cusco*, the *Inca* desired leave of him, that he might go into the Countrey of *Tucaya*, where a certain Festival was celebrated; whence he promised to bring him a Statue of Massy Gold, which was made in representation of his Father *Quisquacana*; and being on his Journey thither, he then completed that which he had meditated, ever since the departure of *Almagro* from *Chili*. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

It is certain that the *Inca* did ask and obtain leave to go unto *Tucaya*, which as we have formerly mentioned, was the Garden of those Kings; and about a League from thence; near the River side, was the place of their Sepulchres, called *Tumpu*, where

where their Bowels were buried, when taken out, in order to embalm their Bodies; and it is probable, that the Statue of Gold which was to represent his Father, might be placed there. The *Inca* being at *Tucaya* on pretence of celebrating this Feast, he summoned together some old Captains, which remained of those belonging to his Father, and others of principal note; and at a full Assembly complained of the treachery and perfidiousness of the *Spaniards*, for not complying with the Articles and Capitulations which they had agreed and contracted with his Brother *Titu Atahuchi*, likewise of his Imprisonment under Irons, and of the absence of the Captain-General, who had twice when he was upon his departure, promised to restore him to his Empire, and had failed, entertaining him onely with vain hopes and delusions. Moreover, he affirmed, that though he was from the beginning sensible of the false and perfidious intentions of the *Spaniards*, yet he was willing to temporize and dissemble with them, that so he might justify himself before God and his people, that he had been in no manner accessory to the breach of that peace which had been agreed between the *Incas* and the *Spaniards*; that he well observed how the *Spaniards* divided the Lands of the Countrey amongst themselves both in *Cusco*, *Rimac* and *Tumpiz*; whereby it plainly appeared, that they had no intention to restore unto him the Empire; and that if he had dissembled compliance and contentment in all things towards the *Spaniards*, it was with design to secure his own Person, which without any occasion, or offence, they had imprisoned, and cast into Irons. Wherefore as loyal Subjects and faithful Vassals, he conjured them to give counsel to him their Prince in an enterprise of such grand importance; for that his design was to vindicate his Right to the Empire by force of Arms, hoping that neither the *Pachacamac*, nor his Father the Sun, would desert him in defence of his righteous cause: For answer whereunto, the Captains and *Curacas* made choice of one of the most Ancient amongst them to be Speaker; and deliver the common Sentiments of them all thereupon; who having first made his due Obedience unto the *Inca*, discoursed in this manner:

" It never was, Sir, the Advice of your Council, nor esteemed by them either secure or decent, that your Majesty should commit your Person into the hands of Strangers, or trust unto them for restitution of your Empire: Howsoever, they were willing to comply, and concur with your Majesty's humour, which they found inclining to the maintenance of that peace and concord which was concerted with them by your Brother *Titu Atahuchi*; from which we can now expect little benefit, if we take our measures from the Treatment of your Brother *Atahualpa*, who having contracted for, and paid his ransom, was afterwards put to death. And we must attribute it to the Mercy and Providence of the *Pachacamac*, that they treated not your own Royal Person, when in their power, and under custody, in the same manner as they had done your Brother. As to your Restauration to the Empire, there is little to be expected from a Nation so entirely given over to Avarice; for it is not to be imagined that those who are greedy of the fruit, should restore the tree unto the true Proprietor; but it is more probable they should destroy, and put him and his out of the way, lest they should aspire to that Empire, which they resolve to enjoy. Wherefore since the *Spaniards* themselves have given just cause to suspect, and doubt the performance of their promises, your Majesty ought immediately, without delay, to raise as many Souldiers as is possible, and make such other provisions as are necessary for War, wherein no time is to be lost; for that they being now divided into several parties, may be more easily Massacred, and cut to pieces, than when united in one body: In management of which design, we must agree to attack them all at the same time in several places, so that they may not be able to assist or succour each other. We must also secure the ways, and stop and hinder all intercourse and correspondence between them: And in regard your Souldiers are so numerous, that their Multitudes may easily overwhelm such a handfull as are the *Spaniards*, and are able to throw the very Mountains upon them, if your Majesty so commands; nay if they refuse to grant them Succours onely, and Provisions, they must necessarily perish with famine, being as it were besieged by your Subjects, who encompass them on all sides: But this resolution is to be speedily executed, for the success of the whole design depends thereupon; of which we need not doubt, if we consider the justice of our cause.

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Which having said, the Captain ended his Discourse, whereupon a general Insurrection was concluded and resolved. In pursuance whereof, Messengers were dispatched with great secrecy to the Captains and Officers in all parts of the Kingdom, enjoying them to raise what Souldiers they were able, and upon one and the same day to surprize and massacre all their New-come Guests, and to furnish and supply the publick Granaries, or Magazines, with all the Provisions they could amass and gather. And in regard those Repositories were much emptied by the late Wars of *Atahualpa*, they ought to be again furnished and supplied from private Stores, for which satisfaction and reparation was promised to be made to every particular person, after these Enemies and Tyrants were destroyed and confounded. That in the performance of this Exploit, the life, safety and liberty of them all did consist from the least to the greatest of them, even to the very *Inca*. Upon which Command of Prince *Manco Inca*, all the Souldiers which inhabit the Countrey from the City of *los Reyes* to the *Chichu*, which is three hundred Leagues and more in length, made a general Insurrection, and put themselves into a posture of War: But on the other side of the Kingdom, which is from *los Reyes* to *Quito*, all was quiet, for that the people were destroyed by the Wars of *Atahualpa*, and by the slaughter the *Spaniards* had made of them on occasion of the Imprisonment and Death of that King. In like manner Advices were sent by disguised Messengers to the Kingdom of *Chili*, who were publickly to pretend, that they were sent to enquire of the Health of *Panlo*, and the High Priest *Villac Urin*, but were secretly to inform them of the truth and depth of the design, whose part therein was to fall upon *Almagro* and his people, and utterly to destroy them; without which there was no hopes for the *Inca* of Restauration to his Empire. The people being in Arms, the *Inca* gave unto the people their respective tasks and parts of the work; those who were the In-land Inhabitants, as far as from *Atahualpa*, and those along the Coast from *Nanassa*, which were on the side of *Chinchafyn*, were to attempt *Rimac*, and kill the Governour and his Company. The people of *Cuntisyn*, and *Collasyn*, and *Antisyn*, were to undertake *Cusco*, and there to kill *Hernando Pizarro*, and his Brothers, and all the *Spaniards* with them, which were not above two hundred in all; and Captains were named with inferiour Officers both for one and the other Army. The success of which, as to what relates to the City, we shall declare in the Chapter following, wherein the Mercifull hand of God did manifestly appear in favour of the *Spaniards*, that the Gospel might be propagated amongst the Gentiles, and their Idolatry confounded.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIV.

The Insurrection of Prince Manco Inca; and of the Two Miracles which were wrought in favour of the Christians.

THE Plot being thus laid, the *Inca* gave Command that the Souldiers now leaved, and in a posture of War should march towards *Cusco*, and to the City of *los Reyes*, to kill, slay and destroy the *Spaniards* therein; and also as many of them as they found scattered and dispersed over the Kingdom; for by the great kindness and peaceable disposition which the *Indians* had shewn to them hitherto, the *Spaniards* became secure, and without fear or jealousy of any Mischief, employed themselves in digging Gold out of the Mines, with as much confidence as if they had been in their own Countrey. The War having taken its beginning from the slaughter of many *Spaniards*, that were labouring in divers places, they marched to *Cusco*, with all the privacy they were able, and came thither on the day appointed; and that very night following they suddenly fell on the *Spaniards* with loud Noise and Shouts, being two hundred thousand in number, many of which were armed with Bows and Arrows, which they shot with Fire-balls into all the Houses of the City, not sparing the very Palaces of their Kings, nor any other, excepting only the Temple of the Sun, and the Chambers belonging to it, and also the Convent of the Select Virgins, and the Shops of the four Streets, where this House was situate; and though these Houses were despoiled of their Riches, and without Inhabitants, yet their Reverence and Devotion towards those sacred places, caused them to abstain from all sort of Sacrilege or violence thereunto. They also thought fit to conserve from Fire the three great Halls in the Market-place, where they usually celebrated their Festivals in rainy Weather, intending to maintain them for the like use again, after they had freed themselves from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*. One of these Halls was situate in the highest part of the City, adjoining to the Houses of the first *Inca*, *Mahco Capac*, as we have described in the Model of the City: The other Hall appertained to the Houses of *Inca Pachacutec*, called *Cassana*: The third Hall was belonging to the Edifice of *Huayna Capac*, which they called *Amarcancha*, where now the Jesuites have their College. And moreover they preserved a handsome round *Capolo*, which was built on the Front of these Houses; all the other Buildings were burnt, and not so much as one left standing. To burn the House of the *Inca Piracocha*, where the *Spaniards* were quartered, the stoutest and most valiant *Indians* were chosen, who stormed it with great Fury, and shooting their Arrows at far distance, set it on fire, and entirely consumed it. The great Hall thereof, which is now the Cathedral, and then a Chapel, where the Christians said Mass, was by the Providence of God defended from the Fire; and though innumerable Arrows, carrying Fire, were shot into it, and began to burn it, in several parts, yet in a miraculous manner it quenched of it self, as if Water in floods had been thrown upon it: And this was one of the Miracles which God wrought for us, to make way for the Propagation of the Gospel, in that City, where certainly is now settled the most devout and religious society of Men that is in all the New World, both for *Spaniards* and *Indians*.

Hernando Pizarro, and his two Brothers, with their Souldiers, which in all did not make above two hundred, which was an inconsiderable number against so mighty a Force, kept close in a Body; and like good Souldiers were always upon the Guard, placing their Centinels at every Avenue, and Watchmen upon the Tower. As oft as the Noise of the *Indians* alarm'd them, they stood to their Arms, and bridled their Horses, of which every night thirty stood ready saddled, to make Sallies on the Enemy, and survey their Force. When they had discovered their great

great multitude, but not as yet the Weapons they carried, wherewith to offend the Horfe, (which were the Creatures they most dreaded,) they resolved to retreat into the Market-place, which being wide and spacious, was much more advantageous for receiving the Enemy, than in the narrow Streets: And being there drawn up in Battalia, the Body of Infantry, consisting of one hundred and twenty Men, was placed in the middle, flanked on each side with the Horfe, not being above Eighty in all; of which two Troops, of twenty in a Troop, were placed in the Van, and two Troops, of the like number, were drawn up in the Rere, so that they might charge the Enemy on whatsoever side they should be attacked by them.

The *Indians* seeing the *Spaniards* in a Body, assaulted them on every part with great fury, intending to over-run them in an instant; but the Horfe falling out upon them, made stout resistance, and fought with them untill Break of Day, when the *Indians* again reinforced the Battel, and rained showers of Arrows upon them, with Volleys of Stones discharged from their Slings, howsoever the Horfe, (which is wonderful to consider) revenged themselves upon them with their Lances, killing in every onser, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred *Indians*; by reason that they neither carried defensive Arms, nor used Pikes to keep off the Horfe, though they were armed with them; for not being used to fight against Cavalry, but only Foot to Foot, and naked Men against naked Men; the *Spaniards* by their Horfe and Armour prevailed over the *Indians* with great Slaughter, who hoped notwithstanding by their numbers to become Conquerors in the end.

In this posture of War the *Indians* continued for the space of seventeen Days to straiten and besiege the *Spaniards* in the Market-place of *Cusco*, not permitting them to fall forth; during which time, as well by night as by Day, the *Spaniards* continued in their Ranks and Squadrons, to be in a readines against the Enemy, and as often as they went to drink, they were forced to go in Companies to the Stream, which runs through the Streets of the City; and to search into the Ruines of the Houses, which were burnt, for Mayz, which was the only Food they had to sustain them; but Provender for their Horses was more wanting than Victuals for themselves, howsoever they found some Provision for support both of one and the other, though much damaged by the Fire, which Hunger and Necessity made passable. On which particular *Carate* reports as followeth.

"In this manner the *Inca* attempted *Cusco* with all his Force, and besieged it for eight Months, and at every Full of the Moon he stormed the *Spaniards* on all sides, but *Hernando Picarro*, and his Brothers, vvith many Gentlemen and Captains, that vvere vvithin the City, made stout resistance, and repulsed the *Indians* vvith great Valour; in vvhich Actions those vvhich vvere most signalized, vvere *Gabriel de Rojas*, *Hernan Ponce de Leon*, *Don Alonso Enriquez*, and the Treasurer *Riquelme*, vvith many others; all vvhich, vvith their Souldiers, behaved themselves vvith Courage and Bravery, and none of them unbrazing their Armour, either by day or night, fighting like desperate Men, vvho had given all over for lost; for having received intelligence, that the Governour, and all the *Spaniards*, vvere cut off, and slain by the *Indians*, vvho had made a general Insurrection in all parts, they expected no Relief or Succour, but from God, nor Safety, but in their ovvn Arms, though they killed and vvounded the *Indians* very much, and daily diminished their numbers.

Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, vvho briefly relates the great Danger and the many Straits to vvhich these Conquerours vvere reduced in this Siege, vvherein, though they used all the diligence imaginable to provide themselves vvith Food, yet all had not sufficed to free them from Famine, had not their *Indian* Servants, vvho lived vvith them in their Houses, like good and faithfull Friends, supplied their vvants; for by day they passed over to the Enemy, in vvhom to beget a Confidence of them, they seemed to fight against the *Spaniards*; and by night they returned to them laden vvith Provisions; all vvhich is confirmed by the Testimony of *Gomara* and *Carate*; though that and the other Enterprises of the *Inca* are touched onely in short by them, vvho are silent also in the account of those Miracles vvhich our Lord Jesus Christ vvorked at *Cusco* in

in favour of the *Spaniards*, where was most danger; and where the *Indians* spent the fierceness of their Fury. And indeed the Danger was so great, that in the first eleven or twelve Days of the Siege, the *Spaniards* were so harassed and tired out, as well Horfe as Foot, by the continual Skirmishes in which they were engaged, and for want of Provisions, that they were reduced to the last extremity; for by this time thirty Christians were killed, and almost all wounded, without Remedies or Salves for their Cure; so that in a few days not being able longer to hold out, they all expected to perish, having no hopes of Relief or Succour from other places, or means, than onely from Heaven, to which they lifted up their Cries, and offered their daily Prayers, begging the Mercy and Defence of God, and the Intercession and Protection of the ever blessed Virgin *Mary*.

The *Indians* having observed, that the Night when they burned all the Town, yet the Gallery in which the *Spaniards* were quartered still remained untouched by the Flames, wherefore they attempted to burn that also, (and might easily perform it, in regard there was none to make Head, or Opposition to prevent them,) and for several Days and Nights, at all hours, they continually put fire to it, but it would not burn; which the *Indians* much admiring, said, That the Fire had lost its Force and Virtue, and could not consume that House in which the *Viracochas* had lived and quartered. At length the *Spaniards* found themselves so hard put to it, and so assailed on all sides, that they resolved to put it to the issue of a Battel, and rather dye fighting, vvith their Arms in their Hands, than linger out a miserable Death, and at length perill vvith Famine or faintness, permitting the Enemy tamely to cut their Throats, after they had no farther Force or Spirit to resist them.

Having thus resolved, they confessed their sins to three Priests, that were vvith them, and for want of time, such as could not, confessed one to the other, and all called upon the Name of God, and upon those Saints to which they had devoted themselves; and being thus prepared to dye like Christians, so soon as it was day, the *Indians*, vvho were a thousand to one, being ashamed to be so long opposed by such a handfull of Men, assailed the *Spaniards* vvith their usual Fury, resolving not to quit or remit the Battel, untill they had totally destroyed them; and the *Spaniards*, on the contrary, vvith loud Cries calling upon the Name of the Virgin, and the Apostle St. James, their Champion, maintained the Fight vvith such Resolution, that the Slaughter was great on both sides, and many *Spaniards* wounded. At last, after five hours Fight, the Christians became so weary, and their Horses so spent vvith the Engagement of that Day, that they expected nothing less than Death. The Faintness and Relaxation of the *Spaniards* gave new Courage to the *Indians* to reinforce and renew the Fight, for Prince *Manco Inca* observing the Passages of the Battel from an high place, animated his People, calling upon them by the Names of their several Provinces, and inciting them to renew the Fight, being, as it were, certain vvith the Success of that Day to recover his Empire. When on a sudden, and in this Extremity, it pleased God to own the Cause of his faithfull People, by sending to their Assistance the blessed Apostle St. James, the Champion and Protectour of Spain, vvho vvifibly appeared both to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians*, mounted on a White Horfe, carrying a Target, vvith the sign of his Military Order thereon inscribed, and in his Right Hand a Sword, vvhich, by the glittering of it, seemed like Lightning. The *Indians*, greatly affrighted to see this new Cavalier enter the Lists, asked one the other, vvhat *Viracocha* that was, vvhich carried the *Mllapa*, in his Hand; vvhich Word signifies Thunder, and Lightning, and the Thunderbolt. Wheresoever this new Cavalier assailed the *Indians*, they ran like Men amazed, trampling one upon the other, and on vvhat part soever the *Indians* assaulted the Christians, the Saint immediately appeared in the Front, to succour and defend them from the *Indians*, vvho, affrighted vvith the Apparition, fled and forsook the Battel; and the *Spaniards* herewith taking courage, renewed the Fight, and killed an innumerable number of the Enemies, vvho being possessed vvith a fear, ran away, and forsook the Battel.

Thus vvere the Christians delivered this day by this blessed Apostle, and the Victory wrested out of the Hands of the Infidels; the same vvith the Success of the day following, and as often as the *Indians* adventured to fight; for so soon as they began to engage, they became amazed vvith confusion, and not knowing where

where to go, or what to do, they retired to their Quarters, asking one the other, what the meaning of these matters was, and how it came to pass that they were thus *Oric, Camp, Lachla*, which is as much as to say, foolishly, cowardly, pusillanimous. Howsoever all this did not deter them from their purpose, for they continued the Siege for the space of eight Months after all these Actions, as will appear in the sequel of this History.

CHAP. XXV.

The Miracle which was wrought by our Lady in favour of the Christians; and of a signal Combate between two Indians.

THE *Indians* being retreated into their Camp, the *Inca* called the Captains before him, and publicly reprehended them for the Cowardise and Pusillanimity which they had shewn in that days Battle, telling them what a shame it was that such a multitude of *Indians* should fly from before the face of a small number of *Viracochas*, who were already tired out, and harassed and weakened with famine and hunger; wherefore they should now look to it, and endeavour to repair the Honour which they had lost in the late Battle, and acquit themselves like Men; for otherwise he would send them to fight with the Women, and chuse other Captains in their places, of better Courage and Bravery. The *Indians*, in excuse of what was past, alleged, that there appeared a new *Viracocha*, carrying Thunder and Lightning in his hand, who so terrified and amazed them, that they knew not what they did, whether they fought, or were put to flight, but promised to behave themselves better in the next Engagement; on which assurance the *Inca* ordered them to put their Soldiers into a readiness against the third night when he resolved to make another attempt on the *Viracochas*, hoping that by the Darkness they should not see or distinguish the *Viracocha* who so lately affrighted them. The Christians on the other side with humble Thankfulness acknowledged the Mercy of Divine Providence in their Delivery, and became so encouraged and heartned by their Success, that having well fixed their Arms, and refreshed their Horses, they believed, and were assured that Heaven had bestowed that Kingdom on them, in testimony and in earnest whereof he had given them the late unexpected Victory.

The night being come, vvhich the *Inca* had appointed for another Exploit, the *Indians* sallied forth vvvith furious Rage, threatening to revenge and make amends for the late Disgrace; and not to spare, or give quarter to one of the *Viracochas*: of all vvhich the *Spaniards* having intelligence from the *Indians*, vvhich had been their Menial Servants; (and novv served them for Spies,) put themselves into a posture to receive them at the time appointed, calling vvvith great Devotion upon the Name of Christ our Lord, the blessed Virgin, and the Apostle *St. James* for succour and defend them in that time of Extremity. The *Indians* being drawn up in Battle, and ready to assail the Christians, beheld, there appeared in the Air our Lady, vvvith the Child Jesus in her Armes, vvvith so much lustre and brightness, that the Infidels beholding the Apparition, vvere stricken vvvith amazement, and looking up stedfastly upon it, such a Dust, or Sand, fell like a Down from above into their Eyes, that they knew not the place in vvhich they vvere; and so returned again to their quarters, from vvhence for many days they durst not adventure to sally forth.

This vvas novv the seventeenth night that the *Indians* had so straitened the *Spaniards* vvvithin the compass of the Market-place, that neither by Day or Night they

they could adventure out, unless in strong Parties; but after this Apparition the *Indians* became so amazed, that the *Spaniards* afterwards had the liberty of a greater compass, and their Quarters were much enlarged. But as Infidelity is always blind, so in a few days the Impression made by the late Wonder beginning to wear away, the *Inca* persuaded his Souldiers to make another attempt upon the Christians, to which they were zealously moved, out of an earnest Desire to see their *Inca* restored to his Empire: Howsoever such was the sense they conceived from the late Apparitions, that their Hearts failed them, so soon as they put themselves into a posture of fight, so that all their Resolutions and Designs produced nothing more than Noise and Allarms, which served to keep the *Spaniards* in a continual Watchfulness, who seeing that the *Indians* durst not engage them, they retired again to the Gallery, which was their head Quarter; and so often as they returned thither, they blessed God, who had conserved that narrow place for them, wherein to cure their wounded, and to shelter those who were as yet found and well; and for that reason they made a Vow to dedicate that place for a Chapel to the Service of God, so soon as he should have freed and delivered them from the Hands of his Enemies.

In all which necessities the *Indian* Servants were very usefull, bringing Herbs to cure the sick and wounded, and Food to relieve the healthfull; for (as we have said in the first part of this History) there are many skillfull Herbalists amongst the *Indians*, so that the *Spaniards* themselves confess, that unless the *Indians* had supported them in their Distress, relieving their Hunger with Mayze, and Herbs, and other Provisions, and had served them for Spies, and as it were Centinels to give them signals, when the Enemy moved either by day or night; it had sared worse with them, and perhaps it had been impossible for them to have subsisted; all which Service and Fidelity of the *Indians* to Strangers in their Country, and to Enemies of their Kings and Religion, is to be attributed to the wonderful Providence of God, who was pleased to infuse such Fidelity and ardent Affection into the Hearts of these poor Wretches towards the *Spaniards* their Masters, that they would dye an hundred times, and suffer all imaginable tortures, rather than betray them.

After the Insurrection of the *Indians* was suppressed, both the Natives of *Cusco*, and all the other Nations, who were present at that Siege, confessed themselves to have been overcome by the appearance of the Virgin *Mary*, the Lustre of whose beautiful Countenance, which darted Rays from her sparkling Eyes, charmed them with such Love and Affection towards them, as not only caused them to lay down their Weapons, but likewise to accept and embrace the Catholick Faith, and willingly to learn her Names and Titles both in the *Latin* and *Castilian* Languages: which to understand the better, they have translated into their own Language all the Names and Titles given to our Lady, which they repeat as often as they have occasion to pray and ask blessings from her.

But to return again to Prince *Manco Inca*, his Captains and Souldiers, it is certain, that they were so terribly affrighted with the Visions they had seen, that they durst not so much as mention them, for the very thought and remembrance of them was full of Amazement. Howsoever they continued the Siege in hopes of better fortune, though they durst not adventure to engage, having been often worried by *St. James*, who always appeared in the Front of the *Spaniards*, which the *Indians* observing, and that the new-come Cavalier affrighted and terrified them more than all the others, they called out with loud voices, and said, *Keep us up and restrain that Viracocha which rides upon the White Horse, that he fall not upon us, and you shall quickly see how we will dispatch and deal with all the others.* After the Siege had continued for the space of five Months, a certain *Indian* Captain, who was possessed with a great opinion of his own Valour, was desirous to signalize himself, and try whether Fortune would be more favourable in a single Combate, than in a common Fight; and upon this presumption he asked leave of his Superior Officers to challenge any *Viracocha* whatsoever to a single Duel; and in regard he observed that the *Spaniards* fought on Horseback with Lances, he armed himself with the like Weapon, and with a little Hatchet, or Pole-Axe, by his side, called *Champi*, which were all the Arms that he would use. And in this manner he presented himself before the Guards, which were always set for Centinels, at every Avenue of the Market-place, which was the head Quarters,

of the *Spaniards*, and there with a loud Voice cried out, That if any *Viracocha* had Courage to engage with him in a single Duel, that he should come forth and fight with him, for he there attended him with his Arms: But the *Spaniards* esteeming it a condescension too mean, and no Honour to kill a silly *Indian*, scorned to accept the Challenge.

But at length a Noble *Indian*, of the Nation of *Cannari*, who from his Infancy had been bred up a Page in the Court of the great *Huayna Capac*, and then professed himself a Servant to the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro*, for having yielded himself to him in one of the late Skirmishes, he ever after acknowledged him for his Master; with this Person I had an Acquaintance, and left him alive in *Cusco*, when I came thence for *Spain*. This *Cannarian*, I say, asked leave of *Hernando*, and *John*, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Brothers of his Lord, to answer the Challenge, saying, That since that Fellow had the boldness to defy the *Viracochas*, that he, who was a Servant of theirs, would undertake the Duel, not doubting but, by virtue of their propitious Fortune, to return victorious. *Hernando Pizarro*, and his Brother, applauding his Courage and Resolution, granted him licence; upon which he took the like Arms which the other carried, and went forth to meet him: And having fought together a long while, they closed three or four times, and wrestled, but being not able to throw one the other, they loosed, and again returned to the management of their Arms; with which the *Cannarian* being most dextrous, thrust his Enemy into the Breast with his Lance, and then cutting off his Head, he carried it by the Hairs thereof unto the *Spaniards*, with which testimony of Conquest he was received with that Triumph which his Victory deserved.

The *Inca*, and his People, were much ashamed of the Victory which the *Cannarian* had gained; for had it been a *Spaniard*, the Dishonour had been much less, but to be overcome by one of their own *Indian* Vassals, was an Affront and Disgrace which could portend nothing but ill fortune; and being a People naturally superstitious, and terrified with the apprehension of such Omens, they never afterwards attempted any thing of Moment, during the remainder of the Siege; nor did any thing remarkable succeed, unless the unfortunate Death of that worthy *John Pizarro*, as we shall hereafter relate.

So often as I call to mind these Miracles, and several others, which God was pleased to work in favour of the Christians, both at the Siege of *Cusco*, and of *los Reyes*, as we shall see hereafter, I cannot but wonder that the Historians should be so silent therein, especially since they were so clear and evident to all the World, having in my youth heard them reported both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*; with great admiration; in memory of which, after the Siege, they dedicated unto our Lady that Gallery wherein the *Spaniards* were quartered, and where now the Cathedral Church is built, called by the Name of *St. Mary* of the Assumption and Advocacy; and the City it self they dedicated to *St. James* of *Spain*; to both which Saints Anniversary Days of Feasts are appointed, in thankful remembrance for the gracious Benefits received; the which Festivals begin in the morning with a solemn Procession, and Sermon, and then High Mass is celebrated; and lastly, the Day is concluded with the Sport of Bulls, and other Recreations.

In the Porch of this Church, which leads to the Market-place, the Picture of *St. James* is painted, mounted on a White Horse, with his Buckler on his Arm, and a Serpentine Sword in his Hand, with many *Indians* dead and wounded under his Feet; which Picture when the *Indians* beheld, they said that a *Viracocha* like this, was he that destroyed us in the Market-place. In the Year 1560, when I departed from *Cusco*, to go into *Spain*, the Picture was then fresh; the Insurrection of the *Inca* began in the Year 1535, and ended in 1536, and I was born in the Year 1539, so that I might well be acquainted both with *Indians* and *Spaniards*, who had been actually in those Wars, and Witnesses of those Apparitions, which we have declared; and I my self, for five Years together, have always been present at the Sports and Pastimes of those Festivals; for which Reasons from plain demonstration, I cannot but wonder why Historians have been silent in these particulars, unless it be, that they would attribute unto the valour of the *Spaniards* all the Honour of those Days, without making due return of thankful acknowledgment unto God for the Victories so miraculously obtained.

Many

Many days after I had wrote this Chapter, turning over the Leaves of the Book of *Acofta*, I met with some thing to this purpose, in confirmation of the Miracles which our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Mother the Virgin *Mary*, Queen of the Angels, had wrought in the New World, in favour of our holy Faith and Religion; which when I had read, and found my own Reports confirmed by his Authority, I cannot express the Joy I conceived by this happy concurrence. For since the Delivery of truth is my chief Aim and Design, I cannot but be greatly delighted when I find my Relations confirmed either in part, or in whole, by the Authority of other Historians; for I hate the Character of being either a Flatterer, or a fabulous Writer; which to avoid, I have thought fit to produce the Words of *Acofta* in the 27th Chapter of his 7th Book, which are as followeth.

When the *Spaniards* were besieged in the City of *Cusco*, and for closely pressed and straitened, that without the Assistance of Heaven it was impossible for them to escape, I have heard from very credible Persons, that the *Indians* threw Fire on the Roof of that House where the *Spaniards* were lodged, and where now the Cathedral Church is built; and though the Covering of the House was a sort of Thatch, (which they call *Chicho*, or rather *Tchu*), and that the Fire was made with a rasmy kind of burning Wood, yet it took no hold on that combustible matter; for our Lady appearing from above, kept a constant Guard over that place, and immediately extinguished the Fire; all which the *Indians* visibly saw, and remained with astonishment. All the Relations and Histories, which are wrote on this Subject, report for a certain truth, that in divers Battels, which the *Spaniards* fought in New Spain, and in *Peru*, the *Indians* plainly discovered in the Air, a Cavalier, mounted on a white Horse, with a Sword in his Hand, fighting for the *Spaniards*; whence it is, that in all parts of the *West-Indies* great Devotion and Honour is paid to that glorious Apostle *St. James*; and at other times in several difficult Encounters, the Image of our Lady hath presented it self, from which Christians have received inexpressible Benefits; and were all these Apparitions and Wonders of Heaven particularly described, they would swell a Volume too large for this History, &c.

Thus far are the Words of *Acofta*, who reports, that almost forty years after these matters were transacted he made a Voyage into *Peru*, where he received Information of all these particulars. And having said thus much, we will return again to our *Spaniards*, who remaining under such propitious circumstances of the Divine Providence, were enabled to become the Masters of an hundred New Worlds.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Spaniards gain the Fortress with the Death of the worthy John Pizarro.

IN the 5th Chapter of the 8th Book of the first-part, we there mentioned the Loyalty which the Natives of the *Cannaris* bore towards their Kings the *Incas*, and we then promised to declare, how that on occasion of the great Love, and Friendship which one of that Nation professed towards the *Spaniards*, all the others withdrew their Obedience, and renounced their Allegiance to the *Inca*. In the 37th Chapter of the 9th Book of the first part, we described the great Loyalty of that People towards their Princes; we are now to give an account of the reason, for which the same was afterwards denied. The Cause was this:

When the *Indians*, after the Victory observed the many Favours and Honours which the *Spaniards* bestowed on the Person of the *Cannarian*, who fought the duel, they became so entirely affectionated and devoted to the *Spaniards*, that they denied all further Service and Duty to their own *Inca*, and from that time became Spies, Informers and Betrayers of the other *Indians*, and in the very civil Wars which the *Spaniards* had one with the other, even to the time of *Francisco Hernandez Girón*, the *Cannarians* which lived in *Cusco*, under the Command of this *Don Francisco* the *Cannarian*, and were then very numerous, served for Spies, and Informers against the *Indians*; and in all the civil Wars which the *Spaniards* waged one against the other, to that very War of *Hernandez Girón*, the *Cannarians* (who were very numerous at *Cusco*, and lived there under the Command of *Don Francisco Cannari*) did all that time serve for Spies; and dividing themselves into two Parties, some took the Kings party, and others sided with the Tyrant; so that at the end of the War, they lo thrust their matters together, that they all pretended to have been of the strongest and the conquering side; and whereas they are naturally a sort of dissembling People, they all rejoiced, and congratulated the Success of the Victorious; which piece of Fraud and Disimulation the *Spaniards* could hardly discover amongst them, because they always treated with their Commanders, and not with the Commonalty, so that they could not know their Faces, or distinguish their Persons; and yet these fawning Rascals, who were all of a Blood and Kindred, conferred together, and communicated intelligence of all that passed in one or the other Army. And thus much I was given to understand from one of the Natives of *Cannari*, who after the War of *Hernandez* discovered all these secret Cabals, and Intrigues to another, who asked him, how it fared with those who had taken part with the Tyrant; but as to *Don Francisco Cannari* himself, he became so proud, and insolent, by that favour and countenance which the *Spaniards* had shewn to him, that some Years afterwards he adventured (as is commonly reported) to poison *Philip Inca*, the Son of *Huayna Capac*, of whom we have formerly made mention; and this matter is the more suspicious, because he afterwards married the Wife of this *Philip Inca*, who was a very beautiful Woman, and took her rather by force, than by Courtship, causing his Creatures and Confidants to threaten her into the Match, to which she was forced to yield against the Consent and Approbation of the *Incas*; but now there was nothing but Patience, for their Empire and Command was taken from them. We shall hereafter tell of another Achievement of this insolent *Indian*, to the great scandal of all the other *Indian* Inhabitants of that City.

The *Spaniards* finding themselves daily favoured by the miraculous Hand of Divine Providence, and the *Indians* so cowed and terrified, that they durst not make any Attempt upon them, but onely to keep them, as it were, blocked up, they resolved at length to fall forth, and shew, that though their numbers could bear no comparison with the multitudes of the *Indians*, yet that they entertained no dread or apprehensions of them; to evidence which, they made frequent

Sallies,

Sallies, forcing them to retreat to what place, and as far as they pleased; with which at length they became so amazed and affrighted, that they would make no Defence, so that twenty five or thirty *Spaniards* were able to deal with great Squadrons of the *Indians*, and kill and put them to flight, as if they had been so many Infants or Children. For if God be for us, who can be against us? In this manner the *Indians* left the Siege of the City, being driven from the Fields, and all the Quarters thereabouts, and not one appearing, unless in the Rocks and Mountains, where the Horse could do but little service: And yet the Rocks were not a sufficient life-guard and protection for them, because the Horse trotted over them like so many Gears; This, I say, is a comparison of my own, but I have heard another, much more apt to this purpose, from one of the Conquerours of those times, called *Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte*, who was one of those thirteen who remained with *Francisco Pizarro*, when all his other companions deserted and abandoned him, as we have formerly related.

This Cavalier, with divers others, going one day to bring several Gentlemen on their way, that were travelling into *Spain*, I also remember to have been with them, though but a Youth, it being then towards the end of the year 1552; and being on the Road which leads to *Arequipa*, *Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte*, during all the time that he was travelling from *Cusco* to *Quelcacancha*, which are three Leagues, related the many successes which occurred in the late Siege; pointing with his finger at the places where such and such Actions had passed, telling that there such a person performed such an Exploit, at such a place another acted such a piece of bravery; and, amongst others, which were very strange and wonderful, he recounted one of *Gonzalo Pizarro* on the very ground where it was performed; the which we shall mention in its due place. And having made us a Narrative of many strange Achievements, he added, that we ought not to disbelieve these matters as incredible, for that God was pleased visibly to assist, and favour us with his Miracles; amongst which it was none of the least, that our Horses were nimble, and tripped over the Rocks and Precipices of those Mountains with such ease and activity, as if they had been Doves or Pigeons; and yet those Mountains, which are to the East-side of the way, are very steep and craggy. I wish I had not forgot many particulars which he related to us that day, for they would have furnished me with sufficient matter to have filled many leaves of Paper touching the many Exploits performed by the *Spaniards* in that Siege: Howsoever, in general, it is worthy our admiration that a hundred and seventy Men onely should be able to oppose two hundred thousand fighting Men, and contend with them under the many sufferings of Hunger, Watchings by continual Allarums, tired out with Labours, wounded without the help and cure of Chirurgeons, and many other inconveniences which attend straitened and distressed Sieges: And more than all this, the Reader may fancy in his imagination, considering that it is impossible to describe all the particular difficulties which the *Spaniards* endured, and overcame by the invincible Valour of their Spirits, which were supported by the sole Power of God, who was pleased to make choice of this people, for those who were to preach and plant the Gospel in that Empire.

The *Indians* having now quitted the Siege, the *Spaniards* judged it no complete Victory, unless they made themselves in like manner Masters of the Fortress: Wherefore having left a sufficient Guard in the City, they mounted the Hill towards the Fort, which was valiantly defended by the *Indians* for five or six Days together: At last one night after they had fought stoutly the whole day, so that the *Spaniards* were retired to their Quarters, and that *Don John Pizarro*, who some days before had been wounded, had for his better ease taken off his Helmet; it happened, that a Stone thrown at random from a Sling strook him on the head, of which unhappy wound he died in three days afterwards.

"This was a loss (*Augustine Carate* reports) which sensibly touched all those *Spaniards*, who were Adventurers in that Country, for that this *Pizarro* had the reputation of a valiant Person, and an experienced Souldier in the Wars against the *Indians*, and was generally beloved and esteemed by all. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

And

And thus did this Worthy Gentleman end his days, to the great grief and sorrow of all that knew him; for he had the fame and reputation of a generous Person; valiant and courteous, being adorned with all those Vertues which become a Gentleman, and a Person of Honour. His Body was buried in the great Chapel of the Cathedral of that City, and over it was laid a great Marble Stone of an Azure blew, without any Inscription; though his Merits deserved a fair Epitaph, which perhaps might have been omitted, for want of Engravers in Stone; for at that time, and many years after, they knew not the Art to Engrave; nor to use any other sharp tool, unless the Sword and Lance. At this great loss and expence the Spaniards gained the Fortrels of Cozco, and drove the Indians from thence. The Historians in the relations they make of this Siege, declare the taking of this Fortrels in the first place; but the Indians report it to have been afterwards; which is the truth of the History, but in other matters they agree with the Spaniards.

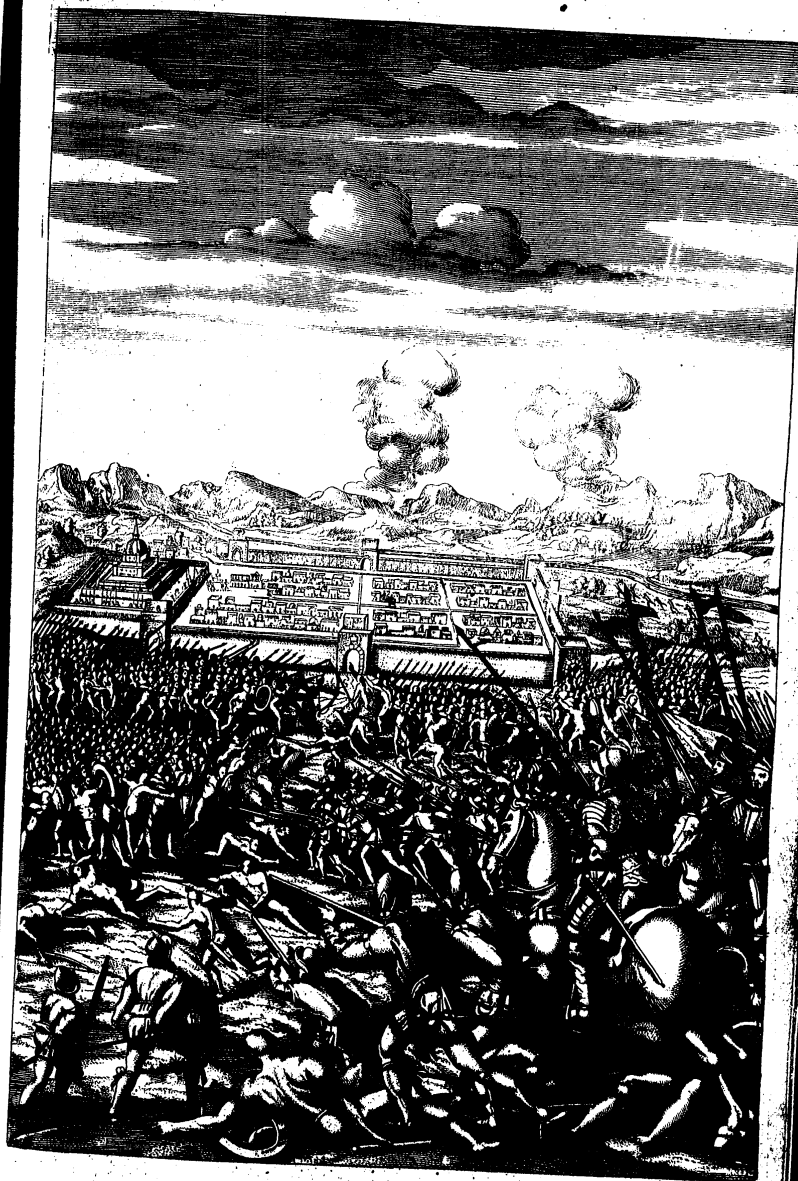
CHAP. XXVII.

Of the several Exploits performed both by Indians and Spaniards during the Siege of Cozco.

THE Death of John Pizarro, who was Brother to the Governour; and a Person of principal note, gave spirit and encouragement to the Indians, who from such successes as these, were apt to conceive new hopes and expectations; so that they resolved to adventure again another Battel; for though they had been worsted and foiled in every one, yet still the desire they had to be revenged on the Spaniards, and restore the Empire again to their Inca, prevailed above the apprehension of their ill successes, and caused them still to persevere in their obstinate resistance. Howsoever, the Christians were not now so narrowly besieged by the Indians, but that they had liberty to sally forth, and range for a League round; and yet they still troubled and molested them, not suffering the Indian Servants to carry them Victuals, or other refreshments: To supply which, the Spaniards were forced to make frequent Excursions into the Countrey for Provisions and Forage; of which they were always in want during the Siege; for though the Indian Servants stole something for them, which they privately conveyed into the Town; yet it was so little, as could not satisfy their necessities. *Augustine Carate* relates one of these Sallies in this manner following:

“ During this War and Siege, *Gonzalo Pizarro* made a sally with twenty Horse, and an in-road as far as to the Lake of *Chinchiro*, which is about five Leagues from *Cozco*, where he was assailed and overwhelmed with such multitudes of people, (having engaged farther with them, than prudence and due regard to his small company did require) that he had certainly been taken, had not *Hernando Pizarro*, and *Afonso de Toro*, with some few Horse, seasonably come in to his rescue. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

This Lake of *Chinchiro* (so called by the Indians) is about two Leagues distant from the City Northward; it is a Water extremely delightfull, and which anciently, by the Munificence of the Incas, was furnished with several Pipes and Aqueducts to convey the Water into divers parts of those Plains, which refreshed the Grounds which were sowed, and made all that Valley of *Cozco* to become fruitful, untill Wars and Troubles amongst the Spaniards themselves caused them to be neglected, and for want of care became wholly useles. Afterwards in the years



years 1555, and 56, they were repaired by my Lord and Father *Garcilasso de la Vega*, being then Mayor of that City; and in that good condition I left them, when I departed thence, and so I hope they will be conferred, because that Water is greatly beneficial to all that Valley. But to return again to what *Corate* speaks of the danger in which *Gonzalo Pizarro* was engaged, when he was rescued by his Brother; it is to be noted (as we have mentioned in our History of *Florida*) that he was the most dextrous Man with his Lance of any of those who had passed into the New World; in confidence of which, both he and his people fought stoutly that day, and adventured so far, that they had been overwhelmed by the multitude of *Indians*, had they not been succoured beyond all expectation; and indeed 'twas a mercy wholly to be attributed to Divine Providence; for neither did *Gonzalo* require it, nor *Hernando Pizarro* know that his Brother was engaged so far to all extremity.

Another day when the *Spaniards* and *Indians* engaged in the Field of *Salinas*, which is about a small League distant from *Cusco* to the Southward, many brave Actions were performed by both parties; and though the *Indians* were many, and made stout resistance, yet they were at length overcome, and put to flight: However, some resolute Captains amongst them, who chose rather to dye, than cowardly to run away in sight of their *Inca*, who from a high Tower beheld and observed the Actions of the day, continued in the Field, and fought with undaunted courage: One of which posting himself in the middle of the road which leads to *Cuzco*, attended the coming of a certain Cavalier (whom I knew) as he was making up to him on Horse back with his Lance in his hand; the *Indian* with a fierce countenance, like an undaunted Soldier, stood ready with his Bow drawn to receive him; and at the same time that the *Spaniard* made a thrust at him with his Lance, he struck the point of it down to the ground, and catching hold of it, forced it from his hands. Another Gentleman of my acquaintance standing by, and observing a single Combat between a *Spaniard* and an *Indian*, did not concern himself, because they were one to one, until he saw that the *Indian* had wrested the Lance out of the hand of the *Spaniard*; and then he thought it time to take part with his companion, and so made at him with his Lance; but the *Indian* bearing off the blow with what he had in his hands, wrested also the Spear from the *Spaniard*, and defended himself from both of them at the same time; their Names I shall conceal out of respect to their posterity; one of which was a Scholar with me at the Grammar School. *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who was engaged in another place, and had put his Enemies to flight, happened to come in at the same time, and be a Spectator of this Action; and seeing how matters passed, he cried out with a loud voice, *Out for shame, what two to one!* The *Spaniards* knowing the voice of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, made a stop, until he himself came up to make trial, whether he could deal better with him than they had done: The *Indian* seeing another Horse-man come upon him, set his footing on the first Lance he had gained, and with the other he encountered the third Cavalier; who before he could come to wound him, he gave such a stroke with his Lance at the head of the Horse, as raised him bolt upright, and almost threw him back upon his hanches. The *Indian* finding himself thus hardly bet, quitted his Lance, and caught hold of that in the hand of *Pizarro*, intending to wrest it from him, as he had done the others; but *Pizarro* keeping fast hold thereof with his left hand, drew his Sword with his right to cut off the hands of the *Indian*; but he being aware thereof, seeing the Sword over his head, loosed the Lance, and caught up the other, which was under his feet. And now the two Cavaliers, which were Spectators, thought it time to dally no longer, but to come in, and without other complement to kill the *Indian*: but *Gonzalo Pizarro* cried out against it, saying, *That it was pity so brave a Man should dye; and that he deserved rather Honour and Reward, than Death.* The *Indian* observing that the two other Cavaliers were restrained by the words of *Pizarro*, and that he had saved his life; he immediately threw away his Lance, and in token of submission went to him, and kissed his right leg, saying, *Henceforth thou shalt be my Inca, and I will be thy Servant:* And for ever afterwards he served him with great fidelity; and *Gonzalo Pizarro* loved him as his own Son, until such time as he was killed in the Battel of *Canela*, as we shall hereafter understand. This Story I heard from the Mouth of *Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte*, who was present

in that Battel; and the same was confirmed by the report of many others. And *Gonzalo Pizarro* confessed himself, that in all the Wars in which he had been engaged, he had never been so hard put to it, nor never so endangered as he had been by that *Indian*.

Not far from this place to the Southward, another Action happened as strange as the former, which *Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte* related that day unto us: which was this: A certain Cavalier riding softly on his Horse upon the way, for the *Indians* were all fled, and not one of them appeared; on a sudden the Horse fell under him; and though the Rider nimbly leaped from his back, yet the Horse with some difficulty recovered himself, and stood upon three legs, an Arrow having wounded him in the sinews of one of his foremost legs; the *Spaniard* looking about him to see from whence this Arrow was shot, could not for a great while discover any person, until at length on the East-side of the way, they found an *Indian* leaning against the side of a bank within a great Water-gall; (of which there are many in that Countrey) but howsoever the distance was so great, that it was judged almost impossible, that an Arrow could be shot so far, as to the place where the Horse fell: But looking more narrowly into the matter, and considering that the Arrow must necessarily come from that part, they went that way, and found an *Indian* dead standing right upon his legs, leaning against the side of the bank, grasping his Bow in one hand, and his Arrow in the other: This *Indian*, it seems, had received a thrust with a Lance, which passed from his shoulder to the bottom of his waste; and to avoid the Horse, had thrown himself into that Water-channel; and finding himself in a languishing condition, was resolved to make one bolt or shot more before he died. This *Indian* had certainly made a good shot of it, had not the distance been far, and his spirits fainting; for had the Arrow been drawn with full force, he had either wounded the *Spaniard* in the face, or in the body; but being weak, it flew low, and shot the Horse in the fore-leg. These two notable Exploits were performed by *Indians* on that day, which was the last of the Siege. And so leaving the Affairs of *Cocoto*, we shall proceed on to the Transactions of *Rimar*, where the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro* was then residing. At first he was ignorant, and not informed of the many dangers with which his Brothers were encompassed; but so soon as he was advertized thereof, he performed the office and part of a carefull and able Commander, as we shall make appear by that which follows.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXVIII.

What Number of Spaniards the Indians might kill in the ways; and what succeeded at the Siege of the City of los Reyes.

SO soon as Marquis *Pizarro* perceived that the usual correspondence and intercourse of Letters between him and his Brothers ceased, he immediately suspected some mischief in the way; and to prove and try the truth thereof, he employed several *Indians*, who were Domestic Servants to *Spaniards*, to enquire of their Kindred and Relations, and inform themselves of the News of *Cocoto*, and of all the Transactions of that Kingdom; for it was not without just suspicion of mischief that the Ways and Avenues were all stopped. The *Yanacunas* (for so they call the *Indian* Servants) enquiring into the matter, understood that the *Inca* had made an Insurrection, and with a strong Army was Master of *Cocoto*; but as to the Particulars thereof, they gave no other account to the Marquis, but only in a confused manner, without head or tail; howsoever, he thought fit with all diligence to write unto *Panama*, *Nicaragua*, *Mexico*, and *Santo Domingo*, desiring that Succours should be sent with all speed. Upon which passage *Carate* hath these Words:

"The Marquis seeing the Number of *Indians* to increase, and Multitudes of them ready to Assault the City of *los Reyes*, he gave it for granted that *Hernando Pizarro*, and all those of *Cocoto*, were perished; and that this Insurrection had been so general over all *Chili*, that *Almagro* and all his Souldiers were defeated and destroyed: Howsoever, to undeceive the *Indians* in their belief, that the Ships were detained on purpose to make an escape, and that the *Spaniards* also might despair of other safety than in their Arms, he dispatched away the Ships for *Panama* with Letters to the Vice-king of New Spain, and to all the Governours of the *Indies*, acquainting them with the dangers and difficulties in which they were engaged, and desired Succours and Relief from them in that distress. Thus far *Carate*.

But besides these Dispatches, he wrote also by conveyance of the faithful *Yanacunas*, to *Alonso de Alvarado*, who was then employed in the Conquest of the *Chachapuyas*, and to *Sebastian de Belalcázar*, who was then in *Peru*, the Affairs of both which succeeded prosperously. He wrote also to *Garcilasso de la Vega*, whose Affairs on the other side were not so happy in the Conquest of that Countrey, or Province, which by contraries they called the *Buena Ventura*, or the Countrey of Good Fortune, where the five Rivers called *Quiximies* empty themselves into the Sea, and are plentiful and rapid streams. In these parts matters did not succeed ill with him, by reason that he found little resistance from the Inhabitants, for there were few or none in all that Countrey; only the Mountains were so high, barren and cragged, that it was scarce inhabitable: of which, and of the difficulties he sustained in this Expedition, we shall discourse more at large hereafter. He wrote also to *John Porcel*, who was employed in the Conquest of the *Pacumuru*, instantly conjuring them with all speed to come unto the City of *los Reyes*, that being united together they might make the better resistance against the *Indians*. In the mean time, not knowing to what distress his Brothers might be reduced, he with all diligence dispatched away seventy Horse under the Command of his Kinsman Captain *Diego Pizarro*, which was all the force that he was able to spare, with an Addition of thirty Foot-Souldiers, as *Carate* reports.

The *Indians*, whose design was to destroy the Marquis, and all his people, understanding by their Spies, that he was sending Succours to relieve his Brothers,

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changed their resolution of assailing *los Reyes*, and determined to stop and interrupt them in their passage, and to that end to take possession of all the narrow Passes and Avenues; for in the Road from *Cusco* to *Quitu*, there are many strait ways, which are not passable without much difficulty. The Plot being thus laid, they suffered *Diego Pizarro*, and his Company, to travel seventy Leagues without giving them the least interruption or disturbance; for though there were many difficult Passes before they had proceeded so far, yet they thought fit to trolle them on to some considerable distance from the Governour, that hearing no news of them, he might believe that they were arrived in safety at *Cusco*: So at length taking them on the side of a stony Mountain called the *Parcas*, they threw from the top mighty Stones, and pieces of Rocks upon them, called *Galgas*, against which no Armour being proof sufficient, they overwhelmed them all without use of Lance or Sword, not one of them escaping. In the same manner they served Captain *Morgovejo de Quimones* with sixty Horse and seventy Foot; and after that they overthrew Captain *Gonzalo de Tapia*, as he was marching with sixty Foot-Souldiers, and eighty Horse; and soon after that they defeated Captain *Alonso de Gabete* with forty Horse, and sixty Foot under his Command. So that on several passages of the way, four hundred and seventy Spaniards were lost, of which two hundred and fifty were Horse. *Carate* reckons them to have been three hundred, and two hundred and twenty Foot: But *Peter de Ciepa* making up the account of the number of Spaniards which the Indians killed in this general Infurrection, declares in the 82d Chapter of his Book, as follows:

"It is said that the Indians of this Province of *Cunchucui* were a stout, and a warlike people; for which reason the Incas finding some difficulty to subdue them, did labour to win and allure them by fair words, and obliging actions. These Indians killed many Spaniards in divers parts; to revenge which, *Marquis Pizarro* sent *Francis de Chaves* to make War on the Indians in a most cruel and terrible manner; in pursuance of which, as some Writers report, he burned and empaled great numbers of them. The truth is, about that time, or a little before, a general Infurrection was made in all the Provinces; and on the way or road between *Cusco* and *Quitu*, they killed above seven hundred Spaniards; and such of them as they took alive, they put to death with cruel Tortures. God deliver us from the rage of the Indians, for certainly they are a furious and bloody people, where they can get the Mastery, and effect their desires; though, to excuse themselves, they alledged, that they fought for their Liberty, and to free themselves from the Slavery and Tyranny of the Spaniards, &c.

Thus far are the Words of *de Ciepa*; which are confirmed by *Blas Valera*, who reports, that above seven hundred Spaniards were killed in the late Infurrection; of which above three hundred were Assassinated in the Mines, and in their Possessions and Lands, wherein they were scattered in pursuit of their gains and benefits; and that four hundred and seventy which were sent for Succours, were killed in the Mountains: but these were not all dispeided together, but in several Detachments, so that the first might arrive with better speed and diligence; for it was never imagined that so much danger was in the way; or that the Indians, who were able to contend with, and overcome ten Horse-men, should be capable to overthrow sixty, seventy or eighty Horse in a body, besides the Infantry. And though he presumed much on this opinion, and on the confidence he had of his own people; yet not having received Intelligence of the first, nor yet of the second that were sent, he was greatly troubled; wherefore to satisfy himself therein, and to understand some news from his Brothers, he dispatched away another Captain called *Francis de Godoy*, a Native of *Carceres*, with a Party of forty five light Horse without baggage or other incumbrance; not that they should proceed so far as *Cusco*, but only to enquire on the ways, and get the best intelligence they could concerning their Companions. Of which passage *Gomara* speaking in the 136th Chapter, hath these Words:

"*Pizarro* being much troubled that he received no Letters from his Brothers, nor from his other Captains; and being jealous of the misfortune which then had happened, he dispatched away forty Horse under Command of *Francis de Godoy* to make enquiries of what had succeeded; and to bring him intelligence thereof.

"thereof. *Godoy* returned (as they say) with his tail between his legs, and with two Spaniards in company with him, who had belonged to *Gabete*, and by help of their Horses had made an escape; the ill news hereof, which greatly troubled *Pizarro*, was speedily seconded by *Diego d'Agüero*, who fled for safety to *los Reyes*, and gave a relation, that all the Indians were in Arms, and had burned all his Plantations, and were very near with a most powerful Army. The news hereof greatly terrified the whole City, in regard the Number of the Spaniards was much diminished; howsoever, *Pizarro* dispeided *Peter de Lerma de Burgos* with seventy Horse, and many Indians who were Friends, and were become Christians to intercept them in their passage, and hinder them from making too near an approach towards the City, and he himself marched in the Rere with all the Spaniards that remained; but *Lerma* fighting with good success, drove the Enemy into the Rocks, where he might have totally destroyed them, had not *Pizarro* founded a retreat.

"That day one Spanish Horse-man was killed in the Fight, but many were wounded; and *Pedro de Lerma* had his Teeth beaten out: Howsoever, the Indians returned many thanks to their God the Sun, who had delivered them from those dangers; and in testimony thereof, offered many Sacrifices unto him. Then they removed their Camp to a certain Mountain near unto *los Reyes*, through the middle of which runs a River, where they continued for the space of ten Days, fighting and skirmishing with the Spaniards; but with the Indians, who were their Enemies, they avoided all Engagements.

Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*; the which is confirmed by *Carate* almost in the same words, and which (if we well observe) is more in favour to the Indians, than to the Spaniards. The truth of all which is this; The Infidels having killed and destroyed many Spaniards on the Ways and Roads, became so encouraged by their success, that they resolved to attempt *los Reyes*, and destroy the *Marquis* and all his people; and being on their March thither with this intention, about eight or ten Leagues from the City, they encountered *Pedro de Lerma* and his Forces, and engaged valiantly with them: And in regard the Fight began in a Plain, the Spanish Horse had a great advantage on the Indians, and killed many of them; but they afterwards making a retreat into the Mountains, with loud shouts, and with the sound of Trumpets and Drums allarm'd all the Indians round, so that they encreased to the number of forty thousand: And in regard the Mountains were sharp and craggy, and that the Horses began to be tired and weary, the Indians adventured to fall out upon them, and to renew the Fight. *Pedro de Lerma* had the misfortune to have his Teeth beaten out with a Stone hurled from a Sling, besides which many Spaniards were wounded, of which thirty two died, to the great grief and sorrow of all; likewise eight Horses died of their wounds, though actually in the Battel there was but one Man, and one Horse that was slain. The Governour who came in the Rere, observing how his Souldiers were distressed, founded a retreat, which served for a Signal to the Enemy, that he was marching to the Succour of his Friends; at which the Indians being affrighted, made a retreat, and so ended the Battel of that day, which was very bloody. The Spaniards hereupon returned to the City, and the Indians to their Quarter and Rendezvous, where the Country flocking in, they quickly made a Body of sixty thousand Indians under Command of their General *Tutu Tupangui*, called by *Carate* *Tiyo Tupangui*, and by *Gomara* *Tixoyo*; and with this force they pitched their Camp near the City, having the River between to keep and defend them from the Spanish Horse.

There they offered Sacrifices, and returned thanks to the Sun for having, as they imagined, given them an advantage over the Spaniards, and caused them to retreat into their City, and to give over the Fight. The Historians who write of these matters say, that the Indians offered their Sacrifices in thanks for deliverance from their dangers; and farther they add, that they continually skirmished with the Spaniards, and not with the Indians, who took part with the Spaniards, fearing, as it were, to engage and fight against their own Vassals, after they had had the Honour to fight with the *Piracochas*; and though daily Encounters passed between them of little or no damage to the Spaniards, because on the Plains the Horse had great advantage, and could hem in and encompass the Indians on all sides; yet the continual Allarums which were given the Spaniards both by Night and Day, kept

them still watchfull, and tired them out with constant labour. Moreover, they suffered much for want of Provisions; though they received some supplies from the *Indians*, who were their Menial Servants, and would every Night (as they had practised at the Siege of *Cusco*) go forth into the Enemy's Camp, where pretending, that they had revolted from their Masters, would return back with Provisions, and with intelligence of all the designs and intentions of the Enemy; which was of great use to them, for that when the *Indians* made any Attack upon them, they were always in a readiness to receive them; and it was by advice from them that *Diego de Aguero*, and many others who had Plantations near *los Reyes* were not surprized, before they had time, by help of their Horſes, to secure their retreat within the Walls of the City. But besides these humane Affistences, God was pleased to work Miracles at that Siege in favour of the Christians, as he had formerly done in that of *Cusco*; for that the River to which they trusted much for their safety, and was their best defence, was the occasion of ruine, and turned to their entire destruction; for during the time of the Siege, the Waters swelled above the banks, so that whensoever they passed over to the *Spaniards*, or were forced to return, they received a loss; for that being often put to flight, many with fear cast themselves into the Waters, and were drowned; and yet this River was not so deep as many others are in that Countrey, being commonly shallow, unless in the Winter, when the falls of the Land-waters make great Floods; howsoever, the *Spaniards* made nothing to pass and re-pass it at their pleasure; which when the *Indians* observed, they concluded that the very Elements fought against them, and were reconciled to the party of the *Viracochas*; and that the *Pachacamac*, who is the God which sustains the Universe, had forsaken their Cause, and favoured the Enemy. Farther they considered, that so soon as they saw the *Viracochas* drawn up in the Field, their hearts failed them; and that though they were a thousand to one, yet they durst not engage with them; all which were clear evidences, that the great Creatour of the World did interest himself in favour of the cause and quarrel of the *Spaniards*.

The *Indians* being affected with these Apprehensions, and with a clear manifestation of the Miracles of God, they every day abated in their Courage, and became so cowed and disheartned, that from that time afterwards they attempted nothing of any moment; and though they continued their Camp on the side of the River, it was rather in obedience to their Commanders, than in hopes of performing any thing to the ruine of their Enemies, and the good of themselves. In the mean time the *Indian* Domestick Servants gave intelligence to their Masters of all that was discoursed and designed in the Camp of the *Indians*; and the *Spaniards* being sensible of the great Miracles which God wrought for them, and that their Enemies observed the same, they returned thanks for all those Wonders, comparing their deliverance by means of this River, to that which the Children of *Israel* received from the *Egyptians* at the Red Sea. And in regard their greatest Battels and Victories succeeded on the banks of this River, they conceived a most especial devotion for the Blessed St. *Christopher*, calling unto remembrance all the Wonders which are recorded of that Saint, and which are painted commonly in Churches, to describe and set forth the Miracles which God performed in the River by means of that Saint; and afterwards in all their Battels and Skirmishes, they invoked the Name of St. *Christopher* equally with that of St. *James*: And after this Siege, they called those Hills in which the *Indians* kept their Head-quarters, the Mountains of St. *Christopher*, because they were so near, that nothing but the River parted them and the City, and were the places where the *Spaniards* put an end to the War, having entirely subjected and conquered the *Indians*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIX.

The Flight of Villac Umu. Philip the Interpreter punished. The Prince Manco Inca leaves his Empire, and remains an Exile in foreign parts.

WE have in the foregoing Chapters declared, how that Prince *Manco Inca* sent Messengers into *Chili*, to advise his Brother *Paulu*, and the High Priest, *Villac Umu*, of his Design, to kill and destroy all the *Spaniards* that were in *Peru*, as being the onely means thereby to recover his Empire, desiring them to take the same course with *Almagro*, and his People, who were in those parts.

Now we must know, that this Intimation was brought to *Chili*, before *Almagro* was departed thence, howsoever *Paulu* having consulted with his Friends, did conclude and agree, that they were not then in a condition to fight the *Spaniards*, in regard that having lost above ten thousand *Indians*, by Colds, and Snow, in passing the Mountains, (as we have formerly mentioned,) their Force was much decreased, and not capable to oppose the *Spaniards* in open Field; and that such was the Vigilancy of the Enemy, as well by night as by day, being always on the Guard, that there was little hopes to take an advantage on them by surprise; wherefore it was thought most convenient to dissemble their Discontents with a colour of Service and Fidelity to the *Spaniards*, until a more fit opportunity did happen for execution of their Design; in order whereunto, *Paulu* and *Villac Umu* being then together in *Tacama*, (which is a Countrey of *Peru*, distinct from the Desarts of *Chili*, as we have mentioned in the 22d Chapter of this Book,) they agreed, that the High Priest should leave the *Spaniards*, and be gone, but that *Paulu* should continue with them for a Spie, to give Intelligence to the *Inca*, his Brother, of all the Designs, which were contrived against him.

Gomara reports, that both of them fled away together, but *Carate* saith otherwise; for in the first Chapter of his third Book, he mentions none but the High Priest, and in the fourth Chapter of the same Book, speaking of *Paulu*, he hath these Words.

"*Almagro* made *Paulu Inca*, and bestowed on him the Imperial Wreath; because that *Manco Inca*, being conscious of his evil Intentions, was fled with many Souldiers into the high Mountains of *Andes*.

Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, whose Testimony (as we have said) we shall always follow, where Authours disagree, because he was resident in *Peru*, and the other was not. In like manner *Philip* the Interpreter, who was with *Almagro*, made his Escape; for that ever since the Death of *Atahualpa*, he was fearful of the *Spaniards*, and desired to get as far from them as he was able, not that he kept a Correspondence with the *Indians*, for they were always jealous of him, lest he should betray them; but he was desirous to imitate the other *Indians*, and cast off the *Spaniards*, whom he abhorred in his very Soul. But this Flight was fatal to him; for not being acquainted with the Countrey, he fell into the Hands of *Almagro*, and his Souldiers, who calling to mind how he once deserted *Alvarado*, and having a suspicion that he was privy to the Escape of the High Priest, and would not reveal it, he was sentenced to be hanged and quartered. Upon this passage, though not according to the order of time, *Gomara*, in the

the 135th Chapter of his Book, hath these Words, which we have extracted verbatim.

" This unhappy Wretch confessed at the time of his death, that he had given false Evidence against the good King *Atabaliba*, that he might enjoy one of his Wives with security. This *Philippillo de Poyechos* was an ill Man, treacherous, inconstant, false, desirous of Mutinies, bloody, and had little of a Christian, though he had been baptized.

Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, whence we may consider, how lamentable a thing it is, that the first Interpreter that was chosen to preach the Gospel in those parts, should prove such a Villain. But *Almagro* little regarding the Flight of *Villac Umu*, so long as *Paulu* remained with him, proceeded in his March towards *Cozco*; when he received intelligence of the Insurrection which the *Indians* had made, of which though formerly he entertained some suspicions, yet he was not so inquisitive as was fit, because he depended for these Advices, on that Fidelity and Service which *Paulu* and his People professed towards them. The way which he took in his March was by *Collao*, where the Country being open, and plain, was not so dangerous for Ambushes, as the way between *Cozco* and *los Reyes*. When he arrived near *Cozco*, he found that the Prince *Manco Inca* had quitted the Siege; for not knowing the Design against the *Pizarros*, he imagined, that the Intention of *Almagro* was to relieve and Succour his Friends. *Almagro* took this occasion to see and treat with the *Inca*; for having had former acquaintance with him, he believed that he might be able to draw him to his Party. The *Inca*, who hoped to take this opportunity to kill *Almagro*, and all his Followers, consented to an Interview; but such was the Prudence and Caution of *Almagro*, that he was always so well guarded with his Souldiers, nor Horse and Foot, that the *Indians* durst not attempt any thing upon them. Nor would the *Inca* hearken to the Proposition that was made, to take part with *Almagro*, but told him plainly, That his Intention was to recover the Empire for himself, and therefore was resolved not to be concerned, either for one side, or the other: Howsoever when he and *Almagro* were parted, the *Indians* would have persuaded him to accept the Proposal, and to foment the Civil War between the *Spaniards*; saying, That when they had killed and weakened each other, he might then be better able to subdue and master the prevailing Party. To which the Prince made this Reply, That it became not the Honour of an *Inca* to dissemble, or fail in his Word, unto those to whom it was given, and that he would rather lose his Empire, than maintain it with Falsity, or Treachery, to those whom he had received into his Favour, and under his Protection.

Whilst *Almagro* was thus in treaty with the *Inca*, *Hernando Pizarro* sent privately to try the Pulse of *Saavedra*, who was then with *Almagro*, promising, that if he would revolt unto his Party, he should neither want Honours nor Benefits. But this *John de Saavedra*, who was of as Noble Blood, as any that owns that Name in *Seville*, rejected the Proposals that were made him of Advantage, rather than stain his Honour with the least blemish. And thus these three Parties stood at a Gaze, without any Attempt made by one or other. At length the *Inca* considering that *Almagro* was returned from *Chili*, and had brought with him four hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, though he had lost two hundred, or thereabout, in his Passage over the Snowy Mountains, in the Wars, and by other Accidents; and that if in many Months he was not able to subdue the *Spaniards*, when they were not more than one hundred and seventy, how much more would they prove an unequal match to them, at this time, when they were increased to six hundred: And though they were divided by private Quarrels, and Civil Diffentions, yet they would quickly unite, and be cemented again, so soon as the *Indians*, who are their common Enemy, should appear in a formidable manner against them. And as to the matter of carrying on the War, Experience had taught them already, that it would prove fatal, and of most ruinous Consequence; for that in the space of one Year, since this Insurrection first began, they had lost above forty thousand Men, which had perished by the Swords of the Enemy, by Famine, and other Calamities, which

which attend the success of War; and therefore in Compassion to his People, he would rather chuse to give over his Pretensions, as desperate, than engulf himself in such a Design which was every day attended with new Difficulties.

And having duly considered these things, and consulted on them with some few of his Relations, he resolved to give over the War; and that he might intimate so much to the Officers of his Army, he assembled the principal of them together, and publicly discoursed with them to this effect:

" Brethren, and Sons of mine, I have well observed, and proved the great Affection and Zeal ye have demonstrated towards my Service, having with much Alacrity, and Readiness, offered your Lives and Fortunes, Wives and Children, that ye might again establish me in the Throne of my Empire; but since it is apparent, that the *Pachacamac* visibly fights against us, and hath decreed that I should not be King, there is no reason for us to withstand and oppose his Divine Will.

" I am well assured, and I believe ye are all sensible, that my Desires to reign and govern, are not grounded on Principles of Ambition; but that my Kingdoms may recover that Peace and Liberty which they enjoyed under the gentle and easy Government of my Ancestours; it being the Duty of every good King to study the Prosperity and Welfare of his People; and according to the practice of the *Incas*, to prefer that before any other Consideration whatsoever. But I have good reason to suspect and fear, that the Designs of these Men, whom we call Gods, and say they were sent from Heaven, are very much different from these Principles. Howsoever, for my part, I cannot, but with much Regret and Tenderness towards you, seek to gain my point at the cost of your Lives, and would rather live in a private manner, despoiled of my Empire, which is my Inheritance, than to recover it at the expence of their Blood, whom I love as dearly as my own Children. And now therefore, that the *Viracochus* may not treat you ill for my sake, I am resolved to retire my self, and to live an Exile from my Country, that so all Cause of Jealousie and Suspicion being removed by my Absence, ye may be received into their good Grace and Favour.

" And now I find the Prophecy of my Father *Huayna Capac* fully accomplished, which was, That a Stranger Nation should deprive us of our Empire, and destroy our Laws, and Religion. Had we well considered this, before we began the War, we should have acquiesced, and submitted, because my Father, the King, enjoined us to obey and serve the *Viracochas*, whose Laws, as he said, were better than ours, and their Arms more powerful than our force. Both which things have proved true, for so soon as they entered into this Empire, Our Oracles became silent, which is a sign that they yielded unto theirs: And as to their Arms they have had an advantage over ours; for though at the beginning we had the fortune to kill some few of them, yet at length one hundred and seventy only which survived, were able to deal with us; nay as we may say, did conquer us, seeing that in the end we are forced to retreat.

" The truth is, it cannot well be said that they conquered us, nor can they boast much of their Victories; for setting aside the Miracles which appeared in their Favour, they of themselves gained no advantage over us. For what can we say to the Fire, which burned our own Houses, and became extinct, so soon as it touched theirs? What can we think of that Cavalier, who, at the Extremity of the Siege, appeared with Thunder and Lightning in his Hand, and routed and destroyed all before him? And then in the Night, a most beautiful Princess appeared in the Clouds, with an Infant in her Armes; which, with that astonishing Brightness she darted from her Eyes, dismayed and blinded us in such manner, that we knew not what we did, and even feared to return unto our own Quarters; how much less durst we adventure to give Battel to these *Viracochas*?

Moreover,

"Moreover, we have seen, and tried, how such a handfull of Men have been able to defend themselves against such multitudes of ours, without Food, Sleep, or Rest; that when we imagined, they were wearied, faint, and ready to yield, they appeared formidable, and refreshed with new Vigour. All which being considered, 'tis apparent that the Hand of God is in it, and that the *Pachacamac*, who favours them, doth discourage and infuse fear into our Minds; wherefore let us yield our selves, rather than bring so many calamities upon our own Heads. For my part, I am resolved to retire within the Mountains of *Amis*, and there secure and defend my self better, than I am able to doe with all my power; and there living quietly, and without offence, I shall not provoke those Strangers to doe Hurt and Mischief unto you for any Cause or Reason of mine. In this my Solitude and Banishment it will be my Comfort to hear that it passeth well with you, and that ye live with Liberty and Contentment under this new Government of the *Spaniards*; wherefore instead of my last Will and Testament, and in pursuance of that Command left us by my Father, I do conjure you to serve and obey them, to the utmost of your power, so shall ye be well treated and used by them: And so farewell, and remain in peace; and now methinks I am very sorry to leave you in the Hands of Strangers, wishing with all my Heart, that I were able to take you all with me.

When the *Inca* had ended his Speech, his People dropped a Floud of Tears, with such Groans and Sighs, that the fulness of Sorrow stopped the utterance of Words; nor durst they dissuade him from this resolution, perceiving that he determined so to doe; wherefore in the first place he disbanded all his Souldiers, that were under Command of their respective *Caciques*, advising them to repair unto their several Provinces, and there patiently submit unto, and obey, and serve the *Spaniards*; but the *Inca* collecting as many as he could together of his own Blood, and Family, both Men and Women, fled with them into the wild Mountains of *Amis*, and seated himself at a certain place, called *Vilcapampa*; where he passed his time (as we may imagine) in Solitude, like a Prince deposed and dispossessed of his Sceptre, and there lived, untill he was killed by a certain *Spaniard*, to whom he had given Protection, and conferred from his Enemies, and who most inhumanely fought his Life: As we shall see in its due place.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

What a certain Authour reports of the Incan Kings and their Subjects.

BLas Valera discoursing of the Wisdom, Abilities, Prowess and Valour of the *Indians* of *Pern*, he gives this Character of them, as follows; which I the rather mention, because it conduces much to the matter in hand, and will serve to confirm what we have already said, and what we shall hereafter report.

"The People of *Pern* exceed most Nations of the World in quickness of Wit, and strength of Judgment, the which appears in that they have been able without the help of Letters, to attain unto the knowledge of many things, which the learning of the *Egyptians*, *Caldeans* and *Greeks* could never reach; so that if in place of their Knots, they had made use of Letters, they had surpassed the *Romans*, and *Galls*, and other Nations, in all points of Learning whatsoever. That rudeness of Manners which appears in them at present, is not for want of Natural Parts, or Endowments of Mind, but for want of practice in the Fashions and Customs of *Europe*, and of Instructors in Liberal Sciences, being taught nothing but what relates to Interest and Gain; for such of them as have Masters, or Teachers, and leisure time, and liberty to learn; nay, if they do but see a thing, they will imitate it so exactly, without being taught, that they become better Artifts and Mechanicks than the *Spaniards* themselves, and would become better Scholars in reading and Writing, and be more expert in all sorts of musical Instruments than the *Spaniards*, had they only the advantage of being taught; nor would they prove ill Scholars in the Latin Tongue: And moreover they are not more ignorant in our Books, than we are in the knowledge of theirs; for though we have now lived amongst them, and have had Conversation with them for seventy Years, yet have not attained to the knowledge of their Knots, nor the nature of their Accounts; when they in a short time have attained to the knowledge of our Letters and Ciphers, which are evidences of their Ingenuity, and good capacity: And as to their Memory, they generally exceed the *Spaniards*, having by their Knots, and Joints of their Fingers, figured several Common places, out of which they do extract particulars in their due Order for the help and benefit of the Memory. And what is more strange, the same Knots serve for divers Passages, and Arguments of History; and giving them only the Subject, they will run on with a History as currently as a Reader can his Book; which is an Art unto which no *Spaniard* as yet hath been able to attain, nor know in what manner, it is performed, and are all good Arguments of the acute Judgment and great Memory of the *Indians*.

"As to their Art in Military Affairs, take all things in their due Circumstances, the People of *Pern* are more expert than those of *Europe*, for shew me the most brave and famous Captains of *Spain* or *France*, on Foot without Horses, without Armour, without Lance, Sword, Pistol, or other Fire-arms; let them appear in their Shirts without Cloths, with a Sling instead of a Girdle, and their Heads covered with a Cap of Feathers, or Garland of Flowers, instead of a Head-piece, or Steel Bergandine; let them march with their bare Feet over Briars, or Thorns; let their Diet be Herbs, and Roots of the Field, carrying a piece of a Mat in their Left hands instead of a Buckler; and in this manner let them enter the Field to blunt the Edges of Swords, and Halberds, and Pikes with three Forks; and let them stand the Stone-slings, the poisoned Arrows, and the skilfull Archer, which will hit the Eye, or the Heart, or any thing; if in this naked and simple condition they become Conquerours, I will then say, that they deserve the Fame and Reputation of valiant Captains above the *Indians*;

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"but in regard it is impossible to put the *Europeans* in this state and condition, or to persuade them to the use of such Arms, Customs, or Habit, so humanely speaking, they will never make trial or essay to gain Victories with such tools or instruments. And, on the contrary, were the *Indians* armed as are the *Europeans*, trained up with the same Military Discipline, and instructed in the Art of War, both by Sea and Land, they would be more invincible than the Turks. Of the Truth hereof Experience is the best proof; for whenever the *Spaniards* and *Indians* were equal in their Arms, the *Spaniards* were slain in great numbers, as for Example, in *Puno of Mexico*, and long before that in other places; for the truth is, when the *Spaniards* have been laden and encumbered with their Arms, and the *Indians* free and light, the *Spaniards* have been often defeated in open Battel; as in *Quitu*, in *Chachapuya*, in *Chaquisaca*, in *Tucma*, in *Cunti*, in *Sanza*, in *Parcus*, in *Chili*, and other parts. Wherefore in comparing the Valour and Prowess of the *Spaniards* with that of the *Indians*, both of *Mexico* and *Pernu*, there can be no measure or trial made by the Success or Conquests, by reason of the great inequality in their Arms, and above all, the Invention of Fire-arms was more terrible to them than all the rest, and seems something more than what is humane or natural; and in reality the Victories which have been obtained in most parts of the new World, and especially in *Pernu*, were wonderful Effects of Divine Providence, and rather to be attributed to the Power of God, in favour of the Gospel, than to the Valour of the *Spaniards*. But though we may compare the *Europeans* and the *Asiaticks* together in the point of Arms, yet we cannot admit of any Comparison between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, as to the Art of War, in which, no doubt but the *Spaniards* have much the advantage: But to let pass this point, and compare *Indians* with *Indians*, there is no doubt but the *Incas*, and the People of *Pernu*, were much the better Souldiers, of which they have given us sufficient Testimonies by the many Conquests they made over the many Countries they reduced to their Obedience, and enjoyed, nor were they signalized for their Valour of late Years only, (as some People vainly imagine) but for above five or six hundred Years past, amongst which many Kings of them have been very powerfull; namely *Manco Capac*, *Inca Roa*, *Viracocha Inca*, *Pachacuter*, and those descended from that Line to the great *Huayna Capac*, who was Emperour, besides many other Captains of the same Bloud, of whom we have treated at large in other places.

Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*; after which short digression let us return again to our *Spaniards*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the differences which arose between the Almagro's, and the Pizarro's; and of the Imprisonment of Hernando Pizarro.

SO soon as *Almagro* and *Pizarro* saw that the *Inca* had disbanded his Army, and was fled, and had left unto them free possession of the Empire; they began then openly to discover their Passions, and turn their Arms each against the other; one affected to rule and govern absolutely alone, and the other prepared to prevent and disappoint him of the Possession of that supreme Power which neither admits a Superiour nor a Rival. Thus *Almagro* required *Hernando Pizarro* to surrender the City to him, and leave him in free possession thereof, pretending, that it was the Part and Division which belonged to him, and not to his Brother; as not being comprehended within the two hundred Leagues of Land belonging to the Marquis, which were to be measured, and set out from the Equinoctial Southward, along the Sea-coast, according to the Capes, and Points, and Bays, running by the Sea-shore; but certainly Land was never measured in that manner, or by other Lines than by the High-ways. Howsoever the party of *Almagro* insisted on this point, and would understand no other Measures than by the Sea-coast, which if *Pizarro* had granted and condescended unto, though His Majesty should have enlarged his Jurisdiction an hundred Leagues farther, yet his Dominion would not have reached so far as *los Reyes*, much less could it have extended unto *Coco*. Howsoever these groundless Reasons and Fancies had so far possessed the Mind of *Almagro*, and his Party, that they would suffer no Contradiction, or hearken to any Arguments to the contrary, but violently resolved to abandon the Kingdom of *Chili*, and return to *Pernu*, and *Coco*, from whence afterwards so many Ruines and Mischiefs did ensue.

To this Demand *Hernando Pizarro* made Answer, that he did not command that City by virtue of his own Authority, but by a Power derived from the Governor, who was his Captain General, to whom having made Oath never to surrender up that City into any other hands, than his own; he could neither perform the part of a Gentleman, nor of a Souldier, in case he should betray his Trust by such a base surrender, which was an absolute Breach of his Oath; but in case they would write to the Marquis, and obtain his Order, he would immediately yield all compliance to his Commands. But waving that particular, he insisted, that the Imperial City belonged to his Brother, and was comprehended within the Limits of his Jurisdiction; for that the measures he propounded by Capes, and Gulfs, along the Sea-coast, were mere fancies, and fallacies, and such as never were admitted amongst any rational Geographers; for the turnings and windings of the Land will take up above half the extent of Ground, as is manifest by experience of the doubling of the Lands only from the Isle of *Palmeis* to the Cape of *St. Francis*. Nor ought the Land to be measured by the High-ways, which often turn and wind, and are steep, and oftentimes ascend three or four Leagues, and then again descend as many more; which upon a straight Line from one Hill to another, will not make half a League. But the *Pizarros* did not approve of this kind of Measure, alledging, that the Leagues were to be reckoned according to the Degrees of the Equinoctial, as Mariners mete out by their Compasses the distances at Sea, allowing to every Degree seventeen Leagues and an half, in sailing plain North and South: Now whereas there were not above eleven Degrees of South-latitude from the Equinoctial to the City of *los Reyes*, which make not more than an hundred ninety two Leagues and an half, and that to *Coco*, which stands in fourteen Degrees, it will not make above two hundred forty five Leagues in all; so that both Cities of *los Reyes*, and *Coco*, were

to be comprehended within the new Enlargement which His Majesty gave to *Pi-carro*, though the number of Leagues were not specified in that Grant.

Hereunto the Party of *Almagro* replied, that in case the distances were to be metered by the Heavens, and not by the Land, they were not to be taken North and South, but East and West, which gives Eighty Leagues to a Degree: But in regard that neither side would agree to that Measure, the matter, as they said, ought to be accommodated, and forty nine Leagues allowed to a Degree, and then the Jurisdiction of *Picarro* would not reach farther than six Degrees from the Equinoctial, yielding forty nine Leagues to every Degree; now in case the *Pi-carro*, yielded to any of these three sorts of Measures, neither *Cocco*, nor *los Reyes*, would be comprehended within his Jurisdiction.

In these Debates, *pro & con*, many Days were spent, which were oftentimes so warmly argued, that had it not been for the Moderation and Discretion of *Diego de Alvarado*, Uncle to the General *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Gomez de Alvarado*, a Person of great worth, they had proceeded to Arms, and open violence; he came in company with *Almagro* unto *Chili*, and being sensible of the evil Consequences which a Breach or Mistrust of this nature between the Governours would produce, he so laboured to beget a good correspondence between them, that at length, by consent of the major part, it was agreed that *Hernando* should intimate to the Marquis his Brother the Demands and Pretensions of *Almagro*; and that until an Answer should be returned thereunto, all matters should remain in suspense, and Acts of Hostility should cease, which accordingly was observed for some days; but some Men of an unquiet humour, who were desirous to disturb that Union and Friendship which was established between those two Companions, suggested to *Almagro*, that he had done ill, and to the prejudice of his own right, by referring the Title and Claim which he justly had by Grant from the Emperour, to the Will and Pleasure of another. That *Hernando Picarro* had resolved what to do before he wrote, and that this pretence of Writing was only to keep himself in his station so long as he could; for it could not be expected that the Marquis should ever be contented to resign and quit the Imperial City of *Cocco*, and that the Agreement which was made, being without limitation of time, might bind *Almagro* for ever, in case *Picarro* should not return an Answer thereunto. Wherefore in regard his Claim to the Government of that City was clear, and without dispute, he was advised without farther Ceremonies, or pause, to take Possession thereof, it not being probable that ever the contrary party should assent to the Surrender of a Jewel so rich and important as that City; and therefore, that he should look to his own Interest, and not make delays in a matter which so much concerned him.

Almagro, who had no need of Sparks to enflame the burning heat of Ambition, which was smothered in his Mind, immediately took Fire at these Incentives, and embraced the Advices, which were given him by his evil Companions, for such Counsels as these are never projected by good Men. Wherefore without farther Consultation with his wife and true Friends, he rashly attempted the lodgings of *Hernando* and *Gonzalo Picarro*, and in a dark night, and with armed Forces, broke in upon them, for the Guards were asleep, and secure, on confidence of the Truce which was so lately made; howsoever the matter was not so covertly carried, but that Intelligence was brought by one of *Almagro's* Men of the danger approaching, the which *Hernando Picarro* would not believe at first, or conceive it possible, that a Gentleman should so manifestly violate his Word, and the Faith, he had given; but whilst *Hernando* was thus arguing, a noise and combustion was heard without, and then he that brought the News said, *Sir, since you give no credit to what you hear with your Ears, believe what you see with your Eyes, for, behold, they are come.*

Hereupon an Allarm was given to the Servants and People belonging to the *Picarras*, who instantly armed, and ran to defend the Doors of the House, which had been fortified, and strongly barred, as were all the Quarters of the City where the Spaniards lodged, ever since the time that the *Inca* departed. The *Almagrians* not finding a speedy Entrance, fire Fire to the House in several places: Hereupon the Defendants giving themselves for lost, opened the Doors, and so *Hernando* and *Gonzalo Picarro*, with many of their Friends and Relations, who were all of the Country of *Esfrememo*, or *Esfremadura*, were taken, and put together into a strait Chamber of the *Cassana*, which they made secure with bars and bolts of Iron.

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Some evil Counsellours, which loved to make and foment differences, advised *Almagro* to kill *Hernando Picarro*, for that ever since the first time that he came from Spain, they had discovered in him a strange malice towards his Person, having never mentioned him with any kind character; and that he was a Man of a violent spirit, revengefull to the utmost, and of a different temper to his Brothers; and therefore that it was dangerous to suffer such a Man to live.

Almagro was ready to have executed this counsel, but that *Diego*, and *Gomez de Alvarado*, *John de Saavedra*, *Bartholomeo de Terrazas*, *Vasco de Guevara*, and *Geronimo de Cofilla*, and others, who were all Gentlemen of Noble descent, and friends to peace and quietness, restrained this violence; telling him, that there was no reason in that open manner to break with the Marquis, who had been his faithful friend and confederate in all Enterprizes; for perhaps the reputation he had ble-mished by breach of the Truce might be salved again, and the seizure he had made on the Government might be accommodated; but the Assassination of *Hernando Picarro* was a thing so odious to the World, and so infamous to his Name, that the stain thereof could never be blotted out; and therefore he would do well to consult with Reason and Prudence, rather than with his Anger and Revenge, which would carry him to more dangerous extremities.

With these and the like Reasons these Gentlemen persuaded *Almagro* to desist from this cruel intention, contenting himself with the Government of the City; which having taken upon him, he caused all the Officers of the Corporation, and the people a hundred Leagues round, according to the limits prefixed to him by his Majesty, to swear Fealty and Allegiance to him. Where we will leave him for a while, and pass forwards to other matters which hapned at the same time.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Hardships and Difficulties which Garcilasso de la Vega, and his Companions, sustained to Discover the Countrey of Buena-ventura, which signifies Good Fortune.

WE have formerly related how that *Don Francis Picarro* finding himself besieged by the Indians, who had made a general Insurrection, greatly feared, that his Brothers in *Cocco*, and *Almagro* in *Chili*, were destroyed by them; and therefore with all diligence dispatched Advices to *Mexico*, *Nicaragua*, *Panama*, *St. Domingo*, and the other Islands of *Barlovento*, to demand succours and relief; he likewise sent Orders to recall his Captains; namely, *Alonso de Alvarado*, *Sebastian de Belalcázar*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, and *John Porcell*, requiring them to desist from their Conquests, and to return to him with all their force, having need of their Aid against the power of the Indians. *Alonso de Alvarado*, who was the nearest of any to his Quarters, was the first that came in, but not timely enough to yield his assistance before the Indians began to flag, and withdraw their force from the City of *los Reyes*, which they totally abandoned, so soon as he appeared; but neither Captain *Sebastian de Belalcázar*, nor Captain of *los Bracamoros*, nor *John Porcell*, were present at this Action, by reason that the Indians, who carried the Command, were killed by the way, so that the Order or Summons never came to their hands: besides, *Garcilasso de la Vega* arrived not long after the coming of *Alonso de Alvarado* from the Bay, which is called *St. Mathew's Bay*, and *Buena-ventura*; the which Countrey (as we have touched before) was bad, and almost uninhabitable.

ble, so that the people which were sent thither sustained much difficulty and hardship; for the Mountains were incredibly high, and covered with lofty trees, of such a sort of hard Timber, as would not yield to the Hatchet; and the Bushes so thick and close, that they were like a Wall, that neither Man or Beast could pass through them; and the Rains were so constant, and made such a perpetual Deluge, that when they intended to have burnt them, the fire was extinguished, and would not take.

At first when the *Spaniards* entred upon that Conquest, they expected to have found many *Indians* within the Country; and so passed, as well as they were able, opening the ways by force of Arms and Labour, rising and descending by the Chaneles which were made by Waters falling from the Mountain. And with these Difficulties they proceeded for many days, though they were sufficiently informed by the *Indians*, whom they brought out of *Pern* to serve them, that it was all labour lost, that there were no people in many Leagues distant from those parts, that the Region being uninhabitable, was Abandoned by all people, and never planted by the *Incan Kings*: Howsoever, the *Spaniards* would not hearken to them, esteeming it a disreputation to their Enterprize to return back to the Country of their Companions. Wherefore persisting in this resolution to proceed, they travelled at least a hundred Leagues, being reduced to such a want of all Provisions, that they were forced to eat Herbs and Roots, Toads, Serpents, and other Insects, which, as they said, in that time of Famine, had as good a relish as Hares or Conies; and, as they report, the great Serpents were much better Meat than the smaller Snakes. At length, after a long and tedious Journey, in which they had no prospect of a better condition, but that still their Famine and Hardships increased, the Officers of the Army, and of the King's Treasure, went to the Captain, and told him, That since they had learned by experience, that the Hardships of that discovery were not longer to be sustained; for that having now wandered for above five Months within those Mountains, they had not seen so much as one *Indian* to conquer, nor an Acre of Land to cultivate, but had only met with Mountains, and Rivers, and Lakes, and Brooks, and a perpetual Deluge of Rain; wherefore they conceived it better to consult his own, and the safety of his people by a return, rather than out of an obstinate humour to throw away the Lives of his people by Famine, and other Hardships. To which the Captain made answer, That he had many days past observed and considered all those Difficulties which they laid before him; and that about the time of two Months after they had entred within those Mountains, he had conceived some thoughts of making a return; but considering that such a retreat would have been dishonourable to them, and to himself, he had persisted in this Enterprize until this very time; and still must continue to intreat, and importune them to take courage and proceed forward, so that their Companions, who are emulous of their great undertakings, might not have occasion to revile them with scorn, and bid them to begone to their Riches, and delicious Dwellings of *Pern*. Wherefore he again requested and conjured them not now to relinquish their design, or turn their backs to a work which they had almost overcome; for the more danger, the more honour; and since Fame and Glory is the reward of Victory, they should press forward like good Soldiers to obtain it, at least persist so far in the prosecution of it, until it appeared desperate, and drive it so far, as that their Adversaries and evil Tongues might have nothing to object against them; for which they would have sufficient subject and cause, in case they should so soon return with their business unexecuted; in the mean time he could not but have a sense and feeling of their Labours and Hardships, more than of his own; howsoever, since they saw that he did not flinch, nor retreat a step backward, he desired them to follow him, who was their Captain, being thereunto obliged as Cavaliers, good Soldiers and *Spaniards*. With which good words, and pressing instances, being overcome, they complied with his desires, and proceeded other three Months in their discovery: As their Journey lengthened, so Sickness increased; for the bodies of Men not being able to sustain such Hardships, many, as well *Indians* as *Spaniards*, fell sick and died; more of Hunger, than of any other Distemper. Thus seeing that their Men fell sick, and died every day, so that they were not able to proceed forward, they resolved by common consent to return, yet not by the same way; but taking a compass to the Eastward, they came about by the South, that for their better satisfaction they might take a round, and bring all within

within their discovery: Their way was now over other Mountains, not better than those already passed, but worse, if worse could be: And still Famine and Mortality pressed them hard with great discouragement, so that they were forced to kill their worst Horses, and with their Flesh to make Broth for their sick people. But what was most lamentable to see, was Men dying and perishing with mere weakness; for not having strength to walk, they were left to themselves in the Mountains; and not being able to help one the other, every one shifted for himself: One day they left eleven Men alive in this manner, and another day thirteen: When they were almost starved, and were forced to yield to their weakness, the under-jaw fell in that manner, that they could not shut their mouths; so when they left them, all they said was, *God rest, and remain with you*; and the poor Wretches would answer with an imperfect pronunciation, *God go with you*; not having strength to move their Tongues. All these particulars, besides the common report, were related to me by a certain Souldier called *de Fortalva*; I heard it repeated more than once, and I could not but weep at the sadness of the story: And he farther said, that it did not so much trouble him when he left them dead, but to abandon Men in that condition alive, was more grievous than could be expressed. In this manner above eighty *Spaniards* perished, besides *Indians*, in a far greater number. Moreover, they had another difficulty to pass the River *Quiximia*; for the Timbers which they cut for that purpose, were so heavy, being sappy and green, that they would not float, but sink to the bottom; nor were there any places where it might be waded over, being a very swift and rapid stream, and much infested with Alligators, which they call *Caymanes*, which are a sort of Crocodile of about twenty five or thirty Foot long; and so voracious, that they are very dangerous in the Water. At length they made some Floats with Boughs fastned together, and therewith passed with as much difficulty as we can imagine. It happened, that being to pass one of these Rivers, and seeking the most commodious place, they espied two great Trees opposite to each other, one on one side, and the other on the other side of the River, with branches extending so wide, that they reached each other; it was thought fit to cut down one of these towards the root, which they did, and so directed the fall of it on the tree on the other side, that it fell and rested on the other; both which trees being joyned together, served for a Bridge, over which the *Spaniards* and *Indians* taking hold on the boughs, passed by three and four at a time. At length there remained onely six persons to go over, which were three *Spaniards*, and three *Indians*, of which the Captain himself was one who would be the last to bring up the rear; the *Indians* were ordered to go foremost to carry the Arms, and two other *Spaniards* who were intimate Comrades of the Captains were to bear the Saddles, and passing in this order near the top of the standing tree, that which was cut gave a crack, and broke off from that part towards the bottom, which remained unhewn; the two *Spaniards*, and the three *Indians*, kept their hold fast upon the boughs; and the Captain, who observed the danger more than those who were before him, gave a leap over his Companions, and caught firm hold on a bough of the standing tree, which breaking with his weight, he fell therewith into the Water; those which fate on the other tree were likewise carried down the stream with him, and were never seen more: But two or three of the Captain's Comrades standing on the other side, and observing the danger in which he was, followed him on the bank, and reaching out to him the end of their Lances, he took hold of them, and therewith they drew him to the shore, and saved him, returning thanks to Almighty God for this great deliverance. And now travelling on their way forward, in what place soever that they found any plenty of wild Fruit or Roots larger than ordinary, they would stay there to gather and make provision of them for food in their Journey. And having thus wandered above the space of one whole year in the Mountains, at length one day whilst they made a stay to gather their Fruits, the Captain took a fancy to climb a tree, which grew on the highest part of the Mountain, to see if he could espie any plain or end of those Rocks, or hope to free themselves from that Maze, or Labyrinth: And being on the top of one of the highest trees, which are in those parts like lofty Towers, he could not discover any plain Country, being still environed on all sides with mighty Mountains; but looking round about, he observed a great flock of Parrots near him, which with their usual chattering noise took their flight South-East, and at a good distance from him, about five or six Leagues

as he could guess, he observed that they stooped from the Wing to some low Valley: Now whereas Parrots are great lovers of Mayz, which is their chief food, he concluded, that in or about the place where he saw them fall, there must be some Plantation, or Dwelling for people; and upon this presumption, eying well the place, he returned to his Companions, and told them, that they should be of good comfort, for that he had discovered sure and certain tokens and evidences, that they should now very speedily arrive at some inhabited Country. The *Spaniards* and all their company being comforted and encouraged with this good news, took heart, and next morning fell to work, opening a way through the Bosage with Axe and Hatchet, and in the space of thirty Days, penetrated and broke through eight Leagues in length, and then entered into a small Plantation of the *Indians*, consisting of about a hundred Families, with whom Mayz, and other sorts of Grane and Pulse, were in great plenty; and the Soil was very good, and able to produce food and maintenance for greater numbers, than did there inhabit: Upon sight of which, and entrance therinto, the *Spaniards* returned thanks to God, who had brought them forth, and delivered them out of those extremes of misery. The *Indians*, when they saw a people with Beards, and most of them clothed in Skins, (for their Garments were rotted upon their backs, having been for the most part wet,) and those who were best habited amongst them were instead of their Rags covered with the Bark and Leaves of Trees, they were strangely surprized, and much more did they admire to see the Horses, for some of them were still conserved from being eaten. At the appearance of this new sight, they called to each other to fly into the Mountains; but some signs being made to them, not to fear, they were induced to stay, and call their Cacique, who was then in the Fields; the Cacique coming, received them with much kindness and courtesie, shewing some trouble and pity to see them almost naked, full of scratches and wounds received from the Woods and Bushes, and so weak and pale, that they seemed half dead: He entertained them like Brothers, and gave them Manto's of Cotton, such as were made for his own clothing; and in a short time he took such an affection to the *Spaniards*, and particularly to the Captain, that he desired him never more to leave his Country; but if he would not be persuaded to remain there, yet then that he would take him into his company, and carry him to the place of his abode and residence. At this place they remained thirty Days, and had occasion for their better refreshment, to have continued there longer; but that out of pity to those poor *Indians*, that they might not eat up their Provisions, which they so freely bestowed on them, they quitted their Country, the name of which they did not enquire, it being their business rather to pass through, than to inform themselves of Names and Places. The Cacique would needs bring them on part of their way, and appointed thirty of his *Indians* to be their Guides, and carry such Provisions for them as were very needfull in that desert Country through which they were to pass: the which *Indians* were likewise very serviceable in transporting their people over certain Rivers; for they were skillfull in the manner how to make Floats, and knew how to conduct and steer them over, better than the *Spaniards*. At length coming to the first Valley within the jurisdiction of *Puerto Viejo*, the Cacique and his *Indians* took their leave of them with many tears, being very sorrowfull to lose their company; and especially they were devoted to the Captain, who had won their hearts by his affable and obliging deportment. At last the *Spaniards* entered *Puerto Viejo*, with no greater number than of one hundred and sixty Persons; for of the two hundred and fifty, who at first undertook that Conquest, above eighty of them were starved with hunger, and perished with other hardships within the Mountains. At *Puerto Viejo* they received the first intelligence of the Insurrection of the *Indians*, but knew nothing as yet of the success; wherefore they hastened with all diligence to the City of *los Reyes*; and being on their way, they met the Command of the Marquis, summoning them to come in unto his succour; upon which they quickened their March, and came to *Rimac* some few days after the Arrival of Captain *Alonso de Alvarado* at that place; which coming so seasonably to the succour and relief of the Marquis, they were received by him with much joy and comfort.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXIII.

*Alonso de Alvarado marches to the Succour of Cozco;
and what his success was in these Travels.*

SO soon as Marquis *Pizarro* was recruited with Forces, both from *Alonso de Alvarado*, and *Garcilasso de la Vega*, he sent Succours to his Brothers, being altogether as yet ignorant of the success of affairs at *Cozco*; for he was neither informed that Prince *Anco Inca* was retreated, nor that *Almagro* was returned from *Chili*, nor his Brothers imprisoned. Of those Troops which came to him, and of his own, he drew out a Detachment of three hundred Men, well Accounted, and Accommodated in all respects, one hundred and twenty of which were Horses, and an hundred and eighty Foot: *Alonso de Alvarado* was appointed to Command in Chief, which Office did formerly appertain to *Pedro de Lerma*, a Native of *Burgos*, who, during the Insurrection of the *Indians*, had acquitted himself like a good Commander, and a valiant Souldier; and as he always behaved himself stoutly as became him, so one day particularly in a Battel between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, his Teeth were beaten out with an unlucky stone thrown from a Sling: Not was he only deprived of his Command, and the same given to another, but he was ordered to serve under *Alonso de Alvarado* in Quality of Captain of Horse: the which Action, as some construed it, was unpolitically done by the Marquis, and without due consultation; for since he was resolved in a manner to degrade him, he had better have kept him in his own company, than to have caused him to serve under a Person against whom he conceived some piques of Emulation: And indeed *Pedro de Lerma* did more resent this circumstance, than the deprivation of his Office; for they were both of the same Country, and both Noble; and it is a piece of pride incident to the Nature of Mankind, rather to submit to the command of a Stranger, though of meaner rank and quality, than to his equal of the same Country: And from this error it was, that *Pizarro* afterwards lost the residue of the day, as we shall see by the sequel of the Story.

When the day appointed for the departure of these Forces grew near, *Garcilasso de la Vega* desired licence of the Marquis, that he might with the other Captains be employed in this adventure for relief and succour of his Brothers; to which the Marquis made answer, that he should suddenly have occasion of more supplies, and that then he should be sent Commander in Chief of them; but *Garcilasso* instantly pressed that his desires might not be deferred, for that he could not be quiet in his mind, when he considered the distress of his Lordships Brothers; for having an especial Friendship for them, and related to them as Countreymen, he could not pardon himself, in case he should be guilty of remissness, and be a second, and not one of the first to yield, and administer Aid to them in their distress; and that for the recruits which were hereafter to be sent, he did not doubt but that he was furnished with Commanders, unto whom he might worthily commit that charge. The Marquis yielding at length to his importunity, suffered him to depart with the others; so taking their March by way of the Plains, as far as *Almofa*, to avoid the bad and difficult passages, they came to the beautiful Valley of *Pachacamac*, where about four Leagues distant from *los Reyes*, they were engaged in a bloody Battel against the *Indians*, who were still in Arms, and in a Body, notwithstanding that their Prince was retired into the Mountains; and had until that time always beaten the Succours which had been sent to *Cozco*; and with that encouragement adventured to engage with *Alonso de Alvarado*, fighting a long time with much bravery; but being now in the open Field, without the cover and defence of Woods and Mountains, where the Horse could doe service, many of the *Indians* were slain; but in the craggy and woody Mountains they did much mischief to the *Spaniards*, killing eleven of them, and seven Horses. From thence *Alonso de Alvarado* marched forward, and to make the more haste, they travelled

velled by Day against the advice and persuation of the *Indians*, who assured them, that it was a matter most pernicious to their health to travel over those sandy Deserts by Day; for that whilst the Sun reflected in its full violence on them, the Heats were insupportable; and that unless they carried Water with them, the people would dye with thirst. But this advice given by the *Indians* to march by Night, was not regarded by the *Spaniards*, who imagined that they gave that counsel out of good will and favour to their *Incas*; and therefore threatened to kill them in case they did not hasten their Journey. The poor *Indians*, who were humble and obedient, submitted to their pleasure; and having travelled a whole day, untill an hour after Sun-setting, both they and the *Spaniards* found themselves in great distress for want of Water; and more especially the *Indians*, who having carried Burthens all the day, above five hundred of them perished with heat and thirst. The *Spanish* Foot had incurred the like fate, but that the Horse understanding that a River was not far distant, ran thither, and brought Water, which refreshed them in their great extremity: the which report *Augustine Carate* confirms in the sixth Chapter of his third Book, as may appear in these Words following:

" *Alonso de Alvarado* passing on his Journey to *Coxco*, over a sandy Desert, situated such want of Water, that above five hundred of his *Indians*, who carried Burthens, were choaked with thirst; and had not the Horse ran in haste to a River, and brought thence in certain Vessels some Water for refreshment of the *Spanish* Foot, it is believed that they had all perished. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

For want of those *Indians* who died with thirst, they were forced to stay some Days, untill they were supplied with others to carry their Burthens. And not to incur again the like necessity, they left the way of the Desert, and took up by the Mountains, where they joined with other two hundred Men, seventy of which were Horse, and the rest Foot, which the Marquis had sent under Command of *Gomez de Tordoya de Vargas*, a near Kinsman to *Garcilasso de la Vega*, to recruit the Forces under *Alonso de Alvarado*, which consisted of five hundred *Spaniards*: All which, as they marched through those mountainous and fast Countries, had many Skirmishes at every pass with the *Indians*; but being well advised by frequent misfortunes of this nature, they marched warily, and with due care to avoid the like snares, and unhappy successes. At length they came to the Bridge called *Rumicacha*, which is as much as to say the Stone-bridge; which being a difficult pass, the *Indians* did all they were able to give a stop to the Enemy at that place, and many other Avenues they guarded with Souldiers; to gain which, the *Spaniards* made a Detachment of about forty or fifty Musquetiers, with a great number of those *Indians*, whom they had taken up for Servants, and which were to guide the *Spaniards*, whilst the Musquetiers guarded the reere, untill the whole Body had escaped the danger of those close and difficult passages. At the Bridge an innumerable Company of *Indians* crouded on the *Spaniards*, and fought valiantly; the Battel continued several hours, but at last the *Indians* were forced to give way with great slaughter, for the Musquetiers of which there were one hundred, galled them very much, and were those only who gained the Victory, for in those inclosures the Horse were able to doe no service; howsoever, the *Spaniards* lost twenty eight Men, and nine Horses, besides many of their *Indian* Servants. As *Gomara* in the 138th Chapter relates in these Words:

" *Alvarado* marched without any interruption with his five hundred *Spaniards*, untill he came to *Rumicacha*, where is a Stone-bridge; but there he met with great numbers of *Indians*, who thought to cut off all the Christians, or at least disperse them: But *Alvarado* and his Souldiers, though encompassed on all sides with Enemies, fought with that Valour and Conduct, that they over-threw them with a great slaughter: but this Victory cost the lives of many *Spaniards*, and of many *Indians*, who were friends, and came to serve and assist them, &c.

From *Rumicacha* *Alonso de Alvarado* proceeded forwards, skirmishing with the *Indians* at every turn, where the Passes were narrow and difficult; and though they conceived little hopes to overcome them, howsoever it was some satisfaction to them to disturb them in their March; and though the *Indians* being now beaten

out

out of the Field, durst not engage in a pitched Battel, as they had formerly done, yet they continued their frequent Skirmishes with loss and damage on one side and the other. And having marched twenty Leagues farther unto the Bridge of *Amancay*, *Alonso de Alvarado* received intelligence from the *Indians*, that the *Inca* was fled, and retired into the Mountains, that *Hernando de Pizarro* was imprisoned, that *John de Pizarro* was dead, with many others, during the last Siege, besides several other particulars which had happened; to all which *Alvarado* had been a stranger untill that time: But now upon this advice, it was judged most safe not to proceed farther, untill they had received new Orders from the Marquis, to whom they gave a true information of the state of all affairs; and left, in the mean time, *Almagro* should make an attempt upon them, they fortified themselves, and provided for a Siege. *Almagro* hearing that *Alonso de Alvarado* was with his Forces come as far as the Bridge of *Amancay*, dispatched a Message to him by *Diego de Alvarado*, and eight other Cavaliers of the best Quality then with him; and in a peaceable and civil manner gave him to understand, that the title and claim he laid to that Government was very manifest and plain by the Commission he had received from his Majesty; and therefore he exhorted him to return in peace, and if not, he protested against him for all the Blood, Miferies and Damages which should follow. This Message being delivered, *Alonso de Alvarado* seized on those that brought it, and detained them Prisoners, saying, That to the Marquis, and not to him, they ought to notify their instructions, not being authorized or empowered to act any thing without his Orders: And though *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Peralvarez Holguin*, *Gomez de Tordoya*, and other principal Officers were of opinion, that they ought to be set free, and liberty given them to intimate their Message to the Marquis himself; for that in all parts of the World, even amongst the most barbarous Nations, the Persons of Ambassadors were always privileged, and freed from Molestations and Arrests whatsoever. That this course would serve to augment and enflame the heats of passion, which were kindled between the Governours, rather than to allay and appease them. That it was a hard case that those who had gained that Empire, and were in hopes to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and quietness, should now quarrel and kill each other, when they came to share and divide the prey. That he should consider with what infamy the relation of this Story would be received in the World, when it should come to be known, that on the score of particular interests, a civil and intestine War was begun amongst them: But *Alonso de Alvarado* being far from being moved by these reasons, adhered to his own opinion, incited by a natural obstinacy, to the great discontentment of his people, who were desirous to enjoy the Riches of *Peru* in peace, and in an amicable correspondence, which they had acquired at the cost and expence of much blood, and of incessant labours and turmoils full of danger.

C H A P. XXXIV.

*The Battel of the River Amancay; and the Imprisonment of
Alonso de Alvarado and his Souldiers.*

NOT long after the Ambassadours were departed from *Cozco*, *Almagro* followed them out of the City; and finding that they did not return in their due time, he retired again to the City, where he remained with some trouble and anxiety of mind, suspecting the evil which had befallen them; for he was very sensible both that *Alonso de Alvarado* had much a better Army than his; and that he was not well assured of the fidelity of the people with him, of which many had belonged to *Hernando Pizarro*, and might probably change the side and colours at the appearance of the Enemy, for which reason it was not judged convenient to carry them into the Field with them: And moreover, he believed that there could be no good designs towards him, in regard that a detention or seizure had been made of his Messengers. Whilst *Almagro* was thus divided in his thoughts and fears, he received a Letter from Captain *Pedro de Lerma*, who (as we have said before) being much disgusted with the Marquis, and judging this to be a convenient opportunity to revenge himself; gave intimation to *Almagro* of his own just resentments, on score of the unhandsome usage he had received from *Pizarro*; and hereunto adding the perfidious treatment exercised towards his Ambassadours, which was a barbarous Act, and disowned by the greatest part of his people; he invited him to advance against the Forces under the Command of *Alvarado*, assuring him, that upon his appearance above a hundred of his friends would join with him, and secure him of happy success with much facility and honour, and that he doubted not but to bring over the whole party to his side and interest, being entirely dissatisfied with the proceedings of *Alvarado* their Captain.

Upon these Advices *Diego de Almagro*, in the space of fifteen Days, fitted and provided himself with all matters necessary for this Enterprize, and departed from *Cozco* in search of *Alonso de Alvarado*; and in his way he took *Alvarez Holguin*, who was sent out upon a party to make discovery, and learn something of the proceedings of *Almagro*, but was betrayed by his own Men, who had been suborned and instructed by *Pedro de Lerma*; as also the greatest number of those who remained were engaged in the Conspiracy. So soon as *Alonso de Alvarado* was informed that *Alvarez Holguin* was taken, he suspected *Pedro de Lerma*, and would have seized him; for, as *Gomara* saith, he had uttered some suspicious words, as that he was of *Burgos*, and was well acquainted with the humour of *Alvarado*; but *Pedro de Lerma* being advised of the secret intentions of *Alvarado* towards him, escaped away with several friends, in a kind of open manner; for such was the affection and interest he had with the Souldiery, that had he had onely four Days time to have worked his designs, he had carried the whole Army with him: And now to accomplish his Plot, he counselled *Almagro* to make all speed and haste possible, for that his Victory consisted in expedition; of which he might be well assured, for that he had already secured the Affections of the people towards him: And as to the Rules which were to be observed in the management of this affair, he directed him the manner how, the time when, and the place where he was to assault him; the time was to be at Night, when Darkness covers the guilt of Traytours; and he in Person was their guide to the Bridge, where many of the Conspirators were attending in expectation of them; and the Horse were ordered to pass the River, which was not so deep, but that they might ford or wade it over without danger.

Having

Having these Hopes and Expectations of Victory, they marched forward; on the other side, the Captains and Officers of *Alvarado* issued out Orders for the Fight, and for Defence, but were not obeyed; for it was night, and most of them engaged in the Conspiracy; the Horsemen pretended, that their Lances were stolen from them, and cast into the River; the Infantry complained that their Muskets, Cross-bows, and Pikes, were hidden, and laid aside; so that none obeyed the Command of their Captains, but every one was in confusion, and followed his own Fancy. Those that were appointed to defend the River, and secure the Bridge, instead of repulsing the Enemy, directed them where they might pass with most ease and security; and in regard it was night, so that the *Almagrians* could not discover the fordable places, the Party on the other side directed and guided them over, and those at the Bridge invited and assured them, that they might pass without fear. By these means *Don Diego de Almagro* obtained a Victory, and took *Alonso de Alvarado*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Gomez de Tordoya*, and Captain *Pillalva*, Prisoners, with other Captains and Officers of the Army, with about an hundred common Souldiers, who refused to enter into the Conspiracy; all which was performed without the loss of one Man, either killed or wounded on either side, onely *Rodrigo de Orgompos* paid for all, having his Teeth beaten out by an unlucky Stone thrown at random from a sling; no Man knows how, nor from whence it came. Thus *Almagro*, and his Souldiers, returned victorious, and triumphant, unto *Cozco*, giving out Words of Scorn and Contempt against the *Pizarros*, as that they would not leave so much as one *Pizarra* under foot (which is a pebble Stone) in all *Peru*, that if they affected Government, and Dominion, they should go seek it amongst the *Manglars*, and in those high Mountains which run along the Sea-coast, under the Equinoctial. Those whom they suspected of Malignancy towards them, they secured under safe Custody; and because they were many in number, they committed them unto two Prisons, some they sent to the Fortresses, and others to the *Casiana*, which is the common Prison of the Town.

We have formerly mentioned, how that the Marquis *Pizarro* having dispatched *Alonso de Alvarado*, and soon after *Gomez de Tordoya*, with Recruits and Succours to his Brothers, he himself remained in the City of *los Reyes*, to order and dispose those Troops, which came to him from divers parts, according as he had demanded; of which *Gomara*, in the 137th Chapter of his Book, gives this Account.

"*Alonso de Fuen Mayor*, President and Bishop of *St. Domingo*, sent, under the Command of his Brother, *Diego de Fuen Mayor*, Native of *Tanguay*, many Spanish Musketeers, which were lately come to him with *Pedro de Vergara*. Fernando Cortes sent upon his own Ship, commanded by *Rodrigo di Grijalva*, as far as from New Spain, a considerable quantity of Arms, such as Lances, Sables, and Furniture for Horses, Garments of Silk, and one Suit of Martin's Furr. Gaspar de Espinosa brought from *Panama*, Nombre de Dios, and other parts of the Contenten, a great Company of Spaniards; and *Diego de Ayala* returned with good Recruits, which he had gathered at *Nicaragua*, and *Quabentemallan*; besides many others, from divers other parts: So that now the Army of *Pizarro* was become far greater than ever, and the number of his Musketeers much encreased, of which though he had no great use against the *Indians*, yet they came seasonably to his Aid against *Almagro*, as shall hereafter be related, &c.

The Marquis finding himself so well reinforced, for as *Carate* reports, his Troops consisted of seven hundred Spaniards, Horse and Foot, he resolved in person to march to the Relief of his Brothers; for his Mind could not be at rest, being in daily apprehensions and fears for them, and could not be satisfied whilst he remained at so far a distance: Wherefore taking his way by the Plains, and with short Days Marches, he met the Intelligence which was sent him by *Alvarado*, how that the *Inca* was retired, that *Almagro* was returned to *Cozco*, that two of his Brothers were imprisoned, and a third dead; all which ill News the Marquis received with a due sense of Sorrow and Affliction: But that

that might not be oppressed with all his Griets at the same time, the second News, of the loss of his Forces, and Imprisonment of *Alvarado*, came not to him untill two days after the Receipt of the former, which served to augment the sense he conceived for his late Misfortunes. Whereupon giving a stop to his March, he resolved to return again to *los Reyes*, though he was already advanced twenty five Leagues upon his Way; for that when he departed thence, he had made preparations onely for a War against the *Indians*; but now the Design being changed, and that he was to fight with *Spaniards*, another fort of Arms, and other accoutrements of War, were to be provided, as necessarily against this Enemy.

Moreover he thought it advisable first to make trial of the more moderate Terms of Treaty and Accommodation, not being willing to tempt Fortune a third time, which had been severe to him in two former Adventures. He farther considered, That his Competitor was strong, both in Horle and Foot; and that they were wellarmed; and that the most safe and easie way to extinguish that Fire which was now kindled in the Breast of *Almagro*, was to revive the ancient Conditions of Brother-hood and Friendship, which had been so often confirmed, and ratified under so many Oaths and Religious Vows; by Virtue of which, that great and rich Empire having been gained, and conquered; it would be most lamentable to see the Enjoyment of those Blessings disappointed, and at the end of all, to see nothing intended, but the Ruine and Destruction of each other.

On these Considerations he dispatched the Lawyer, Doctour *Espinosa*, unto *Cusco*, with Instructions, if possible, to conclude some middle Terms of Accommodation between him and *Almagro*; and that he should especially endeavour to make him sensible, that in case their Quarrels and Dissentions should be made known to His Majesty, and the Differences between his Governours, suggested as irreconcilable; it was more than probable, that His Majesty would, before they could lay the matter open before him, provide himself with another Governour to supplant them both, and who, without Sweat, or Labour, would immediately enter into the Possession, and Enjoyment of that Dominion, which they, at the Expence of so much Blood and Industry, had achieved. That he should consider, that a good Peace was better than an evil War, and that though those Words are commonly inverted, yet under the present Circumstances they were most certainly true. And lastly, vvhhen he should see that *Almagro* was not to be prevailed vvhith, on any equal Terms, that then he should conclude with him on Conditions to release his Brothers; and that as for the matter of the Government of *Cusco*, he should rule and govern there in God's Name, untill such time as that the case being stated, and made known to His Majesty, he should be pleased to determine the particular Limits and Precincts of each other's Government: Provided also in the mean time, that *Almagro* should not make any Attempt on the City of *los Reyes*, nor on any of the Territories thereunto belonging.

Doctour *Espinosa* being thus dispatched with this Commission, and these Instructions, he arrived at *Cusco*, where he proposed all matters accordingly to *Almagro*, and his Officers; but they were become so high, and elated, with their former Success, that they would neither yield, nor hearken to any Proposals: And though *Diego de Alvarado*, with his usual Candour and Moderation, insisted, That the Articles now offered, were the very same that they formerly required; for that they never demanded more than Possession, and quiet Enjoyment of the City of *Cusco*; yet they rejected all his Counsel, and Offers, saying, That he was not to prescribe them Limits, or confine and restrain them from marching towards *los Reyes*; for that he was not to be imposed upon within his own Jurisdiction, but in that prosperous and flourishing state of Affairs, rather to give them to receive Conditions from others. To which *Diego de Alvarado* made Answer, that the Conditions were such as he himself gave, and not received; but all he could say was in vain, and insignificant, for it was entirely rejected.

And

And here it is observable, that both Governours challenged the City of *Cusco* for his own, and both agreed that the Limits of their respective Governments should be begun and be established from the Chancels without, one to the Southward, and the other Northward; the choice of which being absolutely granted to *Almagro*, he refused to accept either; for seeing himself now in possession of the City, and that his Competitor had condescended to all his Conditions, he believed that such Compliance proceeded from a fear of losing all his Government; wherefore since Fortune had with displayed wings owned his Cause, he was resolved to push it forward, and try if he could become sole Monarch of all that Empire.

Thus *Almagro* being puffed up with Ambition, and moved with Covetousness, which are two insatiable Affections of the Mind, he would yield to no Agreement with the Marquis, and *Espinosa* dying amidst the heat of these Debates, nothing was concluded; nor the Benefit of that Peace and happy Accommodation produced, as might have been expected from the Prudence, Judgment, and moderation of that worthy Person, who, before his Death, prelagged the Ruine and Destruction of both the Governours. And now *Almagro*, to testify to the World that he had not yielded to the Propositions of the Marquis, he marched out of *Cusco* with an Army, leaving *Gravriel de Rojas* Governour in his stead, with Commission to have a particular Eye and Regard over the Prisoners, who, with the first taken with *Hernando Pizarro*, and those with *Afonso de Alvarado*, did amount in all to the number of one hundred and fifty which were committed unto two several Prisons, as we have already declared.

But in regard that *Almagro* durst not trust *Hernando Pizarro* in Prison, lest he should make his Escape, he took him with himself, and marched by way of the Plains; and having passed the Territories belonging to *Cusco*, he entered into the Jurisdiction of *los Reyes*, and came to the Valley of *Chincha*, which is not much more than twenty Leagues distant from that City, where, in token of Liberty and Selfin, he founded a new Colony, giving thereby a clear Evidence of his Intentions, to become Master of both Governments. And here for a while he pitched his Camp, to see how the Marquis would take this Attempt; giving him thereby to understand, That in case he should be displeased with these his Proceedings, that he was there ready to defend him, and there expected him in the Field, to decide the Controversie like a Souldier, and a valiant Captain.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXV.

The Marquis nominates Captains for the War. Gonzalo Pizarro makes his Escape out of Prison. The Sentence given by the Umpires concerning the Government. The Interview between the two Governours: And the Liberty of Hernando Pizarro.

SOON as the Marquis was returned to the City of *los Reyes*, he began his Preparations for a War against *Almagro*, his Drums were beat up for new Leavies and Advices were dispatched along the Coast of all matters which had passed: Upon which the people flocked together in such numbers, that having increased his Army very considerably, he gave out his Commissions to Captains and other Officers. *Pedro de Valdivia*, and *Antonio de Villalpa*, were ordained Major-Generals; the Son of *Colonel Villalpa* was made Sergeant-Major: *Perez de Arce*, *Diego de Rojas*, and *Alonso de Mercadilla*, were appointed Captains of Horse; *Diego de Urbino*, Native of *Sevilla*, the Kinsman of *John de Urbino* was made Captain of Lancers; *Nunzio de Castro*, and *Pedro de Vergara*, who had been a Soldier in *Florida*, and brought with him from thence into the Indies, a company of *Musqueteers*, with Ammunition, and necessaries agreeable thereunto, were confirmed by Commission for Officers of this *Armada*. These Commanders mustered eight hundred choise Soldiers, six hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, with which Force the Marquis marched out of *los Reyes* to fight *Almagro*. Whilst matters succeeded, as we have related, between the Marquis, and *Almagro*, the Prisoners which remained in *Cusco*, were contriving the manner how to obtain their desired Liberty; and in regard that the nature of civil Wars is such, as that Mens Minds are easily corrupted and seduced to the contrary Fashion; so on this occasion these wanted not Men, who, upon promise of Reward, were persuaded to sell the Loyalty and Faith which they had sworn to *Almagro*, and his Deputy *Graviel de Rojas*; the price whereof was not paid in hand, but on the bare Promise of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and *Alonso de Alvarado* with about fifty or sixty more, who were then Prisoners in the *Casana*; the Persons who were privy to this escape, were about forty in number, and were the Guards of the Prison; who having licence to go in and out to the Prisoners, as occasion served; they left them instruments to file off their Chains and Arms for their Defence; and having other Soldiers with them in the Plot, they provided them with Horses, and other necessaries, for their Flight: The Prisoners, and their Complices, being in readiness to make their escape with the silence of the night, it happened, that some time before the matter was to be put in Execution, that *Graviel de Rojas*, as was his Custome, every night came to visit the Prisoners, where having opened the Doors, he found the Prisoners loose, and at Liberty, and he himself taken; for being encompassed by them all, they told him plainly, that either he must resolve to go with them, or dye upon the place. *Graviel de Rojas* seeing himself thus unexpectedly surpris'd, and not being in any Capacity to make a Resistance, consented to what they required, and so in company with about an hundred more, he was forced with those who had taken him Prisoner, together with those who revolted, to the party of *Francisco Pizarro*, having free passage by way of the Mountains, for *Almagro*, with his Forces, was quartered in the Plains by the Sea-coast.

Some

Some have maliciously reported, that *Graviel de Rojas* was joined in the same Conspiracy with the others, but that was a false Surmise; for had he been really in that Plot, he would not have left near an hundred Prisoners in the Fortrefs, many of which were in the number of the first Conquerours, such as *Francisco de Villafuerte*, *Alonso de Masqueta*, *Mancio Serra de Leguicamo*, *Diego de Maldonado*, *Juho de Hojeda*, *Tomas Vasquez*, *Diego de Truxillo*, and *John de Pancorvo*, with whom I had acquaintance, and were Persons of great Interest and Estates amongst the Indians in *Cusco*: Besides which, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Gomez de Tordoya*, and *Peralvarez Holguin*, remained Prisoners; all which to have taken with them, would have been much to the benefit of the Conspirators: But this was the truth of the Matter: The Marquis, when he saw his Brother, and his other Friends, rejoiced exceedingly, for he greatly feared, that by the Malice and Rage of his Enemies they had been put to death; and his people were greatly encouraged by these additional Forces. *Gonzalo Pizarro* was made General of the Foot, and *Alonso de Alvarado* of the Horse; and so well was *Gonzalo Pizarro* beloved even by his Enemies, that many quitted their Horses to serve on Foot, onely to have the Honour to be one of his Soldiers.

Almagro having received intelligence of the great Force which was with the Marquis, and that those whom he held in Custody, had made their Escapes, and that his Deputy Governour was a Prisoner, he feared that the course of his good Fortune was changed; and repenting now that he had not accepted the Propositions which were offered him, he resolved to enter into a Treaty; and to that end he dispatched three Gentlemen to *Pizarro*, namely, *Alonso Enriquez*, *Diego Nunnez de Mercadilla*, Adjutant, and *John de Guzman*, Auditor, both which were Officers of His Majesties Revenue, giving them full Power and Authority, to treat and conclude all Matters without Passion, in such manner as should be just and reasonable. *Pizarro* received them with all the kindness and respect imaginable; but being entred into a treaty such differences arose in the points between them, that nothing was concluded: wherefore to put an end thereunto, the controversy was referred to the Umpirage, and Award of *Frier Francis de Bobadilla*, Provincial in those parts of the Order of the Merceds, a Person of that Probity, Conscience and good Understanding, that both Parties by mutual Consent agreed to rest satisfied with his Determination: but in this particular Authors disagree; for *Carate* makes mention of this Friar, and of no other; but *Gomara* reports that the Person nominated by *Almagro* was *Frier Francisco Eufanio*; but whether the Arbitrators were two, or one, it matters not much; for both Historians agree in the material Points, and almost in the same Words, which, according to *Carate*, in the eighth Chapter of his third Book, are these.

"*Frier Francisco* being deputed Umpire, by the consent of both Parties, did "by virtue of that Authority, determine, That in the first place *Hernando Pizarro* should be set at Liberty, and that the Marquis, according to the primary Agreement, should be invested in the possession of the City of *Cusco*; That both Armies should be disbanded, and the several Detachments thereof should be made, and sent for the Discovery of other Parts; and that information should be given to His Majesty of all these particulars, that so he might determine and ordain according to his own gracious Pleasure. And farther, for the better Confirmation of these Articles, he determined, That an Interview should be had between the Marquis and *Almagro*, in the Country called *Malla*, which was the middle place between the two Armies; and that neither party should appear with more than twelve Horse on a side. And in regard that *Gonzalo Pizarro* did not much confide in the Promises of *Almagro*, not trust much to the Truce that was made, he speedily followed the Marquis with all his Soldiers, and posted himself privately near the people of *Malla*, and lined a certain Wood, or Thicket, through which *Almagro* was to pass, with about forty *Musqueteers*, resolving, that in case more Soldiers were brought than were agreed, that then they should fire upon them, and upon that signal he would come in to their assistance.

Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, not mentioning farther of *Almagro*, of whom *Gomara* reports in the 140th Chapter, as followeth.

E e e e

Almagro

"*Almagro* when he saw *Pizarro* declared, that he was greatly rejoiced to see him, though he could not but much complain of the Severity and hardness of the Sentence. When he went in Company of his twelve Friends, to meet *Pizarro*, he recommended unto *Rodrigo Orgomus* his General to be near at hand with his Army in a readines, in case *Pizarro* should attempt any thing contrary to Agreement, and that he should be sure to kill *Hernando Pizarro*, whom he had left purposely in his Power, in case he should make any Resentment. *Pizarro* came to the place appointed with his twelve Companions, and in the Arrere was all his Camp, with *Gonzalo Pizarro*; but whether this was done by the appointment of the Marquis, is doubtful: Howsoever it is most certain, that *Gonzalo* posted himself near to *Malla*, and commanded Captain *Nunnez de Castro* to place an Ambuscade of forty Musquetiers in the Woods, by which *Almagro* was to pass. It happened that *Pizarro* came first to *Malla*, where meeting afterwards with *Almagro*, they embraced with great Joy, and began to discourse of indifferent matters; but before they had entred upon business, one came hastily, and told *Almagro*, in hearing of the Company, that he should speedily be gone, for that he remained there in danger of his Life; whereupon without delay he mounted on Horseback, and without speaking one Word more, or Treaty of Business, he returned: When he discovered the Ambuscade, he could not but believe his Eyes, and made grievous Complaints of *Pizarro*, and of the Friars, and of all that Party, terming them as so many *Pilates* for the Injustice of their Sentence. Though *Pizarro* was persuaded to have seized him, he refused so to doe, saying, That he had committed himself to him under his Parole of Honour, and disowned to have given Order to his Brother to lay that Ambush, or to have suborned the Friars.

And herewith *Gomara* concludes this Chapter; and so much *Carate* confirms of this Interview, which proved to little benefit, and served to increase the Hatred and Indignation of both Parties; howsoever in fine, a true Understanding was made of this matter between *Almagro* and *Pizarro*, without any Prejudice or Passion, and all things were so well pacified and accommodated by the Endeavours of *Diego de Alvarado*, that *Hernando Pizarro* was set at Liberty: And it was farther agreed, That for sending Writings and Informations into *Spain* about the whole Matter, the Marquis should grant unto *Almagro* the freedom of a Port, and the convenience of a Ship, for carrying his Dispatches, because he had neither one nor other within his Jurisdiction; and in the mean time, that neither side should enterprize, or attempt any thing against the other, untill new Orders and Commands were come from the Emperour. So *Almagro*, upon Bail, and Security given him by *Alvarado*, gave *Hernando Pizarro* his Liberty, though much against the Will and Advice of *Orgomus*, who, being well acquainted with the malicious and angry humour of *Hernando Pizarro*, very much persuaded the contrary; and indeed when *Almagro* himself considered his Error, he would have detained him, but it was then too late; for it was commonly discoursed, that this turbulent Man would cause new Commotions; and indeed they were much in the right; for no sooner was he set at Liberty, but a Breach ensued. Nor was *Pizarro* himself very fair, or clear in the performance of his Agreement; for when a new Patent was come from the Emperour, wherein, by a certain Clause, it was required, that both Parties should remain in possession of what they were already seized, and though one had gotten and intruded himself into the Lands of the other; yet notwithstanding for quietness sake, that matters should continue in the same Posture. Howsoever *Pizarro* having his Brother about him, and his chief Counsellour, required *Almagro*, in virtue of this new Patent, to quit the Countrey, which he himself had peopled and discovered. *Almagro* having read and considered that Clause, answered, That he was ready to obey the Emperour's Command, and Royal Signature, according unto which, he was to keep Possession of *Cusco*, and of other places, whereof he was now the Master, and according therunto he desired that he might receive no farther Disturbance and Molestation in his Enjoyment.

Hereunto

Hereunto *Pizarro* replied, that the Emperour's meaning was, that every one should enjoy that whereof he was peaceably possessed, and not that which was taken by force of Arms, under which the Government of the new Kingdom of *Tolledo* would fall; and therefore he required him immediately to quit and abandon *Cusco*, and other parts in dispute, or otherwise, that he would chafe him from thence by force of Arms; for since the arrival of the Emperour's late Determination, the Engagements and Securities he had given of Truce, did all cease and expire. But *Almagro* remaining firm and positive in his first Resolutions, *Pizarro* marched with all his Army to *Chincha*, of which his Commanders were such, as before related, and his chief Counsellour was *Hernando*, his pretence at first being onely to dispossess his Enemies of *Chincha*, to which he had a clear and an undoubted Title.

Almagro fearing the force of his Enemies, and not willing to engage with them, retreated towards *Cosco*, and left they should pursue him too close in the Rere, he cut the Bridges, and obstructed the ways, and fortified himself in *Guitara*, a craggy and mountainous Countrey. *Pizarro* marched close after him, and having a better, and a more numerous Army, *Hernando Pizarro*, by the benefit of the night, climbed the mountain with his Musquetiers, and gained the Pass. *Almagro* by these means being in a bad condition, marched away with all speed possible, leaving *Orgomus* to bring up the Rere, and to retreat as orderly as he could, without fighting, the which he performed accordingly, though, as *Christopher de Sotelo*, and others, report, he had better have given Battel to the *Picarrists*, who were, as it were, sea-sick, being trouble with a kind of vomiting. For it was very ordinary for the *Spaniards*, when at first they came out of the warm, or rather, hot Plains, and ascended to the tops of the snowy Mountains, to be taken with a kind of dizziness in the Head, and sickness in their Stomachs, as if they were Sea-sick, such change there is, and alteration of Air, in so short a distance of place. In fine, *Almagro* having joined all his Force into one Body, marched directly for *Cosco*, brake all the Bridges behind him, caused Armour to be made of Silver and Copper, with Musquets, and other Fire-arms; provided the City with Victuals, and repaired the outworks, and old Fortifications, &c.

Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, which are confirmed by *Carate*, though with more brevity. And because these Authours to avoid tediousness are so short in the relation of these particulars, that they become obscure, we shall in the following Chapter serve the Reader with a Comment, and enlarge thereupon as the matter requires.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVI.

*A farther Narrative of what hath been formerly mentioned;
and how Hernando Pizarro marched against Don Diego
de Almagro.*

AS we have formerly said, *Diego de Alvarado* was very much a Gentleman, and a Person of great Sense and Moderation; and indeed he shewed himself so to be, in all his Negotiations of things which we have already related, of what we are now treating, and of what remain for our future Discourse; and had not the Passions of the Governours exceeded all the Bounds of Reason, he had by his Wisdom and Discretion produced a true and a right understanding between them. For when he observed, that the Sentence given by the Friars, did rather serve to enflame than appease the Differences, he vigorously interposed, and frequently passing from one to the other, he at length produced a good Understanding and Peace between them; for it was by his Intercession, that *Almagro* gave *Hernando Pizarro* his Liberty; and that the Marquis yielded to afford a Ship, and a free Pass-port to *Almagro's* Messenger, which was sent into *Spain*: And to the end that this Peace might be established for ever, he caused all three of them to swear unto the maintenance of the Articles, and to oblige them the more firmly thereunto, he himself would become Guaranty to both Parties; supposing, that out of respect to him, and in observance of their Oaths, as Christians, and of their Paroles, as Gentlemen, they would never violate what they had so solemnly protested. Wherefore *Gomara* saith, that the Peace was made at the Instance and Intercession of *Diego de Alvarado*, who moreover became Caution and Guaranty for the same. But *Orgomus* was he who declared himself against the setting of *Hernando* at Liberty; and when he saw that *Almagro* was resolved to doe it, *Sir*, said he, (as if he had presaged his Ruine) you may loose the Bull if you please, and then, you shall find, that he will attack, and kill you, without respect to his Word or Oath.

As to what *Gomara* relates of the Souldiers of *Pizarro*, that they were like Men, that were Seafick, we must understand, that those who are fresh Men or lately come out of *Spain*, (in the Language of *Barlovento* are called *Chapetones*;) and those who are inured to the Countrey are termed *Baquianos*;) these, I say, after they have resided some time in the Plain, which are by the Sea-coast, and come to the Mountains, are presently seized with a Sicknes, like those at Sea, and according to the different Complexions and Constitutions of Men, it is much worse; for at first they will remain a day or two without eating or drinking, and not able to stand on their Legs, but continually vomit whatsoever they have in their Stomaches; and besides, the brightness of the Snow so dazes their Eyes, that for two or three days they become perfectly blind, though afterwards they recover their sight again. The Reason hereof they attribute to the sudden change of Air from one Extreme to the other, that is, from the hot Plains, to the cold *Cordillera*, or the snowy tops of the Mountains, for it is not above six hours travel from one Region to the other; and it is farther observable, that those who defend from the Mountain into the Plains, are not affected with this Alteration.

Acosta, in his Treatise concerning this Mountain-sicknes, describes the Causes and Effects of it much at large in the third Book of his Natural History of the *Indies*, unto which I refer the Reader. Matters being in this posture, had the Counsel which *Christopher de Sotelo*, and others, gave to *Orgomus*, been followed, which was to have slain upon the Enemy in that condition, when they were weak and sick, they might, without much resistance, have been defeated; which *Carate* confirms in these Words.

Rodrigo

"*Rodrigo Orgomus* having no Orders from the Governour to engage, lost his advantage; which if he had done, it is probable he might have had success; for the Army of *Pizarro* was so weakened with the Snows, besides other inconveniencies of the Mountains, that they were in no condition to make resistance: Wherefore the Marquis hastned into the Plains, and *Almagro* unto *Cosco*, &c., Thus far *Carate*.

Almagro in the instructions given to his General, ordered him not to fight, but upon constraint; for these two Governours had always inclinations to agree, and not drive matters to the extremity of a breach, as may be observed ever since their meeting at *Cosco*, before *Almagro* departed for *Chili*, when between themselves all the flames of difference were extinguished: the like passed at *Malla*, where, as both the Historians agree, they cheerfully embraced each other with all the kindness and affection imaginable, and discoursed of indifferent matters with pleasure and delight: And this good correspondence continued, untill wicked Incendiaries interposed, who representing every action with an evil face, incited and precipitated them to such destructive resolutions, as were afterwards fatal and ruinous to them both: Nor did these pernicious Counsellours reap any benefit thereby unto themselves, but being involved in the same calamities, were enflamed (as is usual) in their own devices. But to proceed, *Carate* in the 11th Chapter of his third Book, hath these Words:

"The Marquis remaining with his whole Army in the Plains, just upon the turn of the Mountain; he found that there was a great diversity of opinions amongst his Officers, concerning the manner and way that they were to proceed; at length it was resolved, That *Hernando Pizarro*, in quality of Lieutenant-General, should march with the Army unto *Cosco*, and that his Brother *Gonzalo* should be Commander in Chief; and that being arrived there, he should declare, that his intention and design of that Expedition was in compliance with Justice, to restore those Citizens to their Estates and Commands over the *Indians*, who had been deprived and banished from thence by the force and usurpation of *Almagro*. In this manner the Army proceeding on their march towards *Cosco*, and the Marquis returning to the City of *los Reyes*; *Hernando Pizarro* came at length near to *Cosco*, where the Officers advised, as most convenient, to pitch their Camp in the Plains for that Night; but *Hernando* was of a contrary opinion, and would Quarter within the Mountain: So soon as it was Day, *Orgomus* appeared in the Field with the Forces of *Almagro* drawn up in *Batalia*: His Captains of Horse were *Francis de Chaves*, *John Tello*, *Vincent de Guevara*, (or rather *Vasco de Guevara*) and *Francis de Chaves* was elder Brother to another of the same name, who was an intimate and familiar friend to the Marquis. On the side of the Mountain some Spaniards were drawn up, with a great number of *Indians*, who at that time served for Auxiliaries: All the Friends and Servants of the Marquis, who were Prisoners at *Cosco*, were crowded into two Angles of the Fortresses, which being a Prison so trait, as could not contain the number of the people, some of them were pressed and crowded to death in the place.

"The next Day in the Morning, after Mass, *Gonzalo Pizarro*, with his Army, descended into the Plain, where they disposed their Troops into several Battalions, and in that order marched towards the City, intending to draw up his Men upon a Hill, which over-topped the Castle; upon supposition, that *Almagro* discovering his force, would scarce adventure to give him Battle; which he desired to avoid, knowing how much depended on the success thereof; but *Rodrigo Orgomus* having no such thoughts, attended his coming in the open way with his Army and Artillery, &c.

Thus far are the Words of *Carate*, which are confirmed by *Lopez de Gomara*: To which we shall add some things which these Authours have omitted, and are worthy to be remembered, and may serve for the more clear understanding of this History. And as to the first, which was the place where the Battle was fought, we say it was an error of those who relate it to have been on the Hill, which over-looks the Fortresses: For certainly the Engagement was in that Plain which

the

the *Indians* call *Cachipampa*, which signifies the Field of Salt, and is situate about a League distant to the Southward from the Fortrefs, near to a pleasant Fountain of saltish Water; of which the Inhabitants of the City, and parts adjacent, bringing the Streams into several Salt-pans, make great abundance of Salt: And these Works of Salt lying between the City, and the place where the Fight was, they called it the Battel of the *Salinas*.

Orgomnos drew up his Men into Battalia, with intention to dye with his Sword in his hand: And though the Enemy was much more strong than his Army, both in Men and Arms; yet having been a Souldier in *Italy*, where he had seen much service, and had vanquished in a single Combat a Cavalier, who was a famous Commander; he did not in the least droop in his courage, or shew any inconstancy, or fear of mind: And being a stout Souldier, he something resented, and was heartily piqued at a Message which *Hernando Pizarro* had sent him two Days before, because it appeared something like a challenge; being to give him notice, that he, and a certain Companion, would enter the Battel on Horse-back, armed with Coats of Male, over which they would wear a flashed Coat of Orange-coloured Velvet; of which he thought fit to give him notice, that in case he, or any other, had an intention to engage with him, he might distinguish him by those Signals.

This Message *Hernando* was induced to send on the score of some Indignities, which he remembered and resented ever since the time of his Imprisonment. *Orgomnos* taking this for a challenge, called Captain *Pedro de Lerma* to him, whom he knew to be an Enemy to the *Pizarros*, and one who ever since the business at *Amancay*, had excluded himself from all possibility of reconciliation with them; and told him, saying, *Our Enemy is so confident of his Force, that he already triumphs for his Victory, giving us the signs by which we may know his Person.*

Now in regard our Army is inferior to his in Number, though superior in Courage and Bravery, so that we have little hopes to subdue him; howsoever, let us at least ravish the enjoyment of Victory out of his hands, nor suffer him, whatsoever comes of it, to see that joyfull day: They are, as they say, two Companions, so and so habited: Let you and I Encounter them with such resolution, as that they may be slain by our hands; so shall we wipe off this affront, and not dye unrevenged. With this resolution they prepared themselves for the Battel, which shortly ensued with great effusion of blood and cruelty, as will appear in the Chapters following.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the bloody Battel of the Salinas.

Rodrigo Orgomnos, to perform the part of a good Souldier, put his Forces the next Morning, very early, into order of Battel, his Infantry he reduced to one Battalion, supported on each Wing by his Harquebusiers, which were few in number, and much less than those on the contrary side, which was the cause that he lost the day. The Captains of the Foot were *Christopher de Sotelo*, *Hernando de Alvarado*, *John de Moscoso*, and *Diego de Salinas*. The Horse were divided into two thirds by *Francis de Chaves*, and *Ruy Diaz*. *Orgomnos* being Commander in Chief, did not oblige himself to any particular rank, being to be present, and assisting at every action of the Field, and designed with his companion *Pedro de Lerma* to seek for *Hernando de Pizarro*, and fight with him. His Artillery he planted on one side of the Squadrons, where it might most annoy the Enemy: before them was a stream of Water, which ran through all those Plains, and a Moorish fort of plashy ground, which made the Access of the Enemy to them to be something difficult.

On the other side *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was Major-General, and *Antonio de Camargo* Sergeant-Major, disposed their Forces in the same order, as might answer that of *Rodrigo Orgomnos*. Their Battalion of Foot was flanked on each Wing with good numbers of Harquebusiers, who were those that did the work, and gained the Victory of that day: Their Horse were drawn up into two Squadrons, of a hundred in each, against those of *Orgomnos*. *Hernando Pizarro*, with his Companion *Francisco de Barabona*, were in the Front of one of the Squadrons of Horse, and *Alonso de Alvarado* at the Head of the other; and *Gonzalo Pizarro* as General of the Infantry resolved to fight on Foot. In which order marching against the *Almagrians*, they resolutely passed both the stream of Water and the Moor, without any opposition of the Enemy; for they had given them first such a Volley of small shot, as had very much disordered them, and put them into that confusion, that they might easily be routed; for both Horse and Foot retreated from their ground to avoid the shot of the Harquebusiers; which when *Orgomnos* observed, he doubted much of the Victory, and gave order for the Artillery to play upon them; which succeeded so well, that one shot carried off a whole rank of five Men at once; which so dismayed the Enemy, that had four or five in the like manner followed, they might have defeated that whole Squadron. But *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Major-General *Valdivia* appearing in the Front, forced the Souldiers forwards, and commanded them to charge the Enemy's Pikes with their Copper shot; for as the Souldiers of *Almagro* were more numerous in their Pikes, so those of *Pizarro* availed themselves most of their Harquebusiers, and aimed much to defeat their Pikes, that their Horse might afterwards charge them with less danger. And so accordingly it succeeded, for as *Carate* and *Gomara* relate, fifty of their Pikes were broken with two Volleys of shot.

The Copper Bullets (for information of those who have never seen them) are cast in a common Mould like others: They take a third or a fourth part of Iron-wire, and at each end of this Wire they make a little hook for a link, and put the end of the two Hooks into the middle of the Mould: Then to divide the Mould into two parts, they separate it with leaf of Copper or Iron as thin as Paper; then they pour in the melted Lead, which incorporates it self with the links of Iron, and divides the Bullet in two parts, fastned with the Iron links. Then when they run them into the Gun, they joyn them like one Bullet; and when they are shot out, they spread themselves to the length of the Chain, and cut all before them. By these means, as the Historians say, they did great execution upon the Pikes, for without this invention they could never have done half this mischief. Howsoever, they did not aim at the Pikemen themselves, but at their Pikes, that they might shew what they were able to do, and what advantage they had over them in their Arms.

This

This invention of Chain-bullets was brought from *Flanders* to *Peru* by *Pedro de Vergara*, with the Guns which were made for them. I remember to have seen some of them in my own Country; and in *Spain* I have seen them, and made them; and there I was acquainted with a Gentleman called *Alonso de Loayza*, a Native of *Truxillo*, who was wounded in that Battel, having his lower jaw, with his teeth and gums, carried away with one of those Bullets; he was the Father of *Francisco Loayza*, who lives this day at *Cusco*, and is one of those few Sons of the Conquerours which remain and enjoy the inheritance and portion divided to their Fathers: and according to this form, I have seen others like these made for Cannon.

But to return to our Story of the Battel. *Rodrigo de Orgonno*, and his Comrade *Pedro de Lerma*, observing the great execution which the Harquebusers made upon their people, charged the Squadron of Horse, commanded by *Hernando Pizarro*, hoping to find, and kill him, which was the ultimate end of their expectation; for they perceived that the Victory began to incline to the side of their Enemies; and setting themselves just in the Front of *Hernando*, and his Companion, whom they distinguished, and knew by their Coats of Incarnation-Velvet, they charged them with great bravery and resolution. *Orgonno*, who carried his Lance in its Rest full-but against *Francisco de Barabona*, happened to direct it right upon * the Beaver which covered his face; which being made of a mixture, between Silver and Copper, opened with the blow, and gave passage to the Lance which ran into his head; with which falling to the ground, *Orgonno* proceeded forward, and ran another with his Lance into the breast; and then laying his hand to his Sword, he had performed Miracles in his own Person; but that an unlucky Chain, or Partridge-shot, from the Harquebusers, strook him in the forehead, with which he lost both his sight and force. *Pedro de Lerma*, and *Hernando Pizarro*, encountered each other with their Lances; but being mounted on Gennets, they fixed them not in the Rests, but in another manner; which was this: At that time, and long after, during all the time of the Civil Wars, the *Spaniards* made certain Cases, or Holsters of Leather, which were fastned to the bow of the Saddle, and reached to the neck of the Horse; and then putting the end of the Lance into the Holster, they brought it under the Arme like a Rest. In this manner passed many brave Combats between the *Spaniards* in *Peru*; for the Encounters, or Juffs, were with all the force both of Man and Horse; but all this needed not against the *Indians*, whose Skins were pierced with a more easie stroke of the Arme. We have judged fit to give this account of the offensive and defensive Arms of my Countrey, for the better understanding of what is hereafter to be treated. But to return unto the Combat between *Hernando Pizarro*, and *Pedro de Lerma*, it happened in this manner: The Lances of both the Duellists being very long, and therefore more pliant, or not so stiff as they desired, both of them aimed low at each other; so that *Hernando Pizarro* forely wounded his Enemy in the thigh, piercing the Coat of Male which covered it. *Pedro de Lerma* wounded *Pizarro*'s Horse in the Forehead, which razed the skin, and with the sharp point of the Lance cut the head-stall of the Horse; and then making a second charge, he happened to bear upon the pommel of the Saddle with such force, that though it were made for War, yet it broke and gave way to the Lance, which passing forward, pierced the Coat of Male, and wounded *Pizarro* in the belly, though not mortally; for the Horse being over-born, fell backwards to the ground; by which means yielding to the force of the stroke, he saved his life, which otherwise had been in great danger; for had the Lance found full resistance, it had passed quite thorow his Entrails.

On this occasion both our Historians having just cause to applaud the Prowess and Valour of *Orgonno*, do almost use the same words. *Augustine Carate* in the *Encomium* which he gives of him, saith as follows:

" In this Fight *Rodrigo Orgonno* was wounded with a Chain-shot in the forehead, which passed the Beaver of his Head-piece: and yet after this wound he killed two Men with his Lance; and with his Rapier he ran another into the mouth, who was a Servant to *Hernando Pizarro*, mistaking him for the Master, by reason of his good Habit. Thus far *Carate*.

And

And here it is to be noted, that he who sent a Narrative of this Battel into *Spain*, must have been an Enemy to *Pizarro*, because the Relation he gave thereof was to the prejudice of that party; for he reports, that *Hernando Pizarro* had clothed a Servant of his with the same Habit which he pretended to wear on the day of Battel, that so those who fought for him, might reek their fury on his Servant, and suffer him to escape; which if it had been true, he might have deserved the disgrace and character of Coward: But though this Story was absolutely false, yet it so far prevailed in *Spain*, and over all *Peru*, that the Royal Council of the *Indies* to be truly informed of the matter, sent for a famous Souldier, who was present at the Battel on *Almagro*'s side, called *Silvestre Gonzalez*; and amongst other things demanded of him, they asked, Whether in *Peru* *Hernando Pizarro* was esteemed for a Coward? In reply unto which, though the Souldier was of the adverse party, yet he averred all that which was reported of *Hernando Pizarro*, touching the Combat which he and his Companions fought, and related it in the same manner as we have done; adding, that such was the common fame and report concerning the particulars of that Battel. This passed at *Madrid* towards the latter years of the Imprisonment of *Hernando Pizarro*, which were twenty three in all; and this Souldier himself acquainted me with what he had declared to the King's Council of the *Indies*: But that which gave the first colour to this scandalous report, was (as he said) the term of Servant, which we call a Companion; for it was said, that he was richly clothed; and so it was true, for he was habited exactly like *Pizarro*, wearing a Coat of Incarnation-coloured Velvet, which was very much flatted: Thus far was very true, but then that wherein the mistake lay, was, that this Person was a Servant, and not a Companion.

But to proceed: When the Souldiers of *Hernando Pizarro* saw their Commander on the ground, they believed that he was killed; and then presently the Armies began to engage, and fought with such bravery, that a great slaughter ensued on both sides; for they killed and wounded each other with extreme fury and despair, forgetting that they were of the same Nation and Religion, or Brothers and Companions in Arms; and that they had entered into Articles of Agreement and Brotherhood for the Conquest of that Empire. The Victory continued for a much longer time doubtfull than was believed; for though the *Almagrians* were much inferior in their Numbers, yet the others being equal in their Courage and Art of War, made great resistance; but the advantage which the other party had by their Harquebuses was so great, that with the loss of many lives they at last yielded; and after most of them were killed and wounded, the rest were put to flight; when in the pursuit the cruelty and slaughter was greater than in the Battel, not pardoning those who were already conquered, and had yielded to their force; as *Carate* and *Gomara* do both avouch, one in the 11th Chapter of the third Book, and the other in the Chap. 141. the Words of which are these which follow.

F f f f

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Of the fatal Consequences which ensued after the Battel of Salinas.

“THE Armies of *Almagro*, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, joyned Battel, and both sides, like *Spaniards*, fought with much Bravery; but at length the *Pizarrists* prevailed, who made use of their Victory with much cruelty and severity, which, in excuse, they attribute to the revenge they designed, for the defection which was made from *Alvarado* at the bridge of *Amancay*, *Orgonno* having yielded himself Prisoner unto two Cavaliers, another came and fell upon him, and killed him: When Captain *Roydiaz* was taken, and quarter given him, one came behind and passed his body thorough with his Lance; in the same manner many others were killed, after they had thrown away their Arms, and Quarter given them. *Samaniego* stabbed *Pedro de Lerma* by night in his bed. Many died fighting, with their Swords in their hands, of which the Captains were *McCoso*, *Salinas*, and *Hernando de Alvarado*, besides such a number of *Spaniards*, that had the *Indians* (as was talked) fallen upon those few that remained, they might easily have become Masters of them all: But they were so buſie, and taken up in stripping the dead, whom they left naked; and in plundering the Tents and Baggage, which were not guarded, for every one was employed in the pursuit, that they had no leisure to think of this advantage. *Almagro*, by reason of his indisposition of health, did not engage personally in the Battel, but stood on the side of a Hill to behold the success; which when he perceived to have been fatal to himself, he fled to the Fortrels of *Cocca*; where being pursued and taken by *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and *Alonso de Alvarado*, they cast him into the same Prison, wherein they themselves had been detained, and held by him. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, with which he concludes that Chapter.

Amongst the many remarkable passages which happened that day, of which some are omitted by this Author; we shall add others not unworthy to be noted. One whereof is this; A certain Cavalier carrying behind him on his Horse, *Hernando de Sotelo* (who was Kinsman of *Christopher Sotelo*) for his Prisoner, to whom he had given Quarter, there came a Souldier, and shot him with his Carbine through the back, the Bullet wounding, though not mortally, the person which rid before him. This, they say, was done in revenge, for that counsel which his Kinsman *Christopher de Sotelo* gave to *Orgonno*, advising him (as we have before mentioned) to attack the Forces of *Hernando Pizarro*, when they were sick, and giddy with the Air of the Mountains. Wherefore when one of the Souldiers cried out, *Here they bring Sotelo*; the Harquebuser thinking it to have been *Christopher Sotelo*, he shot him in the back, supposing thereby to have performed acceptable service, by killing a Man so generally hated. Many other cruelties were committed by the Conquerours after the Battel, unworthy the Dignity of the *Spanish* Nation; for more Men were slain in cold blood, than in the heat of the Fight.

Another piece of cruelty was the Death of *Pedro de Lerma*, which being in an extraordinary manner barbarous, is fit to be observed. *Lerma* (as we have said) being forced to quit the Field, both by reason of the wound he had received from *Hernando Pizarro*, and others, which were given him in the late Fight; he was carried to the Houſe of a certain Gentleman, who was a friend of his, called *Pedro de los Rios*, with whom I was acquainted when I was very young; he was of as noble, and as ancient a Family, as any was in *Cordova*, of which there are many in that Royal City.

A certain

A certain Souldier, named *John de Samaniego*, who had formerly been affronted by *Pedro de Lerma*, made enquiry after him, that he might take a revenge for the affront: Two days after the Battel he was informed that he lay wounded in the Houſe of *Pedro de los Rios*; and going thither with the insolence of a victorious Souldier, he found free entrance into the Houſe, for in this time of *Victory* there was none to oppose him; so that he went from Chamber to Chamber, until he came to a poor Bed on which *de Lerma* was laid; sitting thereupon, he began to discourse with much sobriety and phlegm:

“Senior *Pedro de Lerma*, said he, I am come in satisfaction to my Honour, to kill you, for a box o’th’ Ear which you once gave me. Sir, answered *Pedro de Lerma*, you may well remember, that you were the first Aggressor, and that by your insolencies you gave me just provocation. It can be little or no satisfaction to your Honour to kill a Man that is wounded, and dying in his bed. If God shall spare my life, I do here Vow, and engage my Faith to give you all the satisfaction you shall require either by word of mouth, or in writing, with all the formalities and circumstances which the Rules of Souldiers can require in reparation of Honour. No, Zounds, said *Samaniego*, I will not stay so long, but I will kill you presently, for my Honour requires it. I deny that, replied *Lerma*, for you must rather lose than gain Honour by killing a Man who is half dead already: but if I live, I will give you entire satisfaction.

These were the precise Words both of one and the other, which were repeated three or four times, the one threatening death, and the other promising satisfaction. At length when *Pedro de Lerma* imagined that his Adversary was contented with his promise, and with the satisfaction he had offered him according to the formalities and rules of a Souldier; *Samaniego* arose, and laying his hand upon his Dagger, gave him many stabs therewith until he died; afterwards going out into the Market-place, he boasted, how in satisfaction of his Honour he had stabbed Captain *Pedro de Lerma*: And farther to magnify the glory of his Exploit, he recounted word for word all the discourse which had passed between them, and how often the same words were repeated; with which he was troublesome to all that heard him, for he would admit of no other discourse wherefore he was, than only the vapours and boasts he made of this Action; in which impetuosity he continued, until his insolence effected his ruine; and that as he was author of his crime, so he brought the punishment of it on his own head. The manner whereof we shall relate in this place; for though it be out of the order of time; yet not to lose the opportunity of affecting the minds of the Readers with a detestation of the merciless bowels of this *Samaniego*, whose villany was abominated in all parts of *Peru*, it will be most seasonable to deliver a Narrative of it, as follows.

Five years after this villany was perpetrated, when the Kingdom was quiet, and in peace, and freed from the Disfentions between the *Pizarrists* and *Almagrians*: *John de Samaniego* was then an Inhabitant in *Puerto Viejo*, where, according to his usual practice, he still continued to magnify the glory of his Exploits, vapouring at every turn, that he had in satisfaction of his Honour killed a Captain with his Dagger, who had been Lieutenant-General of the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and that none durst ever question him for it, adding moreover many things of intolerable insolences. The Governour, who was chief Justiciary of this place, being tired out with the incessant repetition of these matters, gave *Samaniego* to understand by a certain friend of his: that it were better, and more agreeable to his Honour, to bury these matters in silence, than to make farther talk of them; for that since he had revenged the injury, he should remain contented, and enlarge no farther on that unpleasant subject. *Samaniego*, instead of taking this kind admonition in good part, was violently enraged; and going into the Market-place, espied the Governour with about fifteen or twenty *Spaniards*, (for there were very few more Inhabitants in that Town) and as they were discoursing pleasantly together, he accosted the company, and with an angry Look said,

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“Tis

" 'Tis well that there wants not those who are agrieved at the satisfaction which was given to my Honour, by the Death of *Pedro de Lerma*: Whosoever he is, let him speak clearly in publick, and not in secret and obscure Whispers; for by Heavens I am a Man who dare answer him, and give him as many stabs, as I did to *Pedro de Lerma*. The Governour knowing that he meant and aimed at him, presently made up to him, and taking hold of the Collar of his Doublet, cried out with a loud voice, *I seize you in the King's Name, and I charge you all to assist the Justice against a Traytor and a Murderer*. Whereupon all that were present took hold on *Samaniego*, and put him in Prison, for every one hated him, being tired with his insolences. Hereupon the Governour made Process against him by examination and testimony of four Witnesses: the substance whereof was this; That they had heard *Samaniego* say, that he had killed *Pedro de Lerma*, who was one of his Majesty's Captains, and who had performed great Service to the Crown in the late Conquest, having executed the Office of Lieutenant-General to *Marquis Pizarro*; and that he killed him not in the Battel, but as he lay wounded in his bed: Being accused upon this Indictment, he was found guilty, and condemned to dye; during the time of which Trial, the *Indians* having erected a Gallows for him, he was brought forth to punishment; and the *Indians* having in their own Language proclaimed his Crime, were the Executioners also to hang him up: which was a piece of Justice applauded by all who saw and heard of it.

But to return again to our History. The *Indians* did not execute the design they had agreed, which was to kill all the *Spaniards* after the Battel, which they imagined might have been done, after they were weakened by the common slaughter: For God, who intended by their means to propagate the Holy Gospel in those parts, prevented that intention by dissention amongst the *Indians* themselves; for that the *Indians*, who were the Menial and Domestick Servants of the *Spaniards*, being affected with a natural Loyalty to their Masters, would not consent to the Massacre of them, but rather judged themselves obliged to defend and fight for them; for the remembrance of what was encharged them by *Huayna Capac*, and *Manco Inca*, occurred still to their minds, by which they believed, that an obligation lay on them to serve and obey the *Spaniards*. Thus did the division between the *Indian* Servants, and the others, prevent the execution of their design; from which also little success could have been expected, considering that they had no Head, or General, to conduct them: And if they had had one, yet, as Histories say, the *Indians*, who were on the side of the Conquerours, would not have accorded with those who were vanquished.

This Battel happened on the 6th of *April* 1538, which being on a *Saturday*, which was the day after the Feast of *Lazarus*, the *Spaniards* conceived a particular devotion for that Saint; and in remembrance thereof, built and dedicated a Church to him in those Plains where this Battel was fought, and which was standing when I departed from thence. Within this Church the Bodies of all those who were slain, both of one side and the other, were interred: And though some allege, that the Battel happened on the 26th of *April*, I cannot but believe that it was an Error of the Printer, who instead of 6, put down 26. *Blas Valera* describing the Grandure of the City of *Cusco*, touches some particulars relating to this Battel, and says:

" That in those Plains there is a Church dedicated to *St. Lazarus*, where for a long time lay interred the Bodies of those who were slain in that Fight. Afterwards a *Spaniard*, who was one of the Conquerours, a Person both Noble and Religious, was accustomed to resort frequently thither to pray for the Souls of those who were interred in that place. And having continued this devotion for a long time, at length he happened to hear sighs and deep groans from the Vaults of the Church, and therewith appeared before him the Person of one of his friends, which had been there slain; but he said nothing more to him, than only to intreat him, that he would continue his visits to that Church frequently at certain Hours both by Day and Night. At first the *Spaniard* was possessed with great fear at the sight of this Apparition, but at length being accu-

" accustomed thereunto, and encouraged by Admonitions and Directions from Father *Andrew Lopez*, who was a Jesuit, and his Confessor, he continued his Devotions of Prayer not only for his friend, but for all those who were there buried, without any concernment or distraction of mind; exhorting likewise others to join with him both in their Prayers and Alms. And afterwards, by the advice and example of this Person, the *Mestizos*, who were the Sons of *Spaniards*, begotten on the Bodies of *Indian* Women, did in the year 1581, transport the Bones of their Fathers from that place to the City of *Cusco*, where they buried them in an Hospital, and caused many Masses, Alms, and other pious Works to be celebrated and performed for them; to which all the City concurring with a general Alacrity, from that time forward the Vision ceased to appear. Thus far are the Words of *Blas Valera*.

And now to complete the sum of all these Cruelties after this unhappy Battel, there remains nothing more to be related than only the Tragedy of *Don Diego de Almagro* himself; the consequence of which was the total destruction of both the Governours, with their Confidants and Abettours, in which calamity the common Welfare of *Peru* was involved. In which Relation both the Historians unanimously agree, that is to say, *Carate* in the 12th Chapter of his third Book, and *Gomara* in Chapter 142, have these Words, which are extracted verbatim in such manner as we have recited them in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Tragical Death of Don Diego de Almagro.

" THIS Victory being obtained, and *Almagro* taken, one side was enriched, and the other impoverished; which is the natural consequence of a Civil War, waged between Citizens and Relations in Blood and Consanguinity. *Fernando Pizarro* immediately took possession of *Cusco*, though not without much discontent and murmurings of the people, for though he shared the spoils amongst them, yet there not being sufficient to satisfy the expectations of every person, Murmurs were feared; to prevent which, the Soldiers were employed on new Conquests, and to make things more safe, the friends of *Almagro* were joyned to the others without distinction: And to take away farther cause, or occasion of Faction and Mutiny, *Don Diego de Almagro*, Junior, was sent a Prisoner to the City of *los Reyes*; as to *Almagro* himself, Process was made against him, and a report was published, that he, together with his Son, was to be sent Prisoner to *los Reyes*, and thence into *Spain*: But whereas it was commonly talked, that *Mesa* and others intended to rescue him on the way, which was a mere pretence to cloak the severity of their proceedings, they sentenced him to Death. The crimes laid to his charge, were, that he had entered *Cusco* by force of Arms; that he had caused the effusion of much *Spanish* Blood; that he had entered into a secret Treaty with *Manco Inca* against the *Spaniards*; that he had given and prescribed Limits for Government and Jurisdiction without licence from the Emperour; that he had broken all his Articles and Oaths; that contrary to the Peace of their Sovereign Lord the King he had fought two Battels, one at *Abancay*, and the other at *Salinas*; besides divers other Misdemeanours committed by him of lesser moment. *Almagro* grievously repented the severity of this sentence, and made such sad lamentations thereupon, as were sufficient to draw Tears from the most obdurate heart: And though

" though he made his Appeal to the Emperour, yet *Fernando* (notwithstanding the importunities of many persons, who earnestly urged him thereunto) refused to admit of his Appeal. All which not prevailing, *Almagro* himself implored his mercy, beseeching him to spare his life; in consideration, that when he himself was in his power, he had not put him to death, nor spilt the blood of his Friends or Relations. That he would remember how he had been an instrument to raise his dear Brother to that high pitch of honour and prosperity which he now enjoyed. That he would behold, and consider him for an old, decayed, and gouty Man; and therefore admit of his Appeal, that he might pass those few unhappy days which remained to him of life, within the dark solitudes of a Prison, there to lament and bewail his sins. *Fernando Pizarro* remained deaf and unmoved with all these pressing instances, which were sufficient to have mollified a heart of steel, saying, that he wondered much, that a Man of his Spirit and Courage should entertain such apprehensions of Death. To which he replied, That since Christ himself feared it, how much more might the frailty of his Nature be touched with the approach thereof: And lastly, he conjured him by the reverence due to his old Age, which, according to the course of Nature, could not long continue: *Almagro* was hardly brought to Confession, having still hopes of life; but at length he submitted, and having confessed to the Priest, he made his Will and Testament, making the King, and his Son *Don Diego*, his Heirs: Howsoever, he would not own the Sentence passed upon him, lest Execution should immediately follow: Nor would *Fernando Pizarro* allow the Appeal, both because he had received Commands from *Francisco Pizarro* to the contrary, and likewise because he believed that the Council of the *Indies* would revoke the Sentence. In fine, Execution was performed; and notwithstanding all the Applications made for him, he was strangled in the Prison, and afterwards publicly beheaded in the Market-place at *Cusco*, in the year 1538.

" The Death of *Almagro* was greatly lamented, but by none more (unless by his own Son) than by *Diego de Alvarado*, who was once security to *Almagro* for *Fernando Pizarro*, and procured his release and freedom out of Prison; and yet notwithstanding all that could in gratitude, and on the score of the like usage be pleaded for him, nothing would prevail. Wherefore *Alvarado* returned to *Spain* to impeach *Francisco Pizarro* and his Brothers, and to demand satisfaction from *Fernando* for breach of promise; but whilst he followed this Suit at *Valladolid*, where the Court then resided, he died, but without some suspicion of Poison, because he lay not sick above three or four days.

" *Diego de Almagro* was a Native of *Almagro*, it was never certainly known who was his Father, though some say he was a Priest. He had never learned letters, nor could he read; howsoever, he was an undertaking Man, diligent, and ambitious of Honour and Fame; he was free and liberal, yet not without Affectation of vain-glory, contriving to make the World witnesses of his generous Actions: His Souldiers loved him for the Presents and Largesses he gave them, otherwise he was hated for the hard treatment he frequently used towards them both in Words and corporal Punishments. He remitted the Debts of a hundred thousand Ducats, which his Souldiers owed him, tearing and cancelling the Obligations of those who were present with him in *Chili*; which was a piece of Liberality more becoming a Prince, than a Souldier; and yet when he was dead, there was not a Person that would bestow a Clout to cover his Wound. His Death seemed the more Tragical, and so much the more cruel, because he never would put any Man to death who had relation to *Francisco Pizarro*. He never was Married, howsoever he had a Son by an Indian Woman in *Panama*; he called him by his own Name, and gave him good Education; but his end was unhappy, as will appear hereafter.

Thus far *Gomara*; the which is confirmed (as we said before) by *Cervantes*.

And

And now on this occasion it is necessary we should say something for the better understanding of this whole matter: After the Victory, *Fernando Pizarro* laboured for his own security to drive his Enemies far from him, lest they should kill him; for after the Battel the Animosities which one side conceived against the other, were raised to such a degree of hatred, that they passed the terms of all reconciliation: For though *Fernando Pizarro* endeavoured to the utmost of his power to win the affections of the most principal Persons, yet so far was that rancour spread, and the malice so virulent, that Men publicly declared, that they wanted only an opportunity to revenge themselves.

On the other side, his friends, who found themselves disappointed of their vain hopes, began to fall off from him, taxing him with want of compliance, and breach of promise; for every one imagined mighty things, and flattered himself at least with the Command of a Province. And though, as *Gomara* saith, *Fernando* gave to every one something, for it was impossible to prefer every Man; contented, as the worst of his Enemies. Wherefore, as the only means to be freed from the insolences of those who complained, they were not sufficiently gratified, and from the Plots of those who were his professed Enemies, he amply following Chapter.

When *Almagro* was condemned to dye, his Estate was confiscated to the use of his Majesty. At first *Fernando* did not intend to put him to death, but only having made his Process to send him into *Spain*; but when he perceived that Plots Town was, that *Fernando* was more to blame than *Almagro*, taxing him to have been the great Incentive of all the discords and differences between the two Governors, which had never arose to that heat of passion, had not he blown them into a flame; saying farther, that on the score of his own private piques, and to do himself justice, he had deposed *Almagro* of his Government, who had expended more of his Estate, and had contributed more to the Conquest of that Country, than all those who belonged to *Pizarro*; which were matters of such high provocation, as were able to move the stones to rise up in judgment against them.

When *Hernando Pizarro* was certified of these matters, and was particularly informed, that one of his Captains called *Meza*, who Commanded the Artillery, was discontented for want of his Pay, (as we shall more at large declare hereafter) and therefore designed to set *Almagro* at liberty, he then resolved to put him to death, and to hasten his execution; supposing, that when he was once out of the way, all the passions for him would vanish, and all things return to a settled condition of peace and quietness: All which imaginations succeeded to the contrary, as will be proved by the sequel of this Story.

Gomara saith, That though diligent enquiry was made to know the Father of *Almagro*, yet it could never be discovered; and in confirmation hereof, *Cervantes* adds, that being an Infant he was laid at the Church-door: the which may very well be, and yet he not be a Bastard; for the Catholick Church presuming that such Foundlings are honestly and lawfully begotten, do own them capable of being admitted into Ecclesiastical Orders, and to the Degrees of a Prelate: And whereas *Gomara* alleges, that common report made him the Son of a Priest; it is very false, and a calumny raised by malicious and virulent tongues, which having cast this blemish on his Birth without any colour or appearance of truth. Those Sons, whose Fathers are not known, are ennobled by their own Merits and Vertue; especially being of that lustre, as were the great Actions of this General and Governour *Don Diego de Almagro*, which have legitimated his Birth, and added Nobility to his Family. To what end do Sons boast of the Achievements of their Ancestours, who blemish and obscure their great Actions by their own Vices? for Nobility is the Parent of Vertue, and is supported by it. So that we may truly say, that *Almagro* was the Son of Noble Parents, for his Actions declare him; and so great Exploits have always made the Princes

of this World rich and powerfull : the truth of which hath been proved at large by what hath preceded.

In fine therefore, (as we have said) this great Hero was strangled in Prison, which was sufficient to have made an end of him ; but to affect the minds of those who saw him with greater compassion and sorrow, his Body was brought forth into the Market-place, and his Throat cut there ; he had passed the Age of seventy five years, and his Health was so broken and infirm, that had they not hastened his Death, he could not have lived much longer. It is said, that his Enemisties, to shew their great abhorrence and detestation of him, had killed him twice. The Executioner in privilege of his Office, and as his Fees, stripped him of his Cloaths, and would also have taken his Shirt had it been suffered : And in this condition he lay exposed in the Market-place, the greatest part of the day, neither friend or enemy daring to dispose otherwise of his Corpse ; for his friends, who were vanquished, and in custody, could not do it ; and his enemies, though touched with some sense of grief and compassion, durst not adventure upon an Action which might administer occasion of publick scandal. Whence we may see the falleness of this World, and how ill it rewards the worthy Actions of deserving Men.

At length, towards the Evening, a poor Negro, who had been the Slave of the deceased, came and brought a course Sheet, which was his own, or which he had begged ; and with the help of some Indians, who had been the Servants of *Almagro*, they wrapped the Body therein, and carried it to be entered in the Church of the *Merced*, where the Friars, according to their accustomed Acts of Charity, buried it with many Tears in a Chapel which is under the High Altar.

Thus ended that Great *Don Diego de Almagro*, who hath left nothing more Memorable of his Life, than his great Actions ; and of his Death, than grief and lamentations for it : the which, as it was a fore-runner of the like fate of the Marquis *Pizarro*, so the manner of his Death was agreeable therunto, and may therewith be compared in all the circumstances thereof, as will appear by that which follows ; that so these two Companions, who had an equal share in the Conquest and Government of this great and rich Empire of *Peru*, may also be equalized in the manner of their Deaths.

C H A P.

C H A P. XL.

Who those Captains were that were employed on the New Conquests ; the Arrival of Hernando Pizarro in Spain, and his long Imprisonment there.

SOON as *Hernando Pizarro* had taken *Almagro* Prisoner, he immediately employed many of his Captains in new Conquests ; both that thereby he might free himself from their importunities, who were in expectation of great and mighty rewards for their services, and might also secure his own Person from suspicion and jealousies, which his Enemies were contriving and plotting against him. *Pedro de Valdivia* was sent Commander in Chief, with a considerable Force to the Conquest of *Chili*, which was begun, but left imperfect by *Almagro* ; the success of which, with his prosperous and unhappy fortune, we have formerly declared in the Life of *Inca Tupanqui* the tenth King of *Peru*. *Francisco de Villagra* (with whom I was acquainted) went in company with him, as did also *Alonso de Montroy*. Captain *Francisco de Olmos*, with whom went *Garcilasso de la Vega*, was sent to the Bay of *St. Matthew* : Of whose Conquests and Successes *Gomara* speaks in the 143d Chapter, as follows :

" *Gomez de Alvarado* was employed in the Conquest of the Province of *Guana-*
" *cu* : *Francisco de Chaves* was sent to suppress the *Conchucos*, who much infested
" the Inhabitants about *Trugillo*, and in their Army carried an Idol, to which they
" sacrificed the spoils of their Enemies, and the blood of Christians. *Pera de*
" *Vergara* marched against the *Bracamoros*, which is a Country, that to the North-
" ward joins to the Countrey of *Quitu* ; *Perez de Vergara* went to the *Chachapoyas*,
" and *Alonso de Mercadillo* to *Mullubamba* ; but *Pedro de Candia* went to the High-
" lands of *Collao*, into which, by reason of the difficulty and badness of the Coun-
" trey, he could make no great progress ; and besides, his people fell into a Mu-
" tiny, who were for the most part friends of *Almagro*, as was also *Mesa* Captain
" of the Artillery to *Pizarro* : For which reason *Fernando* went to them ; and ha-
" ving accused *Mesa* of Mutiny, and with Scandalous Words against the *Pizarros*,
" and with a Plot to have set *Almagro* at liberty, in case he had been carried to
" the Marquis at *los Reyes*, all which having been proved against him, he put him
" to Death. The three hundred Men which belonged to *Pedro de Candia* he gave
" to *Fernandez*, and sent him forward to the Conquest of that Countrey. In this
" manner all the Spaniards were employed, and in a very short time enlarged their
" Conquest, at least three hundred Leagues in length from East to West, though
" with the death and loss of Multitudes of people. *Fernando* and *Gonzalo Pizarro*
" subdued the *Collao*, which is a Countrey wherein Gold so much abounds, that
" they Waincoat the in-fides of their Chapels, and Chambers with Plates of
" Gold ; and therein is a sort of Sheep, which have some resemblance of a Ca-
" mel, and something of a Deer. Thus far *Gomara*, who farther on in the same
Chapter adds :

" *Fernando Pizarro*, saith he, returned to *Cuzco*, where he met with *Francisco Pi-*
" *carro*, whom he had not seen since the Imprisonment of *Almagro*. After they
" had entertained discourse for several Days, concerning the matters lately past,
" and what was farther to be done in order to the Government : It was determin-
" ed that *Fernando* should go into *Spain* to render a true information unto the Em-
" perour of all matters which had passed, and to carry with him the Fifths of all
" which belonged to his Majesty, with an account of the Revenue, as it was late-
" ly augmented. Many of his friends who knew the true state of matters, and
" how ill the Death of *Almagro* would be repented by the Emperour, dissuaded
" *Fernando*
G g g

"*Fernando* from this intention, especially since *Diego de Alvarado* was then residing at the Court, and ready to accuse him, saying, That this matter would be better negotiated at a distance, than upon the place: Howsoever, *Fernando* would not hearken thereunto, being of a contrary opinion, that he had greatly deserved of the Emperour for his many Services, and for having by way of Justice cleared the Countrey of those turbulent Spirits, who were Disturbers of the Peace. At his departure, he advised his Brother *Francisco* not to repose confidence in any of the *Almagrians*, especially those who were gone into *Chili*, whom he had found to be constant and affectionate to the Memory of *Almagro*: And he farther counselled him not to permit them to Cabal, for by experience he had found, that five onely of them being together, were plotting in what manner to kill him. At length being departed, he came to *Spain*, and appeared at the Court with a great Equipage and Riches; but it was not long before they carried him from *Valladolid*, to the Prison of *Medina de Campo*, from whence, as yet, he is not freed. And herewith *Gomara* ends that Chapter.

For the better understanding of which, we are to know, That though *Gonzalo de Mesa* had served *Hernando Pizarro* in Quality of Captain of the Artillery, yet he, with many others, was much discontented, because he looked upon himself as ill rewarded for his former Services; and that when he expected to have been sent Commander in Chief, he was then employed Under-Captain to *Pedro de Candia*: Wherefore finding himself in this manner slighted without any place of Honour, or Advantage, he began to speak ill of *Hernando Pizarro*, and to threaten, that he would set *Almagro* at liberty whensoever they brought him forth to carry him to his *Reyes*: All which he declared openly, and without any consideration of the danger he incurred of his life, he assembled his friends, and formed a party for *Almagro*, in which he found many that were ready to comply. So soon as *Hernando Pizarro* was informed hereof, he immediately, with all diligence, went to the *Collao*, but *Mesa* was not then Quartered there, being newly returned with *Pedro de Candia* from the Frontiers, and was then at *Muslay*; which lyes Eastward from *Collao*, a Countrey very Mountainous, and full of deep Rivers, as we have described at large in the Life of the King *Inca Tupanqui*: The *Spaniards*, by reason of these impediments, not having been able to make their Conquests, were returned from *Collao* when *Hernando* met them, and put *Gonzalo de Mesa* to Death; and cashiering *Pedro de Candia* from his Command, he bestowed it on a certain Gentleman called *Pernanzures de Campo Redondo*; who afterwards made an entrance into that Countrey, and did more than any that went before him; howsoever, the ways and passages were so difficult, that all his labours and endeavours proved vain and fruitless. *Pedro de Candia* esteeming himself affronted, and aggrieved hereby, being troubled to be deprived of his Command, concealed the anger hereof in his breast, untill such time as an opportunity presented, that he might declare for the *Almagrians*; the success whereof was fatal to him, as we shall see hereafter. For *Pedro de Candia* could not so well dissemble his resentments, but that they were visible to *Hernando*, and appeared in his countenance; for though the Tongue be silent, yet the Face commonly discovers the grief, or the delight of the Heart: the like dissatisfaction was also apparent in the behaviour of many others. Wherefore considering that his endeavours to lessen the numbers of his Enemies, served to multiply them, he was as it were forced to put *Almagro* to death, which he accordingly executed after his return to *Cusco* from *Collao*; supposing, that when the cause and object of all these Mutinies and Disturbances was removed, all things would return to the usual and settled condition of peace and quietness; but it happened out quite contrary: For by the dolefull Tragedy of the Death of *Almagro*, *Hernando Pizarro* rendered himself so odious, that his condition was much more secure, by putting himself into the hands of the Justice of *Spain*, where *Diego de Alvarado* was ready to accuse him, than if he had remained in *Pernu*, where the opposite Faction of *Almagro* watched onely an opportunity to destroy him. *Hernando Pizarro* was a discreet Person, and against the opinion and persuasion of all his friends, judged it the least evil to make a Voyage into *Spain*; where he imagined, that the great Services he had performed in the Conquest of that Empire, and the insuperable Labours he had overcome in the Siege would justify his Cause before his Majesty, and the Riches which he imported with him, for the King's and his own account would make his Access easie to the Royal Presence, and

and obtain more mercy for him, than he could expect from his Enemies in *Pernu*, who onely attended an opportunity to kill him. *Hernando* having on these Considerations left the *Indies*, and escaped out of the hands of his Enemies; that hatred which was prepared for him, was converted against his Brother the Marquis, and proceeded so far, as in the end to effect his ruine; the which will appear in what is to follow.

Hernando Pizarro being arrived in *Spain*, *Diego de Alvarado* brought a severe Indictment against him, desiring that the Cause might be tried either by the Civil Law, or by a Court-Marshal, as his Majesty should direct; or otherwise he challenged him to a single Combat, offering to prove by force of Arms, that he had violated both his Word and Faith, and that he himself was guilty of those crimes which he had objected against *Almagro*: Moreover, he laid many other things to his charge, which for brevity sake we shall pass by. Upon these Accusations *Hernando* was committed to the Prison of *Medina del Campo*; during which time, and whilst *Alvarado* was prosecuting his Suit, he complained, that many rich Presents both of Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones, were given with intention to corrupt the minds of certain persons; the which being proved, was occasion of trouble to some great and considerable Men. But this being a nice point, we have onely touched upon it; and the rather, because in the heat of this prosecution *Alvarado* died, not without suspicion of poison, by reason (as *Gomara* saith) that his Death was sudden and unexpected: Howsoever, before that time, he had so well grounded his process, and proceeded so far, that he had obtained several Verdicts against his Adversary. Howsoever, at length, time, which accomplishes every thing, moderated the severities of his Imprisonment, from whence he procured his discharge in the year 1562, after twenty three years that he had remained in custody, which he sustained with great equality of mind; of which he gave most certain proofs in all the particulars of his adverse fortune, which then manifestly appeared, when with wonderfull patience he received the news of the Death of his Brother, and of his other Kindred, and of the Confiscation of his Lands and Possessions which belonged to him, besides the vast expence he was put to, both in Prison, and to maintain his Law-suits. This was all the World gave him in reward for his great and mighty Actions, and for the innumerable difficulties he sustained to aid and assist his Brother the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro* in the Conquest of *Pernu*, performing, as he always did, the Office of Captain-General; with which we will conclude this second Book, returning thanks unto Almighty God, who hath brought us so far as to this period.

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

Of the Conquest of the Charcas ; and of other Battels between the Indians and the Spaniards.

BY the Death of *Almagro*, and the Absence of *Hernando Pizarro*, all the management of the Conquest, and the weight of the Government of *Peru* was charged on the shoulders of Marquis *Pizarro*, to whom God had given a sufficient talent of Wisdom to support the care both of one and the other, had not evil Counsellours interposed, to the disturbance and confusion of every thing ; for the Captains (as we have mentioned in the preceding Book) being dispeeced away, and amused with new Conquests, the Land was at rest and quiet ; amongst which Commanders, *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Brother to the Marquis, was sent to conquer the *Collao*, and the *Charcas* ; and people distant about two hundred Leagues to the Southward of *Cusco* ; and him the greatest part of those Cavaliers were sent, who came in with *Don Pedro de Alvarado* to gain new Countries ; for those already subdued, were only such as were Dependances on the Cities of *Cusco* and *los Reyes*, which, together with all the Vallies along the Sea-coast, as far as *Tumbez*, were divided amongst the first Conquerours, who had had a hand in the Imprisonment of *Atahualpa*. Wherefore it was necessary to enlarge those Conquests, that out of them provision might be made for the second Adventurers, who entered in with *D. Diego de Almagro*, and *Pedro de Alvarado*.

Gonzalo Pizarro entered on the *Collao* with a good number of stout and valiant Men ; at first the *Indians* made little opposition, but afterwards when they found them well entered into the *Charcas*, and at a hundred and fifty Leagues distance from *Cusco*, they then plied them close, and frequently engaged them in Battels, in which there were losses on both sides ; and the *Indians* aimed chiefly at their Horses ; for they were of opinion, that if they could kill them, and force the Men to fight on Foot, they should have much the advantage, and over-power them with their Multitudes. At length it happened, that after a bloody Fight, in which many were killed on both sides, that the *Spaniards* gained the Victory : To prosecute which on all sides, several parties took divers ways, and amongst the rest, three Companions agreed to go with *Gonzalo Pizarro*. One of which was *Garcilasso de la Vega*, another *John de Figueroa*, and the third *Gaspar Jara* ; all which had Commands over *Indians* in that Town, which is now called the City of *Plata*, and in the *Indian Tongue Chuquisaca*, and afterwards they improved their

their Fortunes by Possessions in the City of *Cusco*, where it was my Fortune to have acquaintance with them.

These four walking softly over a Plain, to ease their Horses, which were much tired with the Labours of the last Engagement, and being at some distance from the place where the Battle was fought, they discovered on the side of a little Hill below, seven *Indian* Gentlemen, all armed with their Bows and Arrows, going to join with the *Indian* Army, and very gallant, with their Plumes of Feathers, and other Ornaments. So soon as they saw the *Spaniards*, they put themselves into Rank, at ten or twelve paces distant each from the other, with design to divide the Enemy, that they might come apart, and not in a Body together. The *Spaniards* made signs to them, that they were Friends, and would not fight with them; but notwithstanding the *Indians* prepared their Arms, and would not accept of their Friendship, so that both sides engaged with great Courage and Resolution.

The *Spaniards* (as they report themselves) say, that they were ashamed of the inequality of this match, that four Cavaliers, such as they were, well armed, and mounted on their Horses, with Lances in their Hands, should engage with seven *Indians* on Foot, and naked, without defensive Arms, who notwithstanding refused not to fight with as much courage, as if their Breasts had been covered with Steel, assisting and helping each other with much Bravery. That *Indian* who had none to encounter him, always helped him; that was engaged, and so alternately came in, to the succour each of other, sometimes crows, and sometimes behind, according to the Order and Method agreed amongst them; so that for the most part, two *Indians* fought with one *Spaniard*. At length, after a long Skirmish, that every *Spaniard* had killed his *Indian*, and one of them was in pursuit of a single *Indian*, who, as he was flying, took up a Stone, which he threw and hit the Beaver of his Head-piece, which covered his Face, with such force as half stunned him, and had killed him outright, had it not been for that piece of Armour; howsoever, notwithstanding the Blow, the *Spaniard* made an end of this *Indian*, and killed him also.

The other two *Indians* fled, and escaped; for the *Spaniards* were not very eager to pursue them, considering that their Horses had been much tired, and harassed with this second, as well as with the first Encounter; so that they thought it neither honourable, nor worth their pains, to kill the two surviving *Indians*.

After the Skirmish was over, the four Companions staid a while, to examine themselves, and to know what hurt each Man had received; and upon Enquiry they found, that three of them were wounded, and that two of these three had received three Wounds apiece, though slight ones, and the fourth had his Horse wounded with an Arrow, the which hurt was many Days in healing; according as he, who was Master of the Horse, related it to me in this manner:

"All four of us, said he, were wounded, but I most grievously of any, because I was more sensible of the hurt; which my Horse received, than if I had been wounded myself, by reason of the great want I had of him. I remember when I was a Child, the great lamentation the *Spaniards* made for their Horses, and would rather have been wounded themselves than their Horses; and in like manner this Gentleman was troubled for this misfortune.

In fine, these four returned to the Army, and acquainted their Companions, that the Engagement which they had had with the seven *Indians* that day, was more dangerous, than the great fight with six or seven thousand of them. Several other Skirmishes passed the same day of the like nature, one of which was that which we have recounted in the last Chapter of the first Book of this second Part, where we speak of the Loyalty and Affection which the *Indians* taken in fight profess unto the *Spaniards*. In this manner they marched forward, fighting every other day more or less, until they came to a warlike People, called *Chunquifaca*, where they engaged with many thousands of *Indians*, who strained the *Spaniards* with want of Provisions, and kept them always alarmed with continual Skirmishes, wherein many were killed and wounded, which the Historians mention, but with great brevity.

GOMARA

Gomara in the 143d. Chapter, and Carate in the 12th Chapter of his 3d. Book, saith, That Gonzalo Pizarro made a Discovery as far as the Province of the *Charcas*, where he was surrounded with such numbers of *Indians*, which assailed him on all sides, that he was forced to desire succours from the Marquis, who supplied him therewith, both of Horse and Foot, from *Cusco*; and for better expedition the Marquis gave out, that he himself would go in person, and accordingly he marched out with them three or four days from the City.

This Siege, as Authors write, was so close, and strait, that the *Spaniards* being reduced at last to the utmost extremity, sent advice thereof to the Marquis, by the *Indians* whom they retained in their Service, who (as we have seen before) had served for Messengers with all fidelity in the like dangers, in confidence of whom, they dispatched many of them by divers ways; so that in case some should miscarry, others might escape.

The Marquis being hereby made sensible of the great Distress to which his Brother Gonzalo Pizarro was reduced, dispatched a Captain with Succours, and gave out, for the more haste of the Supplies, as Carate saith, that he himself would go in Person; but neither the diligence used in sending Relief, which would have some too late, nor yet the appearance which the Marquis made of going, in Person, would have availed toward the delivery of the *Spaniards*, from the straits of that Siege, had not God most wonderfully appeared for them, and sent the Divine St. Jago, the Patron of Spain, visibly to fight on their side, as he had done before at *Cusco*.

The Christians seeing themselves thus wonderfully favoured, and that in this, as in the like occasions, they had been rescued by Miracle, they fought with such Courage, that before the Succours came, they had gained the Victory. In remembrance of which signal Favour which God had performed for them, they determined to establish a Colony of Christian People in that place, where now a Cathedral Church is built, and the Royal Chancery is held, which is ennobled and enriched to that degree, in which we see it at present; all which is arisen from the Mines of *Potosi*, which are about eighteen Leagues distant from thence.

Blas Valera giving a Relation of all the memorable Battels which happened between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians* in Peru, gives an Account of that which was fought in this Province, and says, that God, by his Angel, fought there for his Gospel.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

The Marquis makes a Division of the Kingdom and Province of the Charcas, and Gonzalo Pizarro is sent to the Conquest of the Canela.

THE War being ended, and the Indians settled in peace, the Marquis made a Division of the Countrey amongst the principal Persons concerned in the Conquest. To his Brother *Hernando Pizarro* he divided a very large share, and another part to *Gonzalo*, within whose Division, some years after, the Silver Mines of *Potosi* were discovered; of which one part belonged to *Hernando Pizarro*, as Inhabitant of that City; and though he were then in Spain, yet one Mine was resigned to his Officers, to dig the Plate for his Benefit and Use; the which was of so rich a vein, that in something more than eight months, they digged Silver of the finest sort from thence without any Alloy, and without other trouble than onely to melt down the Metal. I have mentioned these Riches in this place, having forgotten to specify them, when in the first part of these Commentaries we treated of that famous Hill. To my Lord *Garcilasso de la Vega* that part was given which is called *Tupacari*. To *Grievil de Rojas* another very considerable Possession was given, and the like to many other Cavaliers, and all within the compass of one hundred Leagues; of which also some part was given to the City, called *la Paz*, or the City of Peace.

But these Divisions then given, were, of little value, though the Soil was fruitful, and abounding with all Provisions, and very populous, and well inhabited by Indians; untill the Mines of *Potosi* were discovered in those parts; for then the Rents were raised ten for one; and those Possessions which yielded two, or three, or four thousand Pieces of Eight, amounted afterwards to twenty, thirty, and forty thousand Crowns a year. The Marquis, *Francisco Pizarro*, having given order to found that City, which is called the City of Plate, and having divided the Indians under that Jurisdiction amongst the Conquerours and Adventurers; all which happened in the Years 1538, and 1539. he had not rested and reposed in quietness from his civil War, and late Conquests, before he undertook some other more laborious, and more dangerous Adventures than the former, which shall hereafter be related.

By the death of *Almagro* the Marquis remained sole and supreme Governour of more than 700 Leagues of Land, which reach North and South from the *Charcas* to *Quinu*, and had enough to doe, how and in what manner to secure those new Conquests, which his Captains had made in divers parts, and how to rule with Laws of Justice those People who were settled in a quiet and peaceable Condition, yet since the desire of Rule and Government is never to be satisfied, his Warlike Mind was incited to farther Enterprises, being encouraged with the good Fortune of his past Successes.

For now the News arrived, that besides the Limits of *Quinu*, and other Countreys, over which the *Incan* Kings were supreme Commanders, another Countrey was discovered both long and wide, where Cinnamon was growing, for which reason they called it the Countrey of *Canela*, which signifies Cinnamon. The Marquis had a desire to employ his Brother in that Conquest, with intention to make the Extent of his Land as long and wide as his own; and having consulted hereupon with those of his Cabinet Council, he renounced his right to the Government of *Quinu*, and transferred it to his said Brother, so that in the Conquest of *Canela*, which lies Eastward from *Quinu*, he might have the benefit of supplies and succour from that City.

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Having this Design in his Eye, he sent for his Brother *Gonzalo*, who was then in the *Charcas*, employed in the settlement of a new Colony in the City of Plate, and of that Division of Indian Subjects, and rule over them, as was fain to his lot and possession. *Gonzalo Pizarro*, at the Summons of his Brother repaired speedily to *Cosco*, where the Marquis then resided; and having there treated of the Conquest of *Canela*, he prepared himself for that adventure, shewing therein the same forwardness, and personal bravery, as he had done in other Enterprises of the like nature.

In *Cosco* he levied above two hundred Souldiers, of which one hundred were Horse, and a like number of Foot; with which he marched five hundred Leagues, (which is the distance between *Cosco* and *Quinu*,) where *Pedro de Puelles* was then Governour. In his way thither he met with many light Skirmishes and Encounters with the Indians, which appeared in Arms; but those of *Huamachu* put him so hard to it, (as *Carate* reports in the first Chapter of his fourth Book,) that the Marquis was forced to send him speedy Relief by *Francisco de Chavez*.

Gonzalo Pizarro being delivered out of this danger, and from others of less moment, arrived at length at *Quinu*, where *Pedro de Puelles* yielded all Obedience to the Commands of the Marquis, providing him, as was the Office of Governour, with all things necessary for that Expedition, together with a recruit of one hundred Souldiers, so that his numbers were three hundred and forty in all, of which one hundred and fifty were Horse, and the rest Foot.

Moreover he had a Retinue of four thousand Indians, who were laden with Arms, Provisions, and other necessaries for this Enterprise, such as Iron, Hatchets, Match, Cords, and Bas-ropes, Nails, and wooden Pins, to use, as occasion served: They also drove with them a Herd of about four thousand Swine, and Sheep of the biggest size that that Empire afforded, on which they laded part of their Ammunition and Baggage.

Pedro de Puelles was ordained and left in *Quinu* in Quality of Deputy Governour, and *Pizarro* having reformed all Disorders, and settled matters on a good Foundation of Rule and Government; he departed from *Quinu* about Christmas, in the Year 1539. Thus did he march peaceably, and was kindly received, and treated by the Indians, through all the Dominions belonging to the *Incas*, till at length he entered into that Province which Historians call *Quixos*. And in regard that *Lopez de Gomara* and *Carate* do so well agree in the Relation of this Adventure, that their very Words are almost the same, and because I have often heard the particulars of this Discovery, from the Mouth of those who were present with *Gonzalo Pizarro* at the very action; I shall relate the Summ of all that passed, as it hath been delivered by divers Relations.

It is certain, that in the Province of *Quixos*, which lies North from *Quinu*, great numbers of Indians presented themselves in a warlike posture in opposition to *Gonzalo Pizarro*; but so soon as they discovered the many Spaniards, and the Horse which came with him, they immediately retired within the Countrey, from whence they never more appeared. Some few days afterwards there happened so terrible an Earth-quake, that many Houses in those Villages where they then were, fell to the ground; the Earth opened in many places, and so terrible were the Lightnings, and Thunder, and so very quick, almost without Intermission, and so fierce were the Rains, which poured down like Buckets of Water; that the Spaniards much admired at the nature of that Climate, so different to any they had ever seen in *Pern*.

After this Storm was over, which continued about forty or fifty days, they prepared to pass the snowy Mountains, for which though they had made good Provisions, yet the Climate was so extremely cold, by the great quantities of Snow which fell, that many Indians, who went thin in their Clothing, were frozen to death. The Spaniards, that they might make haste out of that Snow, and Cold, and severe Region, left their Catel, and provisions behind them, expecting to find sufficient supplies of all things, at the next place, where the Indians inhabited. But the matter succeeded otherwise, for having passed the Mountains, they entered into a Countrey so barren, and fruitless, that it was void of all Inhabitants; wherefore doubling their Journeys to get out of it, they came at length to a Province, and People, called *Cumaco*, situated at the foot of a Hill,

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which casts out Fire, like the *Volcano*, where they found plenty of Provisions; but the Country was so wet, that for the space of two Months they remained there, it never ceased one day from raining, which was such a damage to them, that all their Cloths became rotten by the moisture.

In that Province, called *Cumaco*, which is situate under the Equinoctial, or very near it, the Cinnamon grows, of which they went in search; the Trees whereof are tall and lofty, bearing a leaf, as big as the Laurel, with a small sort of Fruit, which grows in Clusters like the Acorn. These Trees grow wild in the Mountains, and produce a sort of Fruit, but not so good as that which is gathered from those Trees, vvith the *Indians* plant, and cultivate in their own Grounds; and vvith having gathered, they lay it up in their stores, and trade vvith it, into neighbouring Countries, though not into *Peru*; vvhere they use no other sorts of Spice than the *Uchu*, called by the *Spaniards* *Acti*, and by us red Pepper.

CHAP. III.

Of the great Difficulties, and Hardships, sustained by Gonzalo Pizarro, and his Companions; how they made a Bridge of Wood, and a sort of Ferry-Boat, to pass the great River.

THE *Spaniards* found, that in *Cumaco*, and the Countries thereunto adjoining, the *Indians* went naked, without any Cloths, onely the Women for Modesty sake wore a little flap before them; the Climate is so excessively hot, that they need no Cloths, and is so subject to Rains, that they would become rotten in a short time, as we have mentioned before; and indeed the *Spaniards* confess, that those *Indians* did well not to trouble themselves with care for Cloths, which would onely be troublesome, without any use.

Gonzalo Pizarro leaving the greatest part of his People in *Cumaco*, took with him a small party of such as he esteemed most active, to try and search for some Pass, leading out of the Country; for as yet the way for an hundred Leagues together, had been nothing but Mountains, and Desarts, and Woods, which they were forced to lay open by the Hatchet, and strength of their Armes; and sometimes the *Indians*, who were their Guards, deceived them, carrying them out of the way by Mountains, and Desarts, and difficult passages, where they sustained Hunger, and Cold, without other sustenance than Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruit, and conducted them by by-ways, to avoid the Country of their Friends and Confederates; but in case they happened to lead them aright, then they were esteemed and applauded for good Guides.

With such Labours and Sufferings as these, which may rather be sanctified than described, they came at length to that Province which is called *Cuca*, which was more populous, than any they had formerly passed, and where provisions were plentiful. Here the Chief Lord came forth in a peaceable manner to welcome them, and afforded them Provisions, which was the chief thing of which they stood in want; there is a great River which passes through this Country, and is the largest of those which, falling in together, make that River which some call *Orellana*, and others *Marannon*.

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In these parts they remained two months in Expectation of the coming of those *Spaniards*, whom they had left in *Cumaco*, and had directed to follow them by such traces, and marks as they should find of the way they had taken before them; the Companions being come up to them, and a while reposed after their Journey, they travelled all together by the Banks of that great River, for the space of fifty Leagues, in all which way, they neither found Bridge, nor shallow place, which was fordable, for the Water was very deep, and the River so broad, that no Bridge could be made over it.

At length they came to a place where this whole River falls from the top of a Rock, above two hundred fathom high, which Catarack, or falling of the Waters, makes a noise, that is heard above six Leagues from the place; at which, though the *Spaniards* were wonderfully amazed, yet it was much more wonderful to see, about forty or fifty Leagues lower, that immense quantity of Water contracted and straitened within a Chancel made by one great Rock. This Chancel is so narrow, that from one side to the other it is not above twenty foot wide; but so high, that from the top, where the *Spaniards* made their Bridge to pass down to the Surface of the Water, are two hundred Fathom, as was that of the Catarack.

It is indeed strange to consider, that in that Country there should be such prodigious Wonders, which are beyond Expression, as may appear by these two instances, and divers others, which occur in this History. *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Captains, considering that there was no more convenient passage to be found over the River than this, and that it was necessary to pass to the other side, by reason that the Country was barren on that side which they then were in, it was agreed to make a Bridge over the top of the Rock. The *Indians*, though few in number, stoutly defended the Pass; so that the *Spaniards* were forced to fight with them, which was the first Encounter they had with those of that Country: When the *Spaniards* killed any one, or more of them, with their Muskets, the others immediately fled, being terrified to see their Companions killed at the distance of an hundred or two hundred paces; and flying with Fear and Amazement, reported in all places, that there was a sort of People come into their Country, of such wonderful Power, that killed those with Thunder and Lightning, that would not obey them.

The Pass being now clear, the *Spaniards* fell to work on the Bridge of Timber, which cost much labour before the first Beam could be passed over to the other Rock, which was so high, that it was a bold thing for any one to adventure to look down; for vvhilst a *Spaniard* cast his Eyes to behold from the top of that precipice the swift current of the Water below, his Head became dizzy, and turned, so that down he fell, and vvas drowned in the Waters. The other *Spaniards* being vvamed by this unfortunate Example, vvent more cautiously to vvork, and after much Difficulty, and Labour, they passed the first Beam over to the opposite Rock, by help of vvich a second vvas more easily laid, and then other pieces of Timber, vvich vvere necessary; so that by degrees they formed a Bridge, over vvich both Man and Horse securely passed, vvich they left in the same condition to remain, in case they should have occasion to return back by the same vvay: And so they travelled by the side of the River, forced to open their vvay vvith the Hatchet, and other Instruments. With these Difficulties they came at length to a Country, called *Gnima*, vvich vvas so poor, and starved, that it vvas more barren than any they had passed before: Here vvere some fevv *Indians*, vvho at the sight of the *Spaniards* fled into the Mountains, and never afterwards appeared.

Here the *Spaniards*, and their *Indian* Servants, vvere forced again to sustain themselves vvith Herbs, and Roots, and vvith the tender sprouts of Trees, vvich are as good to eat, as the stalks of our Vine Leaves are here. Thus vvith Famine, and Travels, and vvith perpetual Rains, so that their Cloths vvere never dry on their Backs, many of the *Spaniards* fell sick and dyed; yet in despite of all these Difficulties, they proceeded many Leagues farther on their vvay, untill at length they came vvhere *Indians* inhabited, something more civilized than the former; for they vvore such as did eat Mayz, and clothed themselves vvith Garments of Cotton; but still the Climate vvas subject to Rains.

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Whilst they staid in this place, they sent some people round by divers vvays, to see if they could discover any passage into a more pleasant Land; but they all returned with the same Nevvs; that the Countrey round vvvas nothing but vvild Mountains, full of Bogs, Lakes, and Moorish Grounds, over vvch vvvas no passage, or vvay to go out, or ford over. Hereupon they resolved to build a Brigantine, or Vessel, vvch might ferry them over from one side of the River to the other, vvch novv vvvas become about two Leagues broad. In order whereunto, the first thing to be done, was to make a Smith's Forge, for Nails and Iron-work; but then they had need of Charcole, which was difficult to be made in those Climates, because the continual Rains extinguished the Fire; to prevent vvch they made Coverings of Wood, and Huts for themselves to cast off the Rain; and to defend them from the Sun, which is directly over their Heads; they being then just under the Equinoctial Line, where the Climate was hot and moist in excess. Part of their Iron-work they made of their Horses Shoes; vvch they had killed in that Extremity; to administer some substantial Nourishment to their Sick; and to sustain those who were in Health; and for the rest of the Iron, of vvch they stood in very great need, they made use of the small Store vvch they had brought with them, and vvch was now become more scarce than Gold.

Gonzalo Pizarro, though Chief Commander, was the first that laid his Hand on the Hatchet to Hew down the Timber; and to make the Charcole, vvch was required to forge the Iron, and was always the most forward in every Office; though never so mean and low, that so giving a good Example, none might excuse himself on privilege of his Command. The Ropes vvch situated from certain Trees, served them in the place of Pitch; their old rotten Shirts and Rags were made use of instead of Oakum; to cauke the seams of their Vessels; to vvch every one did so freely contribute, that they were ready to give their Shirts from their Backs, rather than any thing should be wanting; for they considered, that the Life and Safety of them all depended on this Vessel: Vvch being now in this manner finished, they lancht it into the Water vvch great Joy and Triumph, imagining, that herewith they should quickly escape out of all their Dangers, and be freed from all their Difficulties; but it proved otherwise, for a few days shewed the contrary, and gave them cause to repent, that they had ever made it, as we shall speedily see by vvch follows hereafter.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Francisco de Orellana goes aboard the Vessel which was built, and sails into Spain, to demand the Government of that Conquest; and of his End and Death.

ALL the Gold vvch they had gathered, vvch amounted to about the value of one hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, vvch a great abundance of Emeralds, some of vvch were of great value, as also their Iron and Iron-work, and vvhatsoever vvvas of any esteem, they laded on their Vessel, and such as were weak, and sick, and not able to travel, were also put aboard. And now after a Journey of almost two hundred Leagues, they departed from this place, taking their course down the Stream; some by Water, and others by Land, keeping such a convenient distance each from the other, that at night they always joined and lodged together; the vvch Journey vvvas performed vvch great difficulty, both of one, and of the other; for those on the Land were forced to open a great hard Labour vvstem the Stream, and keep the Vessel from being forcibly carried down by the current from the Company of their Associates. When at any time their passage vvvas interrupted by some Mountain; so that they could not keep by the Shore of the River; they then ferried to the other side by help of their Vessel, and of four Canoes, vvch were vvch them; but this gave a great let and stop to their proceedings, for the space of three or four days, vvch vvvas very grievous to Men starving and perishing vvch Hunger.

Having in this manner travelled for the space of two Months, they at length met vvch certain Indians, vvch by Signs, and by some Words vvch were understood by their Indian Servants, gave them intelligence, that about ten days Journey from thence they vvould find a Countrey well peopled, plentifull of Provisions, and abounding vvch Gold, and other Riches, of vvch they were in pursuit; and farther signified to them by Signs, that this Countrey vvvas situate on the Banks of another great River, vvch joined, and fell into that, vvwherein they now were. The Spaniards being greatly comforted, and encouraged vvch this news, *Gonzalo Pizarro* made *Francisco de Orellana* Captain of his Brigantine, or Vessel, and thereon put fifty Souldiers aboard, giving them orders to pass down the Stream to that place, vvwhere the two Rivers met, and that there leaving the Goods he had then aboard, he should lade his Vessel vvch Provisions, and return vvch them vvch all the speed imaginable to succour, and relieve them in that great Distress of Famine; of vvch many Spaniards were already dead, and especially Indians, vvch of four thousand were reduced to half the number.

According to these Orders *Francisco de Orellana* entred on the Voyage, and in the space of three days, vvchout Oars, or Sail, only by force of the Current, he vvvas carried the eighty Leagues before mentioned, though in the opinion of all they proved to be more than an hundred; notwithstanding vvch being come thither, no Provisions were found, as the Indians had promised; vvwherefore considering vvch vvvas to be done in that Extremity, they concluded, that to return again to *Gonzalo Pizarro* vvch this ill news, they were not able in the space of a Year to perform that Voyage back, against the force of the Stream, vvch they had already vvch the help thereof been carried in three days only. And not knowing in vvch long time *Gonzalo Pizarro* vvould be able to perform his Journey thither, *Orellana* resolved to change his Design, and set up for himself; and vvch these thoughts he set sail, and casting off all care and regard to *Pizarro*, and his Companions, then in distress, he resolved to take a Voyage into Spain, there to obtain the Government and Conquest of those Countrees for himself: But this cruel

cruel Resolution was opposed by many of those who were then aboard with him, who suspecting his evil Intention, told him plainly, that he was not to exceed the Order of his Captain General, nor was it humanity to forsake his Companions in their great Distress, knowing how usefull and necessary that Brigantine was to them. In this point none was more zealous, and urgent than a good Friar called *Gaspar Carvajal*, and a young Gentleman, Native of *Badajoz*, named *Hernando Sanchez de Vargas*, whom those of the contrary opinion made their chief, and were so warm in their Debates on this Subject, that the Quarrel had come to Blood, had not *Orellana* with fair and gentle Words appeased the Tumult for that present. Howsoever he so worked afterwards with those, who had opposed his Intention, that with great Promises he enticed them all to his party, and then rudely treated the poor Friar, whom he had exposed to the same famine and misery (had it not been for respect to his Habit and Profession) as he did *Sanchez de Vargas*, for whom he thought Death too mean a punishment, unless attended with the direfull circumstances of Cruelty; and therefore left him in that Desert, encompassed with high Mountains on the one side, and with a great River on the other, and imprisoned both with Sea and Land, he was left there to perish by Famine.

After which *Francisco de Orellana* pursuing his Voyage, renounced in a few days the Commission he had received from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, disclaiming all subjection to him, but pretended to act as a Captain immediately depending on His Majesty. The which Enterprize may best deserve the term of the highest piece of Treachery that ever was acted; though in reality other Captains, who have been concerned in the Conquest of this new World, have been guilty of Actions as infamous as this. Captain *Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo & Valdes*, who was Historiographer to His Catholick Majesty, the Emperour *Charles the Fifth*, in the 17th. Book, and 20th. Chapter of his General History of the *Indies*, relates villanous Actions of Treachery, which were repaid in a Coin of the like nature, by those who came to succeed them in the same Offices, and places of Trust; to confirm which Truth, there is a Proverb which says, *Kill, and thou shalt be killed, and they shall kill him that kills thee*. Were it to our purpose to enlarge on this Subject, we were able to produce many Instances of the highest Perfidiousness and Treachery, acted after the time of this Historiographer; but tis not our business to rake into such horrible Stories, and therefore we shall rather pass them by in silence, than repeat those direfull passages, from which Men would not be deterred by Thunder, Lightning, or other Evidences of God's Wrath.

But to return to our business in hand. *Francisco de Orellana* found some Provisions amongst the Inhabitants on the River below, who because they were fierce, and wild, and that the Women came forth with their Husbands to fight, they gave it the name of the River of *Amazons*; the which Term served to raise the Honour of this Atchievement, and to induce the Emperour to bestow the Government thereof upon *Orellana*. Proceeding yet farther down this River, they found other *Indians*, more civil, or at least less brutish than the others, who received them amicably, and with good Welcome, admiring to behold the Brigantine, and Men so strangely habited, but they treated them kindly, and furnished them with as much Provision, as they had occasion to use. The *Spaniards* remained in this place for some days, where they built another Brigantine, for they were very much straitned for room in the first; and having fitted themselves as well as they were able, they adventured out to Sea, and having failed two hundred Leagues, (as the Sea-chart sets it down,) they arrived at the Island of the Holy Trinity, after having passed so many Difficulties, as before related, and escaped such Dangers in the River, as that they often gave themselves over to be Shipwrecked, and lost. At this Island *Orellana* bought a Ship, with which he sailed into *Spain*, where he requested His Majesty's Commission for the Conquest and Government of that Countrey. To make this Enterprize appear with greater Reputation, he alleged that it was a Countrey abounding with Gold, Silver, and Precious Stones, and in Testimony thereof he produced the Riches which he had brought with him. His Majesty having accordingly granted the Request he made for the Government of what he should there conquer, *Orellana* made Levies of five hundred Souldiers, the greatest part of which were brisk young Gentlemen, and principal Persons of Honour, with which he embarked at *St. Lucar*, but

but he dying in the Voyage, his followers dispersed, and disposed of themselves in divers parts. And here was an end of this Design, which found a success agreeable to the evil beginnings of it.

And now let us return to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and see what becomes of him, whom we left in such sad Distress. After *Francisco de Orellana* was dispersed away with the Brigantine, he built ten or twelve Canoes, and other Floats, wherewith to pass from one side of the River to the other; so often as their Progress was interrupted by the impassable Mountains, as at other times they had contrived; and so they proceeded forwards in hopes to meet the Brigantine, which they had dispatched for Provisions, and to bring them Relief, having met no other Enemy than Hunger in all these Travels. At the end of two Months they arrived at that Point where the two Rivers met, and where they expected to have found their Brigantine, laden with Provisions, which, by reason (as they imagined) of the swiftness of the Current, was not able to return to them. And here it was that they found themselves deceived, and to have lost all hopes of any possibility of escaping out of that Hell of a Countrey; for we can give it no better Term, where they had suffered such Difficulties, and such grievous Miseries, without prospect of deliverance from thence; and here at the Conjunction of these two Rivers they found the poor, honest *Hernando Sanchez de Vargas*, who with constancy of Mind, and on Principles of Honour, like the true Son of a Gentleman, endured with great Resolution Famine, and all the Miseries to which he was exposed, rather than violate his Faith; and was contented to remain in that solitude, that he might render an Account of the perfidious Faith of *Orellana*, and of his villanous Designs, all which was strange to *Pizarro*, who much admired that there should be such Men in the World, whose Actions should be so different to their Professions, and unanswerable to the hopes which were conceived of them; and with this News the Captains and Souldiers became so dismayed, that they seemed to be reduced to the utmost point of Despair.

The General, who conceived greater Disquiet, and Torment of Mind, than the others, yet putting a good face upon the matter, cheered them all up, and encouraged them with hopes of better Fortune; telling them, that they ought like *Spaniards* to bear with equality of Mind these Labours, and yet greater, if any thing could be worse, than the more Danger, the more Honour, and the greater would their Renown be in Histories, which should declare their Adventures to future Ages. That since it was their Fortune to become the Conquerours of that Empire, that they should act like Men whom the Divine Providence had chosen for the accomplishment of so great a work. The Souldiers observing such cheerfulness in their Captain General, who had more cause to resent those Evils than any other, took Heart and Courage, and proceeded on their Voyage by the Banks of the River, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, according to the turnings and windings of the Land.

But we cannot express the great Difficulty there was to carry the Horses upon the Floats, for there still remained about one hundred and fifty of their number which they had brought from *Quito*: In like manner almost two thousand *Indians* were still alive, which came with them from *Peru*, who, like Sons, served their Masters with such Faithfulness and Affection, as was admirable; for in their great extremities of Hunger they brought them Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruit, with Toads, Snakes, and other kinds of Insects which were found in those Mountains, all which went down with them, and were digested by the *Spaniards* with a good Stomach; for without them they could not have subsisted.

CHAP. V.

Gonzalo Pizarro considers of returning to Quito; and those of Chili plot and contrive how they may kill the Marquis.

IN this Misery and Want they proceeded another hundred Leagues down the River, without appearance or hopes of finding a better Countrey, every place seeming worse and more barren than the other; all which being considered, and debated by the General and Captains, they agreed to return again to Quito, (if it were possible,) for now they were at a distance of four hundred Leagues from thence: But in regard it was impossible for them to return against the Force of the Stream, they relolved to take another way by the North side of the River, for they had observed in their coming, that there were not so many bogs, and Lakes, and moorish places, on that side, as on that by which they came. So now entering within the Mountains, and making their way with Bill and Hatchet, which custome would have made less grievous, had good nutriment presented to corroborate and sustain their Nature in it; but we must leave them amidst these Difficulties, to return to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and see what Accidents befell him, whilst his Brother was engolled in these immense Labours. It seems that these renowned Persons, who were born for great Actions, and Achievements, were also destinated to insuperable Difficulties and Misfortunes, which pursued them to the ultimate point of their Lives, which ended with the grief and compassion of all those who had the Honour of their Acquaintance.

For so it was, that the Marquis having made a Division, and shared out the Provinces of the *Charcas* to the Conquerours of that Kingdom, and reformed and settled some things of importance in *Cusco*, which the late Diffentions between his Party and that of *Almagro* had caused; with which having left all things in Peace and Quietness, he returned to the City of *los Reyes*, to advance and encourage that new Colony: We have mentioned formerly that *Almagro* the Younger was sent by *Hernando Pizarro*, soon after the Execution of his Father, to be kept Prisoner in that place, where when the Marquis arrived, he discovered that divers of the *Almagrian* Faction were frequently in company with him, whom he fed and maintained out of the Estate which he enjoyed in right of his Father, being a large Inheritance, and Command over *Indians*; the which Bounty he liberally dispensed to them, because that their own Estates were forfeited and confiscated, as it were for Treason, and for their Loyalty and Affection to *Almagro*.

The Marquis, who was of a noble and generous Nature, endeavoured to gratifie those Gentlemen with Largesses, and Sums of Money, and to procure for them Offices and Employments in matters of Justice, or about the King's Revenue. But these Persons expecting that Vengeance and Punishment would befall the *Pizarrists* for that unjust Death and Blood of *Almagro*, and for those horrid Cruelties, committed at the Battel of *Salinas*, and after it, refused all the Offers that were made them of Gratuity and Kindness; that so neither their Malice, nor Rancour, might abate, and be mollified, which they had conceived against the Marquis and his Adherents; nor that it might ever be objected against them, that they had received or accepted Gifts from the adverse Party, at the same time that they were contriving and plotting against them.

Thus

Thus did the *Almagrians* succour and assist each other, rejecting all subsistence and Kindness from the *Pizarrists*, notwithstanding the urgent, and extreme necessities to which they were reduced. The which being observed, and considered by the Ministers and Counsellours of the Marquis, they, like ill Instruments, advised him, that since that party could not be won by fair means to any Terms of Friendship, that he should compell them thereunto by want and necessity. The Marquis (though much against his own nature) was persuaded to follow this rigorous and severe Advice of his Ministers, and to take away the Estate of *Almagro*, by which all the party had their subsistence, so that not finding a support, they might be compelled to depart from thence, and seek their livelihood in other Countreys: But this was much against the humour of the Marquis, who naturally abhorred to doe any thing of severity, or unkindness, whatsoever. But this Act, instead of mollifying and subjecting the stiff nature of *Almagro*, incensed him to a higher degree of Rage; for Tyranny, with unjust dealings, operate little on the Minds of Men, who esteem themselves innocent. And so it was with the *Almagrians*, who being reduced to a necessitous condition, resolved not to abandon the City, but instead thereof dispatched a Narrative in Writing, of the state of their case, to all places where any of those lived, who were inclined and devoted to the *Almagrian* Party, inviting them to repair to the City of *los Reyes*, to abet their Party, and to assist them in their pretensions. This Faction was then become very considerable, for besides those who had been actually engaged in the Battel, there were divers others who had been Affected to that side, as it commonly happens in Civil and intestine Disorders.

Upon these Summons above two hundred Souldiers resorted to the City of *los Reyes*, from parts above three and four hundred Leagues remote, who being joined in such numbers together, took the Liberty to talk boldly, who being in such manner to arm themselves; for until then they were not permitted to carry any Weapons, living in the nature of Prisoners. The gentle Treatment which the Marquis used towards them, encouraged them to higher Attempts, and to the treat of the manner how the Death of *Don Diego de Almagro* might be revenged by the Blood of the Marquis; for though *Hernando Pizarro*, after his return from Spain, was the great Incendiary and the real Author of all those Evils that had hitherto ensued, yet the Revenge for all was to refund on the Head of the Marquis. But these private Cabals and Conspiracies were not contrived and carried on so secretly, but that they were made known to the Countess and fellows of the Marquis, who instantly urged him to disturb those Meetings, and punish the Malecontents, by taking off the Heads of the Chief Leaders, and by banishment of the others, before their Plot was ripe, and become too strong to be suppressed. *Carate*, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth Books, declares the matter to be thus.

"The Marquis (saith he) remained so confident and secure, being of a Disposition not inclined to Jealousie, that in Reply unto what they advised, he made Answer, that there was no need to fear or apprehend Danger from Men, in that poor and forlorn condition, who had Difficulties sufficient, in contending with Poverty. *Almagro* and his Complices growing more confident by this Inadvertency and Goodness of the Marquis, proceeded at length to that degree, as to lay aside all respect towards his Person, and not so much as to take off their Caps, or make any other demonstration of Honour, as he passed by them. Thus saith *Carate*.

And indeed such was the Want and Indigency they sustained, that *Almagro* made a Confortship with seven Souldiers, who lodged in the same Chamber together; amongst which they had but one Cloak, and that not new, but old and patched; with this worshipfull Garment they took their turns to go abroad, the others staying at home, whilst the Cloak was employed, and till it returned. They also made a common Purse, putting the Money which they gained at play, or otherwise, into the hands of *John de Rada*, whom they made their Treasurer, and common Steward, to buy and dress their Victuals.

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As was their Poverty, such was their Boldness and Impudence, which presumed on the good Nature and Gentleness of the Marquis so far, as to act many shameful things in affront to his Person; amongst which, one was this: By night they fixed three Ropes on the Pillory, which was erected in the Market-place, one whereof they stretched, and tied to the House of *Antonio Picado*, Secretary to the Marquis, another to the Window of *Doctour Velazquez*, Chief Justice, and the third to the House of *Picarro* himself; which was such a piece of Insolence, as would have provoked any thing below the Patience of the Marquis to have hanged them all with the same Cords; but such was the soft and generous Nature of this good Man, that he not only neglected all Examination and Enquiry into this daring and impudent Action; but rather inclined to form Excuses for them, saying that they were low, unhappy, and provoked thereunto by their Misfortunes, which were a sufficient punishment; and needed no other Revenge by the way of Justice.

When this tameness of the Marquis was published in *Chili*, their Spirits were not mollified thereby, but became farther outrageous and unupportable, till they proceeded to touch the Blood, and Life of the Marquis himself, as we shall speedily see in what is to follow.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Mutiny in which the People of Chili killed the Marquis, and what occasion provoked them thereto.

Though the *Almagrians* had by several open Actions evidenced a resolution to kill the Marquis, yet they could not agree on the manner, how that Villany was to be committed; for sometimes they were of opinion, that the best way was to expect the Imperial Warrant from His Majesty, which could not long be wanting, to put him to Death; for that, as we formerly intimated, *Diego de Alvarado* was then actually in *Spain*, accusing the Family of *Picarro*, and had so far proceeded in his Evidence, as to procure a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer to be held at *Cusco*, on this very matter; but then they considered, that this very Power which the Judge was bringing, was limited, and without other Authority, than only to examine the matter of Fact, and to report it back again into *Spain*, and that thereupon His Majesty would farther determine, what other Proceedings should be made, and sentenced against the guilty.

The *Almagrians* were not a little scandalized and troubled at this kind of Commission; for they were only for cutting off of Heads, right or wrong; and expected Judges, who upon their Informations and suggestions, should hang up the Bodies, and confiscate the Estates of as many as they should in a black Roll prescribe. But not being assured, as yet, how far the Commission of the Judge might extend, they agreed to expect his Arrival; and in case he immediately seized on the Person of the Marquis, and performed other pieces of exemplary Justice, agreeable to their own Expectations and Humours, that then they would acquiesce, and side with, and assist him in his prosecution of Justice; but if his Commission was short and faulty, that then they themselves would become the Executioners, and both revenge the Blood of *Almagro*, by the Death of the Marquis, and the remission of the Emperour, especially in a Cause so black, and so foul as this; both which they secretly plotted to perform by a General Insurrection of all the Countrey, as will more at large appear by the Sequel of this History.

This

This Plot was so publicly talked of over all the City of *Los Reyes*, and that the people of *Chili* designed to kill the Marquis, that his Friends gave him fair notice and warning of the Treason intended, to whom, as *Carate* reports, he made this Answer.

"That the Chief Heads of that place would guard his; and so little did he seem to be concerned for his own safety, that he would frequently walk abroad, attended only with a single Page, to certain Mills, which he had set up without the City. And when he was asked why he took not his Guards with him, he replied, he would not have the World believe that he apprehended any fear, or intended to secure himself from the Lawyer *Vaca de Castro*, who was coming, as was reported, with Commission to sit in Judgment upon him; for which reason, and farther to amuse the Marquis, the people of *Chili* gave out, that *Vaca de Castro* was dead.

"It happened one day that *John de Rada*, with some few Attendants, went and made a visit to the Marquis, whom finding in a Garden, he asked him the reason why his Lordship intended to put him and his Friends to Death: Whereunto the Marquis made Answer, with an Oath, that he never had any such intention; but that on the contrary, it might rather be suspected that they designed to kill him, since they had bought Arms to that purpose, to which *John de Rada* made Answer, That it was not strange, that since his Lordship had bought Lances, if they should provide themselves with Coats of Mail for their Defence. To which bold saying he was encouraged, in confidence of lowly Men, which he had then lying in wait not far from him, and well armed. And farther he added, That in case his Lordship was jealous of their practices, he desired only leave for *Don Diego de Almagro*, and his Companions, to retire out of the Countrey. The Marquis being far from taking those Words in the worst sense, or conceiving suspicion thereby, but compassionating their condition, he assured him with mild and obliging Words, that those Lances were not bought with design or bad intention against them: With which gathering some Oranges, he presented them to *John de Rada*, which were esteemed for a curiosity at that time, being the first, and the most early fruit, and with all told him in the publick hearing of those then present, that he should consider, and acquaint him with what he stood in need, and it should be provided for him. *John de Rada*, hissing his Hands for the favour, left the Marquis well assured of his true and honest meaning, and without jealousy, or the least suspicion of a Plot against his Life, and so retired to his Lodging, where he met with the principal Conspirators, and with them agreed, that since they had missed of their Design to kill him on Midsummer Day, that it should now be perpetrated on the Sunday following. Thus far *Carate*, the which is confirmed by *Lopez de Gomara* in this manner.

"The good Marquis (says he) was as careless of his Safety, and as little apprehensive of any Mischief from the people of *Chili*, as they were intent and solicitous to commit the Act. Howsoever they thought fit to defer the Execution until the coming of the Judge, and had seen the manner whereby he intended to proceed.

This Delay of the *Almagrians* gave time to *Antonio Picado*, Secretary to the Marquis, to evidence his Resentment with rage and Indignation against those of *Chili*, for the impudent affront offered to the Marquis, and himself, by the Ropes which they had fastened to the Pillory, as we before mentioned; but since this was rather a matter of Threatning, and an Indication of what they designed to act, had not their Fear and Cowardise restrained them, the Secretary in scorn and contempt of what they were able to perform, took out of his Cap a certain Medal of Gold, richly enameled, with a Finger scornfully pointing, with this Motto, *Thus much for those of Chili*. With which these angry Soldiers were so far incensed, that they resolved to precipitate the Design, and to kill the Marquis before the arrival of the Judge; so that now they acted more publicly than before; by which means the Plot coming to the knowledge of a Priest, he gave notice to the Marquis of the manner how, and of the time when this Assassination was to be committed; all which the Marquis communicated to

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Doctour *Velazquez*, the Chief Justice, and to *Picado* his Secretary; but they were so far from being concerned, or alarmed herewith, that they slighted the report, and told him that no Danger could be apprehended from such poor and considerable Wretches, whom Famine and Poverty provoked to complain and threaten. Howsoever the jealousy hereof made such Impression in the Mind of the Marquis, that he forbore to go to Mass unto the Great Church on that Day, which was the Feast of St. *John Baptist*, in the Year 1541. being the Day appointed for the Execution of that Murder. The like caution he used on Sunday following, being the 26th. of June, on pretence of some Indisposition of Body, intending to shut himself up for some days, that he might the better consult with his Party and Friends concerning the means to secure his own Person, and suppress those bold and daring Seditions, which were arrived at the highest degree of Insolence. The principal Officers of the City missing the Marquis at Mass, went to enquire the cause, and the state of his Health; and having made their Court and Visit, they returned again to their own Houses, onely Doctour *Velazquez*, and *Francis de Chaves*, his true and intimate Friend, remained with him.

The Conspirators of *Chili* observing that the Marquis began to grow cautious how he exposed his Person, and that many of the principal Persons of his party made him frequent visits, they suspected that some Plot and Design was contriving to cut them off; with which apprehension becoming desperate, on that very Sunday, about the hour of Dinner, and when the Marquis had scarce dined, a party of the Assassins appeared at a corner of the Market-place, on the left hand of the Cathedral Church, which joins to the Lodging of *Don Diego de Almagro* the younger; where meeting the principal of the Conspirators, they passed clear over the Market-place, which is very large, and wide, and went directly to the House of the Marquis, of which they were thirteen in number, twelve of which *Gomara* particularly names, not specifying of what Country they were, but sets them down in this manner following.

John de Rada, the Chief Leader, *Martin de Bilbao*, *Diego Mendez*, *Christopher de Sosa*, *Martin Carrillo*, *Arbolancha Hingero*, *Narvaez*, *S. Millan*, *Porras*, *Velazquez*, *Francis Nunnez*, and *Gomez Perez*; which are all that *Gomara* mentions. These went over the Market-place with their Swords drawn, crying out with loud voices, May the Tyrant Traitor perish, who hath murdered the Judge whom the Emperour sent to execute Justice upon him. The reason which induced them so publicly to own their Fact, was, that the People of the City, who were then in their Houses, might imagine that the Conspirators were more in number, than they really were; and therefore might be cautious how they left their Houses for succour and assistance of the Marquis. Indeed it was a bold and rash Attempt, to act in such a publick manner; but such was the Fate of the Marquis, that the *Almagrians* gained their point, and succeeded in the Revenge intended, by the Death of the Marquis, as will appear more at large in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Death of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro;
and his poor Funeral and Entertainment.

THE Indians, who were Servants to the Marquis, hearing the noise and outcry which the Faction of *Chili* made in the Streets, immediately rushed in and acquainted him of the Tumult, and of the manner with which they were coming. The Marquis being then in Discourse with Doctour *Velazquez*, the Chief Justice, and with Captain *Francisco de Chaves*, who was his Lieutenant General, and with *Francisco Martin Alcantara*, his half Brother by the Mother side, and about twelve or thirteen Servants of his Household standing by, was greatly alarm'd hereat, easily suspecting what the matter was; wherefore he gave order to *Francisco de Chaves*, to run and shut the Door of the Hall, and of the Dining-Room, where they sat, that he and his Friends might have time to buckle on their Armour. But *de Chaves* imagining that this disturbance was no other than some quarrel amongst the Souldiers, which the Authority of his Presence might appease, instead of shutting the Doors, as he was ordered, he ran out to them, and met them upon the head of the Stairs; and being now troubled at this unexpected Encounter, he asked them what their pleasure was; whereunto he was answered by a Stab; and finding himself wounded, he laid his Hand upon his Sword, but before he could draw it, he received another, with such a slash on his Neck, that, as *Gomara* saith, in Chap. 145. his Head hanged onely by a piece of the Skin, and therewith they threw his Body down the Stairs. The Servants of the Marquis, who were in the Hall, came running to see what the matter was, and finding *Francisco de Chaves* dead, they fled like poor spirited Servants, and got out of the Windows, on the Garden side; amongst which Doctour *Velazquez* was one, who holding his white Wand in his Mouth, supposed that that Badge of his Authority would give a respect to his Person, and so ran as fast as his Legs and Arms could carry him.

The Assassins finding the Hall empty, went to the Door of the Dining-room; where the Marquis hearing them so near at hand, and perceiving he had not time to brace on his Arms, hastily took hold of his Buckler and Sword, and together with his Brother *Martin de Alcantara*, and two Pages, who were grown up to be Men, one of which was named *John de Vargas*, Son of *Gomez de Tordoya*, and the other *Alonso Escandon*, neither of which had time to put on their defensive Arms, all these posted themselves at the Entry of the Door, which they stoutly defended for a great while, the Marquis still calling out with great Courage, *Let us kill these villainous Traitors*. Thus whilst both sides fought very valiantly, the Brother of the Marquis was killed, into the place of whom one of the Pages stepped, and he and his Master so stoutly defended the Door, that the Assassins began to fear, lest whilst they were gaining Entrance, they should be surprised by Assistance from without; and that then they should be encompassed on all sides; wherefore *John de Rada* made one effort for all, and taking *Narvaez* in his Arms, thrust him in at the Door before him, in whose Body whilst the Marquis had engaged his Sword, the others had opportunity to enter in; some of which engaged with the Marquis, and others with the Pages, who fought so valiantly, that before they were killed, they sorely wounded four of their Enemies. The Marquis being the onely Person remaining, they all set upon him at once, and encompassed him on all sides; but he so well defended himself, that he once, and rously wounded three of the Ruffians: But in regard there were so many to one, and that he was above the Age of sixty five Years, he began to grow faint; so that one of the Villains making a Pass at him, ran him through the Throat, with which falling to the Ground, he cried out with a loud voice for a Confessor; but time not being given for Confession, he made a Cross with his Right Hand;

Hand, which clapping to his mouth, he kissed it, and so expired his last Breath; so dyed that famous *Don Francisco Pizarro*, the most renowned amongst the Worthies, who hath so much enriched, and made great, and still by the Riches and Treasure he hath acquired, continues greatness, and Riches to the Crown of *Spain*, and to all the World, as appears by what hath been already declared, and what is manifested by the effects in these our days. And yet not withstanding all this vast Treasure and Greatness, he died poor and forsaken, having no Friend to much as to wind him in a sheet, or lay him in his Grave; by which it may appear, that all the favour and prosperity which Fortune had been bestowing on him, during the whole course of his Life, was snatched away on a sudden, in less than the space of one hour. To confirm which *Carate*, in the 8th Chapter of his 4th Book hath these Words.

"In this manner he resigned his Soul unto God, and with the Marquis two of his Pages were killed; of the Faction of *Chili* four were killed, besides others that were dangerously wounded. So soon as this news was spread through the Town, above two hundred Men appeared in favour of *Don Diego de Almagro*; which, though armed and in a readines, yet durst not declare themselves, until they saw how the matter succeeded, and then they dispersed themselves over all parts of the City, seizing and disarming those whom they believed to be well affected to the party of *Pizarro*.

"The Assassins having done their work, came out of the House with their Swords drawn, and bloody; and *John de Rada* causing *Almagro* to mount on Horse-back, conducted him through the City, proclaiming him Governor over all *Pern*, and sole King thereof. Then they plundered the Houses of the Marquis, and his Brother, and of *Antonio Pinedo*; and caused the Corporation of the City to receive *Don Diego* for Governor; by virtue of that Capitulation and Charter, signed by his Majesty at the time of the first Discovery of these Countries, whereby the Government of the new *Toledo* was granted to *Almagro*, and his Heirs, or to such Person or Persons as he should assign. After which they put several to Death, whom they knew to be Servants and Dependents on the Marquis, which caused great Cries through the whole City, the Women weeping and wailing to see their Husbands murdered, and their Houses plundered.

"All which time none durst touch the Body of the Marquis, to bestow decent Burial thereupon, unless some few Negroes, who rather dragged than carried it to the Church, until *John de Barbaran*, and his Wife, who were Inhabitants of *Truxillo*, and had been Servants to the Marquis, having first obtained leave of *Almagro*, buried him and his Brother in such decent manner as they were able. The which they were forced to perform with such haste, that they had scarce time to cloth his Body with the Habit of St. *Jago*, of which Order he was a Knight, and to put on his Spurs, before they were told that those of *Chili* were coming in great haste to cut off his Head, and to place it on the Gallows. So that *Barbaran* was forced to slubber over the Funeral and Offices for the dead with great haste, defraying the Charges of the Torches, and other Duties, at his own Expence. And having laid the Body in the Grave, they immediately endeavoured to secure his Sons, who lay privately concealed; for the party of *Chili* were now become Masters of the whole City.

"Hence we may learn the variety of Fortune in this World, if we consider in how short a time a Gentleman was brought to nothing, who had discovered, and governed, and possessed such a vast Extent, and Tract of Land, and Kingdoms; and had bestowed a greater Revenue, and Riches on others, than the most powerfull Prince in the World was able to have done; and how in a moment he was made to perish, without time given him to confess, and prepare for his Soul, or settle his Estate; and that he should be assassinated by the Hands of twelve Men only, at Noon-day, and in the midst of his City, where the Inhabitants were all his Servants and Creatures, Kinsmen and Soldiers, and all had eaten of his Bread, and subsisted by his Bounty; and after this, that none should dare to come unto his Succour, but rather fly from him, and abandon his House. And moreover, that his Burial should be so obscure, that of all the Riches and Greatness he possessed, there should not be left so much as to defray the Charge of the Wax-Candles, and other Expences of his Funeral;

"Funeral; the which, and other Circumstances, preceding his Death, by which (as we have specified) he would take no warning, are so strange, as can be attributed to no other cause than to the unfeighbourable Judgments of Almighty God. Thus far are the Words of *Carate*.

In which place he makes a comparison between the Death and Burial of *Almagro*, and this of *Pizarro*; the circumstances of whose Life and Death were in all things agreeable. They were companions, and had sworn Friendship, and entred into Articles to gain and conquer that Empire, and it is strange to consider with what equality Fortune balanced the course of their Lives, and the circumstances of their Deaths. As the same *Carate* reports in the Chapter following.

"Many Years after, saith he, that the Wars were ceased in that Kingdom, the Bones of this brave and worthy Gentleman were taken up out of the Grave, and with such decent Solemnity as became them, were put into a Coffin, and interred in a Vault of the Cathedral Church, on the Right-hand of the High Altar: Where it remained in the Year 1560. when I came for *Spain*: The Death of the Marquis happened on the 26th of June, in the Year 1541.

Carate, who was a good Historian, imitated the method of the great *Plutarch*, comparing the Lives of these two famous Heroes, who were unhappy Spaniards, and ill rewarded by the World. Howsoever he judges them to worthy, that he could never express sufficient wherewith to exalt their Praises; and comparing their Lives, Customs and Death together, fills a whole Chapter with that Subject, which is the 9th of the 4th Book, which being transferred into these our Commentaries, shall serve for the 8th Chapter of the 3d Book of our Second Part; the Words whereof *verbatim* are these.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Actions and Qualities of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and the Lord Deputy Don Diego de Almagro.

IN regard that the Discovery and Conquest of this Province, (which is the Subject of this History,) had its Original from these two Captains of whom we have hitherto discoursed, namely, the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and the Lord Deputy *Don Diego de Almagro*, we are obliged in justice to their memories to describe the Qualifications and Actions of these two Worthies, in comparison of each with the other; imitating herein the method of *Plutarch*, who having wrote the Lives of two great Captains, he in the next place compares them together, shewing wherein they were equal, and wherein they differed.

"As to what concerns their Parentage, and Families, we have already discoursed; as to other matters, they were both courageous in their Persons, bold and daring, patient of Labour, virtuous and friendly, being ready to perform all good Offices, though at their own Charge and Expence. They resembled each other in their natural Inclinations, particularly in their condition and state of Life, for neither of them was married, though when they dyed, the youngest was arrived to the Age of sixty five Years.

"They were both inclined to War, though *Almagro* having for the chiefest part of his Life no occasion to exercise himself in Arms, applied his mind with much earnestness to heap and gather Riches.

"They were both of good Years when they first entred upon the Conquest of *Pern*, in which their Labours were as great as we have formerly described; though the Marquis sustained more of Danger therein than the Deputy had done; because that whilst the one exposed his Person in the first Discovery, the other continued in *Panama*, to provide all necessaries required thereunto, as hath been before declared.

"They were both of great Minds, and entertained high Thoughts, which they were enabled to put into practice by their extreme Patience, joined to that affable and obliging Behaviour which they used towards their Souldiers.

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" They were both liberal and generous in their Gifts, but if either excelled the other, it was *Almagro*, because he was ambitious to have his Liberality and Gifts known and published to the World; but the Marquis on the contrary, was secret, and modest in his Gifts, desiring rather to conceal them, than found his Trumpet; being more willing to provide for the necessities of the poor, than to make an Ostentation of his Charity.

" An Example we have in his kindness to a Souldier, whose Horse happened to dye; to repair the Loss whereof, he came to a Pall-Mall belonging to his House, expecting to find the Souldier, that he might with his own hand present him with a small Ingot of Gold, of ten pounds weight; but the Souldier not being then come, he in the mean time plaid a match in the Mall, with his Coat on, that he might conceal the Gold; at length (which was three hours after) the Souldier came, when calling him aside, he privately gave him the Gold, and told him, that he had rather have given him three times as much, than to have endured what he did, by so long an expectation and attendance for him. Many other Instances might be given of this nature, for the Marquis never gave any thing but with his own hand, endeavouring to conceal his Liberality.

" For which reason *Almagro* was always esteemed the more generous, because he contrived how his Presents might be given with greater ostentation, and with the best appearance to the World. Howsoever in this Virtue of Munificence they may well be equalized, because (as the Marquis himself alleged) all came from their common Purse, whereof being partners, the moiety of what one gave belonged to the other; so that he who consented to the Present, was as generous as he who delivered it.

" They were both in their Life-time the richest Men in ready Money, and in Revenue, that have been known in many Ages, and were the most powerful of any under the Degree of Crowned Heads; and yet they dyed so poor, that no mention is made of the Estates they left, or of their Money wherewith to pay the Charges of their Funeral Expences; resembling *Caro*, and *Silius*, and other *Roman* Captains herein, who were interred at the Cost of the Publick.

" They were both extremely kind to their Servants, and obliging to their Souldiers, endeavouring to enrich and advance them, and to rescue them in all times of Danger; in which piece of Gallantry the Marquis was prodigal beyond comparison; as appears by what happened in passing a River, which they call *Beranza*, where one of his *Indian* Servants being carried down by force of the stream, the Marquis leaped in, and swam after him, and catching him by the Hair of his Head, buoyed him up above the Water, and with great hazard of his own Life, saved his, which none of the most adventurous of his Army durst have attempted; and when his Captains reproved him for his rashness, he answered, that none of them knew of what prevalency his Love was unto a Servant.

" Though the Marquis governed longer, and in greater peace, yet *Almagro* was much more ambitious, and desirous of Rule. They both affected antiquity, and would never change the fashion of that Habit to which they had been accustomed from their youth, especially the Marquis, who never wore other than a Jerkin of black Cloth, with Skirts down to his Ankles, with a short Waste a little below his Breasts; his Shoes were made of a white Cordivant, his Hat white, with Sword and Dagger, after the old Fashion; sometimes upon high Days, at the instance and request of his Servants, he wore a Caskock, lined with *Martins* Furs, which the Marquis *de Valle* sent him from *Spain*; but when he returned home from *Mats*, he stripped them off, and remained in *cuero*; and about his Neck he commonly cast a Towel to wipe the Sweat from his face, when he plaid at Bowls, or at Pall-mall, which were his common Exercises in the time of peace. Both these Captains were men well enduring labour and hunger, which the Marquis especially evidenced by the Pastimes we have mentioned, to which he was so intent, that no young men could hold out so long as he. He was much more given to gaming than *Almagro*, for he would many times play the whole day at *Bovvis*, not considering with whom he plaid, whether he were *Mariner* or *Miller*, nor would he suffer them to give him up his *Bovvis*, or use any other Ceremonies towards him, which belonged to the Dignity of his Person.

" Not every sort of business could divert him from his game, especially if he lost; but if in case there happened any Insurrection or Rebellion amongst the *Indians*, he would then lay all aside, and immediately brace on his Arms, and taking his Lance and Target in his hand, would run with all haste to the place

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" where the mutiny was arisen, not expecting until his people came, though they followed him with all the haste they were able.

" Both these Captains were so stout and expert in their Wars against the *Indians*, that either of them being single, would break through a Body of a hundred *Indians*. They were both very intelligent persons, and of great judgment in all matters, whether Martial or Civil, especially considering that they were illiterate Men, and neither knew how to write or read, or so much as to form their Names; which in persons of their degree, and of that sphere wherein they moved, was a remarkable defect, considering the business and negotiations which they treated: And though their Virtues, and other Endowments, gave them an appearance of Noble Personages, yet their ignorance in letters was a plain demonstration of their mean Parentage and Extraction.

" The Marquis was so confident, and assured of the faithfulness of his Servants and Friends, that in all the Dispatches which he issued out either relating to Orders of Government, or to Assigning over to each person his share and division of Lands; his manner was to make two lines with the Pen, in the middle of which *Antonio Picado* his Secretary signed the Name of *Francisco Pizarro*. But for his excuse herein, we may say the same which *Ovid* did for *Romulus*. That he was better versed in the knowledge of Arms, than Astrology; and applied his mind rather to conquer his Neighbours, than to understand Letters.

" They were both extremely affable and familiar with the people of the City, making them visits at their own Houses, and not refusing to Dine with such as first invited them. They were equally abstemious in Eating and Drinking, and restrained their inclinations towards the *Castilian* Women, upon a principle, that they could not make use of their Wives or Daughters without some prejudice and dishonour to their Neighbours: As to the *Indian* Women of *Pern*, they were more free, though of the two, *Almagro* was the more content; for unless it were with the Woman by whom he had his Son, he entertained little or no conversation with any. The Marquis conferred a particular affection for an *Indian* Lady, who was the Sister of *Atabaliba*, by whom he had a Son called *Don Gonzalo*, which dyed at the Age of fourteen years, and a Daughter called *Donna Francisca*; by another *Indian* Woman of *Cusco* he had a Son called *Don Francisco*: And as to this Son of *Almagro*, who killed the Marquis, he was born of an *Indian* Woman at *Panama*.

" Both of them had received Favours and Honours from his Majesty; *Pizarro*, as we have said, was honoured with the title of Marquis, as before related, and was made Governour of New *Castile*, and vested with the Habit of St. *Jago*. *Almagro* was rewarded with the Government of the New *Toledo*, and dignified with the title of Lord Lieutenant of that Countrey.

" The Marquis in a particular manner was devoted to his Majesty, and had such an awe and reverence for his Name, that he would often deny himself the exercise of his Authority in many lawful matters, lest he should seem to stretch his Power beyond his Commission. Many times as he was sitting on his Chair in the Melting-houses, he would arise, and take up the small granes, or drops of Gold and Silver which were fallen aside from the Scissers, with which they cut the King's Fifths, saying, That when hands failed, wherewith to amass and heap up the Treasure which belonged to the King, they were to do it with their mouths. Thus as they resembled one the other in their Lives, so did they not differ in the manner of their Deaths; for as the Brother of the Marquis killed *Almagro*, so the Son of *Almagro* killed *Pizarro*.

" The Marquis was very industrious to improve his Land, and cultivate his Plantations; he built several very fair Houses in the City of *los Reyes*; and on the River he made two Sluces to stop the Water to drive his Mills; in which projects and buildings he employed all his leisure times, that he might oversee the Workmen, and hasten them in their labour.

" Moreover, he was very diligent and zealous in erecting a great Church for the City of *los Reyes*, and Monasteries for the Orders of St. *Domingo*, and the *Merced*; for a Revenue unto which, and to keep those Buildings in repair, he gave and set out Lands with *Indians* to manure them. Thus far *Carate*. In the following Chapter we shall declare what this Author farther saith on this Subject, to which we shall add several other Excellencies of this Worthy Person, whose Praises we can never sufficiently extoll.

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CHAP. IX.

Of the affable Nature of the Marquis, and his Intentions to succour and relieve those whom he believed to be in want.

THE Marquis had one Son, and one Daughter, and no more, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, as we have mentioned in the 38th Chapter of his 9th Book, had one Son; but *Carare* makes them all three to be the Children of the Marquis. The Mother of the Son of the Marquis was Daughter, and not Sister of *Atahualpa*; but his Daughter he had by a Daughter of *Huayna Capac*, whose Indian Name was *Huayllas Nishta*; but afterwards her Christian Name was *Donna Beatrice*; as we have at large specified in the aforementioned Chapter.

And farther, this Authour confirms what we have formerly said; namely, that though these two Governours were so vastly rich, yet they died so poor, that of all their Wealth there was scarce sufficient to bury them. And indeed there was nothing remaining, so that they were buried of mere Charity.

Almagro was buried by one that had been his Slave, and the Marquis by another, who had been his Servant, as the same Authour alledges. And those who carried both one and the other to their Burial, were *Negros* and *Indians*, as both Authours agree. And thus much shall suffice to shew in what manner the World rewards those who have been so usefull and deserving in their generation.

The Marquis was so generally kind and obliging in his carriage, that he never gave an ill word to any person whatsoever. When he plaid at Bowls, he never would suffer any to give him up his Bowls from the ground; but in case any one was so courteous as to do it, he would take it, and throw it instantly far from him, which went for a cast. It happened once, that taking up a Bowl, he dired his hands with some filth which stuck to it, and presently lifting up his foot, he wiped it off with his Buskins: For I remember then, and many years after, that it was the fashion and gallantry of Souldiers to wear a sort of Buskins made with Paek-thread, and not Shoes. On which occasion a certain Favourite to the Marquis seeing him to wipe his hands on the Buskin, came and offered him his Handkerchief; to which the Marquis smilingly replied, *I protest your Linen is so white, that I dare not touch it.*

One day being at Bowls with a certain Souldier called *Alonso Palomares*, a well-conditioned Man, and of a cheerful humour; and the Marquis losing almost at every end, he quarrelled and cursed at every cast which was plaid; and herein he was so eager and concerned that all the standers-by took notice, that either he was troubled at his own ill play, or otherwise for the eight or nine thousand Crowns which he lost by the game. Some days passing, that the Marquis paid not the Money, the Winner took the confidence to ask him for it; and being afterwards troubled with the importunity, the Marquis forbade him to ask any more, for that he was resolved never to pay him: To which *Palomares* replied, *If your Lordship be resolved never to pay me, what made you quarrel; and be so angry the other day, when you lost?*

The Marquis was so well pleased with the Answer, that he gave order he should be immediately paid. He would play at all Games, and with all sorts of Persons; and when he knew any one to be necessitous and wanting, he would invite him to play with him, with intention and purpose to lose to him; thinking it a more noble and generous way to relieve a person in want, than by direct Alms, which to a haughty Spaniard is a kind of an affront; but when he gains by advantage of play, he not only rejoices in the gain, but triumphs in the Honour of being a better Gamester than the Marquis, and to receive his Money rather as a due, than given as a favour. When he bowled with such persons as these, he would either cast short, or beyond, that the other might win. And when he plaid

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at Cards, at which his Game was commonly *Primera*; he would often vye with his worst Cards; and if he had the fortune to have Flush or *Primera*, he would shuffle up his Cards, and not shew them, seeming to be angry or displeased at his ill luck: by such ways as these he gained himself so much good-will and affection, as were due to his Worthy and Heroick Merits.

Gomara treating of the Death of this Prince (nay more than a Prince; for, in reality, I know no title upon Earth sufficient to express the Grandure and Merits of this Hero) saith that which follows in the Chapter 145.

"He was the Bastard Son of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Captain in *Navarre*, was born at *Truxillo*, and laid in the Church Porch: he sucked a Sow for several days, till another Nurse was provided for him. Afterwards his Father acknowledged him, and employed him in keeping Hogs, so that he was never educated in any learning. One day it happened, that the Flies did so bite the Hogs, that they all ran away, and were lost; upon which he durst not return home again for fear, but attended some Travellers to *Sevil*, from whence he embarked himself for the *Indies*; and being arrived at *St. Domingo*, he went with *Alonso de Hojeda* to *Uruana*, and with *Vasco Nunez de Balboa*, to discover the Sea of *Sar*, and thence with *Pedarias* to *Panama*; at length he discovered and conquered that Country which they call *Peru*, &c. which are the very Words of this Authour.

Upon which one might make (if it were lawfull) many reflexions both in reference to him who wrote it, as well as to him who related it; for if the things had been true, yet it had not been convenient or decent to report such mean and low things of a Gentleman, whose Triumphs and great Actions he had wrote with such wonder and applause; much less was it fit to mention them, seeing that they were doubtful, and admitted onely of a probability.

I would know of him, who gave this relation, how he came to the knowledge of such particulars, which related to the Birth of a poor child, that was exposed in the Porch of a Church, and was suckled by a Beast, for want of a better Nurse? When things of this nature happen to the Sons of great Kings and Princes, it is difficult to learn the particular circumstances thereof; how much less of a poor boy thrown at a Church door? And then to say, after he was acknowledged by his Father, that he was sent to keep Swine, must be a piece of envy and malice, and nothing else; for 'tis not probable that such a principal person as *Gonzalo Pizarro*, Captain of his Majesty's Troops in *Navarre*, should send his Son after he had acknowledged him to keep Swine. Nor is it probable that the Flies should take the Hogs in such manner as to make them stray, where they could never more be found; and therefore that he durst not return home for fear: To confute which, I have particularly enquired of some Paisants, or Country people, whose business it was to breed up Hogs, whether the Fly doth bite them at any time in such manner, as to cause them to stray abroad; and they have generally assured me, that such a thing cannot be.

But Envy in Countries where parties and factions prevail, doth often raise reports of this nature to eclipse the glory of Worthy Men; for finding they are not able to deny, or darken the lustre of their mighty Actions, which are manifest and apparent to all the World, as were those of the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro*; they feign and invent some mean passages relating to their Birth and Education, which being obscure, are not easily refuted.

The truth of all is this: The Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro*, who was Conquerour and Governour of that great Empire called *Peru*, was the Natural Son of his Father and Mother, and acknowledged by them at the instant of his Birth.

Afterwards his Father Captain *Gonzalo Pizarro* Married her, who was Mother to our Marquis; and one by extraction of an ancient Family of Christians, unto a certain Country Farmer of good repute, called Goodman such a one—of *Alcantara*, by whom he had a Son named *Francisco Martin de Alcantara*, whom *Gomara* saith was the half Brother to the Marquis *Pizarro*, and was killed with the Marquis, as we have before declared.

Wherefore I conclude, that though such reports as these should have something of probable truth in them, yet they ought not to be related to the prejudice of such a Prince, whose fame may be equalized with those of highest renown.

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And since we are not able to extoll his praises to that degree which they deserve, we must refer the defect of our Expressions to be supplied by his own Acts and Conquests, which speak themselves. And so we shall pass forward in our History.

CHAP. X.

Don Diego de Almagro Administers an Oath of Allegiance to all Officers, causing them to swear Fealty to him as Governour of Peru; and sends his Warrants into divers parts of the Kingdom, which are opposed and resisted.

THE Marquis being thus slain, as before related, caused chiefly by the over-confidence of *Francisco de Chavez*; for had he shut the doors, as he was ordered, the Marquis, and such as were with him, might have had time to have armed themselves, whilst the Assassins were employed in breaking open the doors; and perhaps in that manner they might have prevailed over their Enemies: For if the Marquis, and his Brother, and two Pages, were able without their defensive Arms to kill four of those Ruffians, as some Authors report, besides those who were wounded by them; what may we imagine they would have done, had they been in a readines, and well appointed? And had those who leaped out of the Windows stood to it, and joyned with their Masters, 'tis very probable they might have been able to have resisted, and overcome them; but when a mischief once comes with surprize, it is hardly prevented by humane Counsels. That *Negro* which *Gomara* says, was killed by these Villains, was one who hearing the noise, came up the stairs to help his Master, or to dye with him: but when he came to the door, he understood that he was already killed; wherefore he intended to have locked and barred the door, so as to have kept them in until he could have called the Justice: But as the *Negro* was shutting and fastning the doors, one of the Assassins happened to come out, and guessing at the intention of the *Negro*, fell upon him, and stabbed him to death with his Dagger. There were seven killed on the side of the Marquis, amongst which the Servant of *Chavez* was one; soon after which the faction of *Almagro* went out into the Market-place, and published their Victory. This was the fate of that good Marquis, who perished rather by the negligence and obstinacy of his own People, than by the power and strength of his Enemies. Upon the news of his Death a great tumult was raised through the whole City; some cried out, they have wounded the King by the Death of the Marquis; others with a loud voice proclaimed, the Tyrant is dead; and the Murder of *Almagro* revenged. With this manner of noise and confusion many of these different parties, both of one side and of the other, ran out from their Houses to favour their respective Factions; upon which quarters and disputes several were killed and wounded; but so soon as it was known that the Marquis was killed, all his party retired, and the point was decided. Then those of *Chili* brought forth *Don Diego Almagro*, Junior, proclaiming him King of *Peru*. The tumult of that day being ceased, he was sworn by the Corporation of that City to be Governour of that Country, none daring to contradict, or question, whatsoever that prevailing party required. In pursuance hereof, the late Ministers and Officers of Justice were all displaced, and others appointed in their steads. The rich and powerfull Men were all imprisoned, and those of any Estates in *los Reyes*, which were ill affected, were all seized, and their Goods confiscated. Then they took all the Fifths belonging to the King, which being already gathered, amounted to a vast sum. In like manner all the Goods and Estates of such as were dead, or absent, and esteemed Ma-

lignants,

lignants, or ill affected, were seized, and converted to the use of their own party, who being poor, (as we have before mentioned) had need thereof to repair their fortunes.

John de Rada was the Person nominated for General: *John Tello de Guzman*, a Native of *Sorillo*, and *Francisco de Chavez*, a near Kinsman of the other *Francisco de Chavez*, who was killed with the Marquis, were made Captains; for it is one of the essential miseries of Civil War for Brothers to fight against Brothers. Likewise *Christopher Sotelo* received a Commission to be a Captain, and others were nominated for other Offices. At the news of these alterations, all the idle Spaniards and Vagabonds, which were void of employment in *Peru*, came flocking to the City of *los Reyes*; so that in a short time *Almagro* had composed an Army of more than eight hundred Men: In confidence of which force, he dispatched his Orders and Commands to *Cusco*, and all the Cities of *Peru*, namely to *Arequipa*, to the *Charcas*, and to all places along the Sea-coast of *Truxillo*, and to the Inland Countries of the *Chachapoyas*, to receive and acknowledge him for absolute Lord and Governour over all the Empire. One or two Cities complied and obeyed, either out of fear than love, because they had not power to make resistance against fifty Men, which were sent against them: but other Cities refused to submit, as will presently appear.

It is a common phrase in the Language of *Peru* to say, *Up the Coast*, and *down the Coast*; not that upon the Sea, which is a Plain, there can be Up or Down; but it is a term used in the New Navigation, in respect to the South-wind which always blows Trade, or the same way in those Seas, *Panama* lying to Lee ward of *Peru*; so on the contrary those who Sail from *Panama* to *Peru* must turn to Wind-ward, which is, as it were, up-hill, as the other is down.

John de Rada, as we have said, having had a great hand in the late Revolution, took upon him to issue out all Commissions in the Name of *Almagro*, without communicating the sense or substance thereof to his other Companions, who had been regularly concerned with him in the Murthe of the Marquis; which was the cause of much spleen and enmity amongst the principal Men, so that they began to bandy amongst themselves, and contrive ways in what manner to kill him.

The Plot being discovered, *Francisco de Chavez* endured the Wrack, and afterwards was hanged, being the Ring-leader of this Conspiracy; several others were likewise for the same cause put to death, amongst which *Antonio de Orihuela*, a Native of *Salamanca*, was one, though lately come from Spain, having on the way from thence said, that the party which now ruled were a company of Tyrants; after which rash saying, he was ill advised to adventure his life in their hands.

Garcia de Alvarado was one of those Officers whom *Almagro* employed to take possession of Towns and Plantations for his use, and to levy Souldiers, and to plunder Houses, and to disarm all those of the contrary party who had command over Indians, or any power, being esteemed for Enemies to the Government. Accordingly he went to *Truxillo*, where he discharged *Diego de Mora* from being Judge of that place, though he had been deputed in that Office by *Don Diego de Almagro*; but having kept a correspondence with *Aloso de Alvarado*, who was of the contrary faction, he was esteemed for one disaffected, and not fit for that employment.

In the City of *St. Michel* he put *Francisco de Voemediano*, and *Hernando de Villegas*, to death, besides other Outrages: And in *Huancu* he killed *Aloso de Cabrera*, who had once been Steward to *Francisco Pizarro*, because he had made a party to joyn together, and fly to the King's Forces.

Another instrument or Officer they had procured, named *Diego Mendez*, who went to the Town of Plate in the *Charcas*, which they found without people, because they had all dispersed themselves by several ways to meet at *Cusco*, and to declare for the King, as will presently appear. Howsoever, *Diego Mendez* took great quantities of Gold in that Town, which the Spaniards had with privy of the Indians hidden and concealed; but such was the cowardice of that poor-spirited people, that upon the least threat they immediately made a discovery.

Moreover, he made a seizure of sixty thousand Pesos of refined Silver, digged from the Mines of *del Porco*, for as yet those of *Potosi* were not discovered; and confiscated to the use of *Almagro* all the Indians Riches and Wealth, which belonged to the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro*, which amounted to a vast sum: the like he did of the Plantations of Captain *Diego de Rojas*, of *Perancuz*, of *Gravie*

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de Rojas, of Garçilasso de la Vega, and of all other the Inhabitants of that Town, whom he knew well affected to the party of *Pizarro*.

Another Messenger was sent into the Province of *Chachapoyas*, which *Alonso de Alvarado* had kept in peace and quiet; and who having seen and read the Declaration of *Don Diego*, which promised great rewards to such as obeyed him, and threatened such as opposed him; he notwithstanding seized on the Messenger, and persuaded a hundred that were with him to follow him and serve his Majesty; to which they having yielded a cheerful assent, he declared for the King, and set up his Standard. And though *Almagro* wrote him very kind Letters, endeavouring to allure him to his party; he refused all his Offers, protesting, that he would never own or acknowledge him for Governour, untill such time as he had seen his Majesty's express Commission, and Commands for the same; which as he knew his Majesty would never grant, so he did not doubt, but with the help of God, and the Valour of his Souldiers, to revenge the blood of the Marquis, and punish the contempt which he had put on the Authority of his Majesty. All which *Alvarado* adventured to say and act, trusting to the advantage of the situation of that Countrey, which, as we have said in several places, was very Mountainous; by help of which, he hoped to secure his small force, untill such time as recruits and greater numbers of those who were *Pizarrists* could come in to joyn with him; being well assured that all that party, and the people inhabiting along the Coast, would readily assist, and serve the Emperour. Where now we will leave them for a while to treat of others, who followed the same course.

The Officers and Instruments of *Almagro*, which were dispatched with his Commission to *Cusco*, durst not proceed with the like rigour there, as in other places; for they well knew, that as there were many well-affected persons in that City, so those, who were rich and principal Men there, and had power over the *Indians*, were all devoted to the service of his Majesty. And that the contrary party consisted onely of some poor, indigent Souldiers, and such as were newly come into that Countrey, who hoped by such disturbances and alterations to make their fortunes. Those who were the Chief Justices at that time in the City were *Diego de Silva*, (whom we have formerly mentioned under the Name of the Son of *Feliciano de Silva*, a Native of the City of *Rodriga*;) together with *Francis de Carvajal*, who afterwards was Major-General to *Gonzalo Pizarro*.

These persons having seen the Orders, did not think fit to irritate the contrary party by a flat and down-right denial of all compliance; but having consulted the Jurats, and the Community of the City Council, returned answer, That in an Act of such great weight and importance, it was necessary that *Don Diego* should send a more ample power than that which he had already done, which seemed short and defective in many particulars; upon tender of which they promised to receive him for their Governour: But this was said, not with any intention to comply, but onely to amuse them, and spin out time untill they could unite their forces, which were, for the most part, dispersed in their possessions, and employed in the Gold Mines, of which most of the Inhabitants of that City of *Cusco* had some shares allotted to them.

C H A P.

C H A P. XI.

What the Inhabitants of Cozco acted in order to the King's Service. What also was done in favour of Don Diego. Vaca de Castro nominated in Spain for Judge to determine the quarrels and differences in Peru.

Gomez de Tordoya, who was a principal Citizen, and Chief of the Common Council of that Corporation, was not then present, when the Orders and Commission of *Almagro* were brought to *Cusco*, having been in the Countrey for six or seven days to divertise himself with Hawking and other sports; so soon as he had read the Letters which advised him of the Tragical Death of the Marquis, for whom he conceived a particular esteem, being his particular Friend and Confident, he was much grieved, and shrinking up his shoulders, turned his head toward the Hawk he carried, saying, It is now more seasonable for us to prepare for a War, with Fire and Sword, than to attend to our sports, and our Countrey recreations; for being a judicious Man, he well foresaw all those miseries and calamities, cruel deaths and revolutions, which would be the certain consequences of the late successes. Hereupon he immediately returned to the City, and not to give any occasion of jealousy or offence to the contrary party, he came in by night; and having discoursed with several of the Corporation, he told them, that it was necessary to convene the people of *Arequipa*, of the *Charcas*, and of the parts lying Southward from *Cusco*, and to assemble the *Spaniards*, which were dispersed about the Countries: To which end he advised them to dispeise Messengers, of which he offered himself for one. This resolution being taken, he departed that very night from *Cusco*, and went in search of Captain *Nunno de Castro*, who then resided at his Plantation, which was about fifteen or twenty Leagues from the City, where being arrived, they both dispatched Messengers to *Pedro de Anquez*, and to *Garçilasso de la Vega*; and having informed them of the late successes, they required them as good and loyal Subjects, to repair to *Cusco*, there to perform such Services as their duty to his Majesty required. After these Messengers were dispatched, *Gomez de Tordoya* went in all haste to seek out for Captain *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, who with a hundred *Spaniards* was marched to the East of *Collao* to conquer the *Indians* of those parts, who as yet had not been subdued; and travelling with all diligence and haste, at length he over-took him, and gave him a relation of the Death of the Marquis, and how *Don Diego de Almagro* pretended to govern the Empire. Wherefore he desired him to take this business to heart, and to interest himself so far in this service of God and the King, as to become Captain and Chief Leader of the people, who had joyned in this League and Association together; and farther to oblige him, he offered to serve under him in quality of the meanest of his Souldiers.

Pedro Alvarez being sensibly touched with the Justice of the cause, and pleased with the Honour so freely offered to him, accepted the Command and Charge, and immediately set up a Standard for his Majesty, sending Messengers to the *Charcas*, and to *Arequipa*, to publish his Declaration, containing his Reasons and Intention of this War; farther giving them to understand, that he would march fair and softly with the people that were with him towards *Cusco*, that so those who were in the reere might have time to come up and joyn with him before he entered the City. The Countrey was by this time all in an uproar upon the confused report of the Death of the Marquis; so that the Messengers sent to *Arequipa*, and the *Charcas* met the people already on the way coming to joyn with *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, and accordingly the several Bodies being united, their Numbers amounted unto almost two hundred Men. The news of their March being known at *Cusco*, allarm'd the *Almagrian* Faction in such manner, that about fifty of them

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fearing some rigorous punishment for their demerit, stole secretly out of the Town by night, and fled, with intention to joyn with *Don Diego*; but of this number there was not one person of Note or Quality amongst them. Captain *Nunno de Castro*, and Captain *Hernando Bachiaco* having notice hereof, pursued them with twenty Harquebusers, which beating up their Quarters in the Night, by surprize took and brought them back again to the City without any hurt or other mischief. In the mean time *Alvarez Holguin*, with his Souldiers, arrived at the City, to whom also many principal persons of condition flocked from all parts, and were received by the Corporation of the City with much joy and contentment. After which, their first business was to Elect a General, for *Alvarez Holguin* having performed that charge hitherto, was desirous to be dismissed from that Office. In this point therefore was some diversity in Opinions, which occasioned delay; not that any Emulations or Parties obstructed the progress of affairs, but the many persons, which for their Quality and Abilities were deserving of that Honour, caused the Election to be with more difficulty determined. At length, by the common consent of all those in the City, the choice fell upon *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, who was accordingly sworn Captain-General, and Chief Judiciary of Peru, until his Majesty's farther pleasure should be known therein. The which Act was legally done, for it was in the power of the Government of this City (as the Head of the Empire) to nominate a Chief, with other Officers both Military and Civil, whenever the lawfull Magistrates should fail, and the same so to continue, until his Majesty should confirm them; or Commissionate others. *Gomez de Toradaya* was appointed for Lieutenant-General, *Garçilasso de la Vega*, and *Pedro de Ancures*, were made Captains of Horse, *Nunno de Castro*, and *Hernando de Bachiaco* Captains of Foot, and *Martin de Robles* was appointed Ensign to carry the Royal Standard.

Hereupon War was declared against *Diego de Almagro*, and the Citizens of *Cusco* obliged themselves to make good unto his Majesty whatsoever *Alvarez Holguin* should expend in prosecution of this War out of the Royal Exchequer in case his Majesty should not allow the same: To the performance of which, not only the Citizens of *Cusco*, but the Inhabitants of *Charcas* and *Arequena* did bind both their Persons and Estates; and such was the cheerfulness and affection towards his Majesty's Service, that in a short time they composed a Body of three hundred and fifty, all choice and select Men, both Officers and Souldiers; of which number there were about a hundred and fifty Horse, a hundred Harquebusers, and the rest Pikemen. In the mean time *Alvarez Holguin*, that *Alonso de Alvarado* had set up his Standard for the Emperour in the *Chachapuyas*, which occasioned great joy, because they greatly feared, that all that Countrey from *Rimac* to *Quinu* was well affected to *Almagro*. Much about the same time likewise intelligence came, that *Don Diego* was marching towards *Cusco* with an Army of above eight hundred Men, with intention to give them Battel; which being considered at a Council of War, it was agreed not to stay, and expect his coming to *Cusco*, but to march forth and joyn with *Alonso de Alvarado*; and that passing by way of the Mountains and narrow places, they might easily avoid the Engagement with *Almagro*, until they were better recruited, and reinforced by such as were loyal and well-affected to their cause, which (as they were advised) were coming to them from all parts, by secret ways of Woods and Mountains. With this resolution they departed from *Cusco*, leaving such behind as were useless, and not fit for service; and that the City might still keep a face of being theirs, Officers were appointed to maintain the Government, and distribute Justice. In their March they used all due caution, sending their Scouts before to discover the Enemy, resolving to avoid fighting with *Almagro*, unless they could surprize him with advantage.

In the mean time, whilst things were thus ordered in *Cusco*, *Almagro* and his Complices were not idle or negligent in the City of *los Reyes*, where they received secret intelligence of all that passed at *Cusco*, and how they intended to march by way of the Mountains to joyn with *Alonso de Alvarado*, and with his to strengthen their Forces, which as yet were not sufficient to give him Battel. Upon these Advices *Almagro*, with concurrence of his Captains, resolved to meet them; and in order thereunto he recalled Captain *Garcia de Alvarado*, who was busily employed along the Coast of *Truxillo*, levying Men, and providing Horses and Arms for this service: And though he intended to have fallen upon *Alonso de Alvarado*, who

who was then in *Chachapuyas*, because he believed himself to have an advantage in his numbers; yet having been re-manded by Orders from *Almagro*, he obeyed them, and relinquished his design. *Garcia de Alvarado* being returned, *Almagro* departed from *los Reyes*, and marched towards *Cusco* with intention to fight *Alvarez Holguin*, the force of *Almagro* consisted of three hundred Horse well appointed, of an hundred and twenty Harquebusers, and about a hundred and sixty Pikemen, which being almost six hundred, were all choice and approved Men; amongst which there were many Persons of great Quality, and rich, whom *Almagro* had seized, when he killed the Marquis.

And left after his departure any party should make an Insurrection against him, and serve him, as those who were Enemies to his Father had done to him, he took Order to send all the Children of the Marquis, and of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, out of the Countrey. And now first to find out whether the Marquis had left any secret Treasure, not discovered, he put the Question to *Antonio Picado*, Secretary to the Marquis, upon the Rack; and not being able to extort any thing from him, he sent him to the Gallows, and hanged him up; and so he paid the Medal with his own Coin, which he had stamped for the Faction of *Chili*. After which he marched towards *Cusco*, keeping in his way due martial Discipline and Order with much severity; where we shall leave both him, and *Alvarez Holguin*, to render an account of what his Imperial Majesty ordained in Spain; after he had understood the great Commotions which had happened in Peru, until the Death of *Don Diego de Almagro* the Elder.

To appease which, and to examine the true state of all matters, his Majesty was pleased to give Commission to *Dr. Vaca de Castro*, one of His Privy Council, to examine all matters concerning the Death of *Don Diego de Almagro*, without making any alteration in the Power and Government of the Marquis; but in case the Marquis should be dead before his Arrival, then by a provisional Commission he was constituted Governour in his place. This worthy Person (for so his Actions shew him) was a Native of the City of *Leon*, and of the Families of the *Vaca de Castro*, and *Quinones*, which are noble Houses, amongst many others which flourish in that Royal City.

Vaca de Castro embarked at *Sevil* for Peru, and after many Difficulties and stormy Weather, to which that Northern Sea is subject, he arrived at *Nombro de Dios* much later than was expected; from whence he went to *Panama*, where he again embarked for Peru, upon a Ship not so well provided for such a Voyage, as was requisite, especially since it was to execute a Commission of such great importance; for the Ship being defective, had not proceeded many Leagues on her Voyage, before she was detained on the Coast by contrary Winds; by force of which having lost one of her Anchors, she was carried by the Current into that Bay which is called the Bay or Gulf of *Gorgona*, which is a bad place, and very hard for any Ship to get out, which is bound to Peru. Wherefore *Vaca de Castro* encouraged the Mariners to use all the diligence they were able, but finding all ineffectual, and to little purpose, he resolved to go by Land, since he could not avail to go by Sea. But the Journey was long, difficult and tedious, by reason of the craggy Mountains, the great Rivers and Defarts which they were to pass, with want of those Provisions which were good and wholesome. This long delay gave opportunity to *Almagro* to revenge the Death of his Father, of which he was impatient, seeing that the Justice which His Majesty had promised was so long deferred.

At length, after various chances of a difficult Journey, Judge *Vaca de Castro* came to the Frontiers of *Quinu*, where *Pedro de Puella* resided in Quality of Deputy to *Gonzalo Pizarro*. So soon as he found himself within the Limits of his own Countrey, and had been rightly informed of all matters which had passed in Peru, and of the Practices and Designs of the several Factions, he wrote unto all parts, giving them advice of his Arrival, and of the Commission he brought with him from His Majesty; by virtue of which he required them to receive him for their Governour. And whereas he had thereby a power to substitute other Officers, he dispatched his Commissions to all the Cities of Peru, constituting such Men Judges thereof, who (as he was informed) were moderate Persons, and not intereited or engaged in either party.

C H A P. XII.

The People of Rimac, and other parts, receive Vaca de Castro for Governour. Peralvarez, and his Complices, contrive a Stratagem of War against Almagro, and join with Alonso de Alvarado.

Amongst the Commissions which Judge *Vaca de Castro* dispatched to several places; that for the City of *Los Reyes* was directed to *Friar Thomas de St. Martin*, Provincial of the Order of the *Dominicans*, and to *Francis de Barionuevo*, and to *Geronimo de Aliaga*, giving them power and authority to superintend the Government of that City, and of the parts thereto belonging, untill he himself arrived there in Person.

These Commissions were brought and delivered in the Convent of *St. Dominick*, some few days after the departure of *Almagro*, and in the absence also of the Father Provincial, whom *Almagro* had carried with him, to countenance his Enterprize with the presence of such a Person. Howsoever the Mayor and Aldermen of the City assembled in the night, and having opened the Commission, they with common consent obeyed it, and received *Vaca de Castro* for Governour of that Empire, and *Geronimo de Aliaga* to be his Deputy, as the Commission specified. So soon as the Citizens had passed this Act, they fled to *Truxillo*; fearing the return of *Almagro*, who as yet was not advanced so far on his march, but that upon the News of this Revolution he was ready to have returned with full intent to avenge this sudden desertion on the City with Fire, and Sword, and other Cruelties; but then fearing lest this delay should give an advantage to *Alvarez Holguin*, he resolved to proceed, and to pursue his Design, which was of great importance. Howsoever in the Execution thereof many cross and unfortunate Accidents occurred; for so soon as it was known in the Army, that a Governour from His Majesty was arrived in the Countrey, many of the principal Men revolted, and deserted him; amongst which were the Father Provincial, *John de Saavedra*, the Agitant *Yllan Suarez de Carvajal*, de *Agüero*, and *Gomez de Alvarado*. Howsoever in despite of all these discouragements *Almagro* resolutely pursued his Point and Design, though to his great disappointment and prejudice his Lieutenant General, *John de Rada*, fell sick; by reason of which he was greatly confused within himself what course to take; for in case he left him behind, he was in danger of falling into the Hands of the Enemy, nor did the Extremity of his Sickness admit of any motion; howsoever for his sake he lessened his days journeys, and marched very softly, knowing that his principal business was to overthrow *Alvarez Holguin*.

Pedro Alvarez being informed that the Enemy was drawing near, to whom his Force was much inferior, he thought it no-wise prudent to adventure the success of Affairs on the hazard of a Battle, considering that the subsistence of his Army was of great importance to the Service of his Majesty; wherefore to supply that which was wanting in strength by some Stratagem of War, it was agreed by a Council of War, to detach a Body of twenty choice Horse to serve for Scouts, and to use all their endeavours to take some of the Souldiers of *Almagro*, which accordingly happened out; for these Horse took three Spies belonging to the Enemy, which being brought to *Alvarez*, he hanged up two of them, and the third he saved, making him great promises of Reward for the future, and in hand bestowed on him three thousand *Pesos* of Gold, conditionally, that he should return to the Camp of *Almagro*, and there persuade several of those whom he knew to be well affected to him, to revolt from *Almagro*, and assist him in the Fight, for that he designed the next day, by twilight of the morning, to assault the Army of *Almagro* on the East-side of the Camp, which, by reason that

that it bordered on the Skirts of the snowy Mountain, he imagined would be the worst guarded, and that therefore little or no provision would be made on that part against any Attempt. And farther they gave him instructions to assure such Friends as should join herein of the same Rewards; and should be more amply repaid according to those great Services, which thereby they would perform to the Emperour, his King and Master; and to secure the Souldier's Faith in this matter, they tendered an Oath to him, whereby they caused him to swear never to discover this secret to any person whatsoever, saying, that having esteemed him for a good Friend they had entrusted to him the greatest secret in the World. The Souldier returning, told his Story, how that his two Companions were hanged by the Enemy, and he alone was saved and set at Liberty, upon which *Almagro* reflecting a while, imagined that some use was to be made of this Souldier, who without any apparent reason was better treated than the other; to discover which he seized on the Souldier, and put him to the torment. The Souldier being on the Rack, confessed the secret committed to him, and how *Peralvarez* designed to attack him on the Quarter which was next to the snowy Mountain, by reason that that side being esteemed almost inaccessible, would lie the most open and undefended. By which Confession *Almagro* finding that the Souldier intended to act in a treacherous manner against him, gave order to have him hanged. Howsoever giving some credit to his Words, he fortified that side of his Camp, which bordered towards the snowy Mountain, where for the space of three days he endured much cold; howsoever by these means *Alvarez* got the start, and marched at a good distance before him; *Almagro* followed him for some Leagues, but finding that it was impossible to overtake him, he returned into the high Road, which leads to *Cuzco*. *Alvarez* proceeding on the way he intended, joined his Forces with those of *Alonso de Alvarado*, at which meeting there was great joy and triumph, because that the greatest number of them consisted of such as had entered that Countrey with *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, which was the first original of Friendship and Association which was commenced between them.

These Forces being thus joined, Letters were written by common consent to the Judge *Vaca de Castro*, giving him to understand of all matters that were past, and desiring him to hasten with speed to them, for that his presence was necessary in that conjuncture for better countenance of their Affairs. So soon as these Letters came to hand, *Castro de Vaca* hastened to the City of *Quinu* to recruit his People with the Forces which were in that place. When he came near, *Lorenzo de Aldana*, who was Lieutenant Governour for the Marquis in *Quinu*, went forth to meet and receive him, as did also *Pedro de Puellas*, who was the Deputy of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and Captain *Pedro de Vergara*, not to be faulty or remiss in paying the same respect, though otherwise employed in the Conquest of that Province, which is called *Pacamuru*, and by the Spaniards *Bracamoros*, went also to receive Judge *Vaca de Castro*; and deserted the place, which he had already fortified, that he might be better enabled to defend himself, and send his Forces against *Almagro*; but before *Vaca de Castro* thought fit to leave *Quinu*, he dispatched *Pedro de Puellas* before to *Truxillo*, to make such provisions in that City, and in the Countrey thereabouts, as the War required. He likewise dispatched orders to *Gomez de Rojas*, a Native of *Chullar*, to repair with his Forces in all diligence to *Cuzco*, and there to persuade the People to receive him for Governour; who accordingly made such speed, that he arrived at *Cuzco* before *Almagro*, who was detained in his way by the sickness of *John de Rada*, who dyed afterwards in that Province. *Gomez de Rojas* was well received in *Cuzco*, and his Orders and Instructions obeyed, and accordingly *Castro* was acknowledged for Governour; for that City remained loyal and obedient to His Majesty in such manner as it had been left by *Alvarez Holguin*. In the mean time *Vaca de Castro* departed from *Quinu*, and went to *Truxillo*, and by the way was met with many Noble Persons, who had been dispersed about the Countreys, and by many Souldiers, who being desirous to serve His Majesty, went forth to receive him. *Pedro Alvarez*, and his people, who then resided at *Truxillo*, agreed to send two persons to meet him on the way, and in the name of them, and of the whole City, to make tender of their Obedience and Service to him, as Governour by Commission from His Majesty, by which Title we shall distinguish him hereafter; the Persons nominated for Envoyes on this occasion were *Gomez de Tordoya*, and *Garciasso de la Vega*; with sight of whom the Governour was greatly rejoiced, being much encouraged to see his party daily encrease to such numbers, that when

he entered *Truxillo*, he brought with him above 200 Souldiers, besides several which fled from *Almagro*, amongst which the principal Persons were the Father Provincial, *Tilch Suarez de Carvajal*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *John de Sautandra*, and *Diego de Agüero*. Being arrived at *Truxillo*, he was received with such solemnity as was due to a Governour, that is, in a military pomp, with found of Drums, and Trumpets, and Volleys of Shot; for as yet matters were in a state of War, and not prepared for a reception according to the formalities of Peace.

C H A P. XIII.

The Governour makes choice of Captains. Sends his Army before. Provides all things necessary for the service of His Majesty. Christopher de Sotelo is killed by Garcia de Alvarado; and Garcia de Alvarado by Don Diego de Almagro.

Pedro Alvarez Holguin, and his Captains and Souldiers, who had professed Submission and Loyalty to the Governour in his absence, did now upon his arrival, testifie their actual Obedience by a publick Declaration in Writing, under their hands, and solemnly resign the Command and Power of the Army into his hands, the Captains and Officers delivering up their Commissions, and laying their Ensigns at his Feet; the like was followed by the Governours and Justices of the City of *Truxillo*, all which the Governour received in such manner as was fitting, and renewed them again in the name of His Majesty, confirming every person in his Office, either Civil or Military, respectively as before. He gave six Commissions to Captains of Horse, namely, to *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, *Alonso de Alvarado*, *Pedro Anzures*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*; and to *Pedro de Puellas*. The Captains of Harquebussiers were *Pedro de Vergara*, *Nunno de Castro*, and *John Perez de Guayana*, who was a Scholar, as well as a Souldier, and such a Mechanick, that he directed the making all the Musquets for his own Company, and was so active and industrious; that he divided his time between Letters and Arms in such manner, that both in this present state of Affairs, as also on occasion of the Troubles caused by *Gonzalo Pizarro*, as we shall hereafter relate, he was ordained and constituted in quality of a Judge; so that all the morning, untill noon, he clothed himself in the Robes of a Lawyer, in which he heard Causes, and determined Differences; then afterwards in the afternoon he changed his Habit to appear like a Souldier, with Breeches and Dubler of divers colours, richly embroidered with Gold, and very gallant with his plume of Feathers; and buckling on his Coat of Mail, with his Musquet on his Shoulder, trained his Souldiers in shooting, and other Exercises of War. Thus far are the Words of *Cavari* in the 15th Chapter of his 4th Book; by which it appears, that the same Person may be both a Souldier and a Scholar; and the Qualities of one so consistent with that of the other, as to be both usefull in their proper times and seasons. But to proceed.

Hernando Bachiaco was named for Captain of the Pikemen, and *Francis de Carvajal* was made Sergeant Major, who was afterwards Major-General to *Gonzalo Pizarro*. *Gomez de Tordoya* was made Lieutenant General; and the Royal Standard he reserved for himself, with which he performed the Office of General. Thus having settled his Forces, he dispeided them before him, under command of their respective Officers, which in all composed an Army of 700 Men, of which 370 were Harquebussiers, 160 Pikemen, and the rest were Horse. *Pedro de Puellas* was commanded to march before, with a Detachment of thirty Horse, to discover the Enemy and other Obstructions in the way; having Instructions to go by way of the Mountain, but not to pass *Sausa*; but there to expect the coming up of the Main Body, because their resolution was to march along the coast to the City of

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Los Reyes. In the mean time *Diego de Morá* was appointed Deputy Governour, and Commander in Chief of the Forces which remained behind.

Matters being in this manner disposed, the Governour marched to the City of *Los Reyes*, where he received into his Possession, and under his Command the Arms, and Souldiers, which flocked to him from all parts; and having left *Francisco Barionuevo* his Deputy in that place, and made and constituted *John Perez de Guayana* Admiral of the City, he parted thence to *Sausa*, to follow his Army; leaving Orders, that in case *Don Diego de Almagro* should come to the City of *Los Reyes*, that Captain *Perez de Guayana*, and his Deputy *Barionuevo*, should take care to embark on board the Ships then in Port all the Women and Children, and to be ill treated by them; and that so they might not fall into the hand of the Enemy Relief.

But let us here leave him in his way, to treat of what in the mean time passed amongst the *Almagrians* in *Cocco*, where Discord was not satisfied with the fire of Diffention, blown into a Flame between the two Parties; but Emulation and Envy stirred up Strife in those of the same side, which proceeded to effusion of the Blood of those who were of the chiefeft Rank and Quality amongst them. For *Almagro* marching towards *Cocco*, made choice of *Christopher de Sotelo*, and *Garcia de Alvarado*, for his Counsellours, and chief Confidents, in the place of *John de Rada*, who (as we have said) dyed on the way, and gave to them the chief Authority and Command in the Army. *Christopher de Sotelo* was dispeided before to *Cocco*, with a certain number of choice Men, to take possession of that City, and to reduce all things to the Service and Devotion of *Almagro*, that when he arrived there, he might be received without any opposition. *Sotelo* accordingly performed his Orders, finding no Force to make resistance against him; so that without any difficulty he removed all the Officers of Justice, which *Pedro Alvarez* had ordained there, and supplied their places with others of his own party. More when the Enemy came near, they might perish with Want and Famine. Soon after which *Almagro* arriving at *Cocco*, made great quantities of Gunpowder, of the strongest and finest sort, by means of the Salt-Petre, which in those parts is better than any in *Peru*; and by the help and art of certain *Levanimer*, (the *Greeks* so called in the *Indies*), he cast several pieces of Cannon, of which People many came into those parts out of good-will and respect unto *Pedro de Candia*, who had the Party of *Almagro*, that Country abounding with Copper, and other Metals, fit for making Cannon, they founded many Pieces, the Command of which was given to *Pedro de Candia*, with Title of Master of the Artillery. In like manner the *Greeks*, with the assistance of the *Indian* Silver-smiths, made many Helms, and Corlets of Silver, mixed with Copper, which proved admirably good. The Prince *Manco Inca*, who had for long time voluntarily banished himself into the Mountains, calling to mind the ancient Friendship he had entertained with *Almagro* the Father, was pleased to revive the same by his kindness to the Son, which he knew not in what other manner to testifie in his low condition, then by presenting unto him the Coats of Mail, Armour, Swords, and Saddles, which had been the Spoils which the *Indians* had taken from the *Spaniards*, whom they had killed, during the Siege of *Cocco*, of which there was a sufficient quantity to arm two hundred Men.

But whilst matters succeeded thus prosperously on the side of *Almagro*, above his hopes and expectations, an unhappy controversy fell out between *Christopher de Sotelo*, and *Garcia de Alvarado*, who being the Chief Commanders, and leading Men of the Army, proved very unfortunate, considering the circumstances of Affairs which at that time required Union and Communication of Counsels, when on the contrary whatsoever was proposed by one, was disliked and opposed by the other; and in this manner Malice boiled in each other's Breast to such a degree, that one day being together in the Market-place, and happening to quarrel about a trivial matter, *Garcia de Alvarado* killed *Christopher de Sotelo*, and whereas these two were the Chief Commanders of the Army, they could not wangle themselves as seconds in that Rencontre, much Blood had certainly been shed, had not *Almagro* interposed, and with fair and gentle Words appeased the Tumult, which

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was raised between the different Factions. Howsoever he could not forbear to resent the Death of *Christophor de Sotelo*, who was a person of an obliging deportment towards him, and ever forward to perform his Commands; but as yet it was requisite to dissemble, and reserve the punishment till a more seasonable occasion. Notwithstanding which *Almagro* knew not how to conceal his Anger so well, but that *Alvarado* suspected his evil Intentions towards him; and considering that no gentle remedy offered, or could possibly be applied, wherewith he might soften his mind, and reconcile his Affections, but that he would sooner or later take his revenge, he concluded that the only means to secure his own safety, was to kill *Almagro*, designing by his blood to make a sacrifice of Atonement to the Governour, whereby to obtain pardon for himself, and his Complices; and having consulted hereupon with some of his Friends and Confidants; the means agreed to compass this design, was to invite *Almagro* to a solemn Banquet, at which being present, and without suspicion in his House, he might set upon him, and kill him. Accordingly an invitation was made unto *Almagro*, who to avoid the appearance of all suspicion and Jealousie relating to what he feared, he accepted the Offer: The day being come, and he more confirmed in the certainty of what he formerly suspected, feigned himself sick, and much indisposed, and unfit to be present at a Banquet. And here *Carate* proceeds on his story, and says,

"*Garcia de Alvarado* finding himself disappointed, after he had disposed and prepared all matters in order to the execution of his Design, determined to go with a great Train of Friends to importune *Almagro* to accept the Invitation; and being on his way thither, he met with *Martin Carrillo*, and told him where he was going, to which he made answer, that in his opinion, he did not do well, being assured that he would be there killed; another Souldier also confirmed the same, all which was not sufficient to dissuade him to the contrary; so in he went to the Chamber, where he found *Almagro* lying on his Bed, having secretly conveyed certain armed Men into an inner Room. So soon as *Alvarado* and his Complices came in, *Garcia* my Lord, said he, arise, and give not way to a little Indisposition, it will be good for you to walk, and diversify your self; and though you eat but little, yet your presence will cheer up the Company, and the other Guests. *Almagro* told him that he would go, and arising called for his Cloak, for he was laid on the Bed in his Wattecoat, with his Sword and Dagger; and being about to go forth, the People in the room went out first, and just as *Alvarado*, who was immediately before *Almagro*, was ready to go out, *John de Rada*, who kept the door, clapt it to on a sudden, and then closing with *Garcia de Alvarado*, *You are my Prisoner*, said he, with which *Almagro* drawing his Sword, ran him through the Body, saying, *You are not only a Prisoner, but a dead Man*; with which *John Balsa*, *Alonso de Saavedra*, *Diego Mendez*, Brother of *Rodrigo Orzgonas*, and others, which lay concealed in the inner Room, rushed forth, and gave him so many wounds, as deprived him of his Life. The news hereof being reported abroad, began to cause great Tumults in the City, but *Almagro* appealed all with his presence, so that the mischief proceeded no farther, only the Complices of *Alvarado* thereupon fled to the Governour. Thus far *Carate* the which is confirmed by *Lopez de Gomara*. The name of the Souldier which *Carate* says, advised *Alvarado* not to go, was *Augustine Salado*. And whereas it is said, that *John de Rada*, was he who shut the Door, is a mistake, and slip of the pen, for as is before mentioned, he dyed at *Sancta*; but he who clapt the door to was *Peter de Onnate*, for which piece of Service so opportunely performed, *Almagro* made him his Lieutenant General.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Don Diego de Almagro marches forth to meet the Governour; and Gonzalo Pizarro, after having passed most incredible Difficulties, finds his way out of the Cinnamon Countrey.

SOME days after that matters were quieted, which had been put into a fermentation and disturbance by the Death of *Alvarado*. *Almagro* resolved to proceed with his Army against the Governour *Vaca de Castro*, who, as he had received intelligence, was departed from the City of *Los Reyes*, to meet and fight him. On which occasion *Almagro* resolved to give him to understand, that he did not fear his Force, esteeming himself the more formidable of the two; for that his Souldiers, being seven hundred Spaniards in number, were all brave and stout Pikemen, and of them many armed with Halberds, the rest consisted of two hundred and fifty Horsemen, all armed with Coats of Mail, and Back and Breast of Iron, many of which were made by themselves, and as *Gomara* saith in Chapter 149. were better Men, and better armed than any of those belonging to the Armies either of his Father, or of *Pizarro*. Moreover, he had a great Train of Artillery, to which he trusted very much, besides a number of Indians, &c. These are the Words of *Gomara*, to which he farther adds, That *John Balsa* was his General, and *Peter d'Onate* his Lieutenant-General.

With these Souldiers, and with these Provisions and Equipage *Almagro* marched to meet and give Battel to the Governour, *Vaca de Castro*, and having proceeded fifty Leagues, he entered into the Province of *Pilca*, where he received information, that the King's Army was thirty Leagues distant from thence.

But let us for a while make a digression from both these Parties, and return to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whom with his Companions we left engolved in the most inextricable Difficulties and Necessities, which humane Nature was capable to sustain; for they were to contend with deep and rapid Rivers, with Bogs and moorish Grounds, which were unpassable; and were to travel over Mountains of incredible height, on which grew Trees of an immense magnitude, as *Gomara* in the end of his eighth Chapter reports, upon the authority of *Vicente Tanex Pincon*, who was one of the Discoverers, and who having related what had befallen him in those parts, concludes at length with the strange Prodiges of that Countrey, of which he gives a Narrative in these following Words.

"The Discoverers brought with them the bark of certain Trees, which seemed to be Cinnamon, and the Skin of a Beast which put its young ones into its Breat; and they related for a strange Story, that they had seen Trees which sixteen Men could not fathom, or encompass with their Armes, &c.

But besides the many Difficulties with which *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Companions were to struggle, the most irresistable of all was Hunger, that grievous and cruel Enemy of Man and Beast, which hath been so fatal to both in that unbred Countrey. We have said before that *Gonzalo Pizarro* resolved to return to *Peru*, and therefore leaving the River, he took his way Northward, and through Lands and Mountains no less difficult than the former, being forced a way and path with Bills and Hatchets, and to feed upon Herbs and Roots, and wild Fruit, which were so scarce, that when any plenty thereof happened, they esteemed themselves fortunate in that Days journey, when they came to Lakes and moorish Grounds, they carried their sick and infirm people on their Shoulders, in which work none took more pains than *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Captains, who

who by their Example gave courage and chearfulness to all the rest. In this manner they had travelled three hundred Leagues through all the Difficulties we have related, and more than can be expressed; for who can fance or imagine the Labours they had sustained in the Journey of four hundred Leagues outwards; and in that of three hundred Leagues back, and yet after all, there was no prospect of an end, though they had killed their Horses, and eaten them one after another, till they had made an end of all. At first they eat their Grey-hounds, Spannels, and Mastiff-Dogs, which (as we have mentioned in our History of Florida) were of great use and service to them in the Contact of the *Indies*; and of these they made their Delicacies, so long as they lasted. At length, as *Gonzalo* saith, Chapter 144. the *Spaniards* were ready to eat those which dyed, according to the Custom of those barbarous *Indians*, who inhabit those Mountains, &c.

So soon as the Horse-flesh failed, which being divided amongst so great numbers was inconsiderable; many *Indians*, as well as *Spaniards*, were starved with Hunger, for the force of Herbs was not alone able to sustain Nature, so that they began then to faint and droop, so being forced to leave the *Indians* and *Spaniards* by three and four in a company, abandoning them to the Woods, and to the Mountains, there to perish, and dye without comfort; in the same manner as we have related in the Journal of *Garcilasso de la Vega*, where they were exposed to the like Misery, not being able to travel, and keep company with their Fellows.

But the want of Salt was none of their least needs; for that in their Travels of four hundred Leagues, as *Carate* saith in the 3th of his 4th Book, they found not one grane thereof; for the Countries being uninhabited, they neither found any, nor people to inform them what they used in the place thereof; for want of which they became weak in their joints, faint, and scorbittick, stinking, and almost rotten alive, in the same manner as we have related in the History of Florida, where is demonstrated how much Salt is necessary for conservation of humane Life.

By reason of the continual Rains, and moisture of the Earth, their woollen Cloths and linen being always wet, became rotten, and dropped from their Bodies, so that from the highest to the lowest every Man was naked, and had no other covering than some few Leaves, with which they hid their privy parts both before and behind. And though that warm Climate did not require much clothing, yet it had been a good Defence against the Thorns and Bulhes of those rough Mountains, over which they could make no other way than by Bills and Hatchets, and yet the Briars and Brambles tore their Skins, that they seemed all over raw, and half dead.

So great, and so unsupportable were the Miseries which *Gonzalo Picarro* and his Companions endured for want of Food, that the four thousand *Indians* which attended them in this Discovery, perished with Famine, and amongst them a certain *Indian* greatly beloved by *Gonzalo Picarro*, who took the Lances from the two Cavaliers, as we have before related; for which piece of bravery he was lamented by him with as much sense of Grief, as if he had been his Brother, as he often declared. Likewise of the three hundred and forty *Spaniards* which entred on this Discovery two hundred and ten dyed, besides the fifty which were carried away by *Orellana*. Those eighty which remained alive, after having passed three hundred Leagues of Mountain, entred at length into a more open Countrey, and a more dry Climate, where they found Birds, Deer, and other wild Beasts, which they killed with their Cross-bows, and Guns, by the help of a small quantity of their Powder, which they had reserved. Of the Skins of these Beasts they made themselves short Breeches, onely sufficient to cover their Nakedness, for they would not reach farther, their Swords they carried without Scabbards, all covered with rust, and they walked barefoot, and their Visages were become so black, dry, and withered, that they scarce knew one the other; in which condition they came at length to the Frontiers of *Quitu*, where they kissed the Ground, and returned, Thanks to Almighty God, who had delivered them out of so many and so imminent Dangers. And being come now to a place of Food, and sustenance, they were so greedy thereof, that they were forced to lay a restraint upon their Appetites, and stint themselves to a certain proportion, lest they should surfeit with excess; some of them, who were of a more weak Constitution, and accustomed to Fastings, and Abstinence, were not able to endure repletion, their Stomachs rejecting the Food and Nutrimment, administered to them.

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And now approaching near to the City of *Quitu*, they gave notice to the Inhabitants of their condition; but the place being almost dispeopled by reason of the Wars raised by *Almagre*, and by the absence of its principal Citizens, and by the few Merchants which were therein; they were so poor, that all the Clothing they could make was not sufficient to supply the wants of *Picarro* and his company: All the stock which the City could make, being onely six Suits of Apparel, contributed by several persons; one brought a Cloak, another a Coat, another a Waistcoat, another a pair of Breeches, another a Hat and Shirts, and all of several Pieces and Colours, which served to cloath *Gonzalo Picarro*, and his other five principal Officers; for it was impossible to provide sufficient furniture for them all.

In the whole Town there were onely twelve Horses left, for all the rest were sent to the Wars in Service of his Majesty; on these they laded Provisions, and food for them, and would have sent all the delicacies in the World, had that place afforded them; for *Gonzalo Picarro* was the most beloved Man in Peru; and indeed his Nature was so affable, and his Deportment so obliging, that he rendered himself acceptable to Strangers, wherefoever he came; and how much more to Friends and Companions?

Twelve of the most substantial Citizens were appointed to carry the Presents, and therewith travelled thirty Leagues from the City before they met with *Gonzalo Picarro*. It is not to be imagined how much joy and satisfaction was expressed at this meeting, accompanied with such a flood of tears upon rehearal of the dolefull Story, that it is hard to determine which passion either of joy or sorrow was the most prevalent; for *Picarro* and his Companions were transported with an Excess of joy and comfort to see themselves delivered from those dangers and miseries out of which they once believed it impossible to escape. The Citizens on the other side grieved and lamented to see in what a miserable and squalid condition *Gonzalo* and his Friends returned, and to hear the dolefull story of those who perished with Famine, and in what manner they had left many of their Companions alive in the Mountains, and exposed to dye with hunger. But at length considering that there was no remedy for what was past, they comforted each other, drying up their Tears, which little availed.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XV.

Gonzalo Pizarro being entred into Quitu, writes to the Governour, offering his Person and his People to serve him. The Governour's Answer thereunto; and what Conditions the Governour offered to Don Diego de Almagro.

Gonzalo Pizarro, and his Captains and Souldiers, received the relief which was brought them with gratefull acknowledgment: But whereas they perceived, that the Garments which were provided, were onely sufficient to cloath the Chief Commanders, they refused to accept them, or (as *Carate* saith in the 5th Chapter of the fourth Book) to change their Habits, or mount on Horse-back, enduring and suffering equally with their common Souldiers; and so in this manner, which we have mentioned, they entred one morning into the City of *Quitu*, and went directly to the Church to hear Mass, and to return thanks to Almighty God, who had delivered them out of so many, and so great miseries.

Thus far is the Relation given by *Carate*; to which may be added, what I have understood from the testimony of those who were Eye-witnesses of what farther passed in this matter; which was this: The twelve persons which brought the Presents to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, perceiving that neither he, nor his Captains, would accept of the Cloths which were brought them, nor yet make use of their Horses, but chose to enter the City bare-footed, and naked; they agreed all to put themselves in the same guise and fashion to partake of the Honour, Fame and Glory, which these persons had acquired by their patience and sufferings, by which they had overcome so many, and such immense labours; the City applauded their Ambassadors for their conformity thereunto; in which manner, after the Entry was made, and Mass was said, the people congratulated the Arrival of *Pizarro* with all the joy they were able to express, but yet tempered with some grief and pity to see them in that lamentable condition. This Entry was made about the beginning of *June* in the year 1542, having spent in this Enterprize two years and a halfs time, though a certain Authour by mistake says, that they were not more than a year and half both in their going out, and in their return home. During the time that they remained in the City, every one provided for himself the best he was able. And *Gonzalo Pizarro* receiving informations of what had passed since his departure, was given to understand what Revolutions had lately happened, namely the Death of his Brother the Marquis, the Insurrection of *Don Diego de Almagro*, his disobedience and rebellion against his Majesty, the Arrival of *Doctor Vaca de Castro* for Governour of that Empire; and that he was then on his march against *Almagro* with an Army, in which all the friends and party of his Brother the Marquis were joyned. All which being considered by *Gonzalo Pizarro*, he thought it not fit for him to be backward in that Service to his Majesty, in which all those Gentlemen who had been his Comrades and Companions, had been engaged. Wherefore he wrote to the Governour, giving him a relation of the Hardships he had sustained and suffered in his Journey; and lastly, made tender of his Person and People to serve him in quality of Souldiers under his Command.

In answer whereunto, the Governour assured him of his kind acceptance of the good will and affection which he demonstrated to his Majesty's Service, and returned him thanks for the assistance he had offered both by his own Person, and with those Forces which had so long been trained up in Military Discipline, and injured to the Sufferings and Hardships of War. Howsoever, he intreated him as from himself, and required him in his Majesty's Name to continue still in *Quitu*, and there to refresh himself after the miseries he had sustained, until such time as

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he should by Orders from him be employed on those affairs, which may best conduce to his Majesty's Service.

It was not for want of good assurance, which the Governour conceived of the Loyalty of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, that he enjoyed him to remain in the parts where he was until farther Orders; but because he hoped not to need his assistance, in regard his design was to bring matters between him and *Almagro* to some conditions of Accommodation; which he believed to be the much more prudent course, for considering that the Animosities were very high and inveterate between the two parties, it would necessarily follow that the Battel would be fought with much obstinacy, and end with great effusion of blood; and therefore to avoid such mortality and destruction, he endeavoured to make a right and good understanding between himself and *Almagro*.

The Governour also farther conceived, that in case *Gonzalo Pizarro* were actually present in the Army, that the peace with *Almagro* would be effected with much more difficulty, and give *Almagro* occasion of jealousy, and distrust, and fear, to put himself into the hands of the Governour, lest *Pizarro* should machinate or plot any secret revenge against him; of which he was the more apprehensive, when he considered the great interest which *Pizarro* had made in the Army.

This certainly was the true intention and meaning of the Governour, but other ill-natured and malicious Men put him farther in the head, that the presence of *Pizarro* in the Army was not to be admitted on other scores, lest the Souldiery, which had conceived a great affection to him for his Prowess and Valour, and experience in Military affairs, should by common consent make choice of him for their General.

In obedience to the Governour's Command, *Gonzalo Pizarro* remained in *Quitu* until the end of the War. Moreover, the Governour gave order to those who had the care and tuition of the Sons of the Marquis, and of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, that they should still continue their residence in the Cities of *St. Michael* and *Truxillo*, and not to remove them to *los Reyes*, until they should receive other instructions; declaring, that they were much more secure at that distance, than nearer hand; though some discontented Men interpreted this Order to be a design he had to estrange himself from them, and to proceed from a principle of jealousy he conceived of them, though as yet they were but Children.

Matters being thus disposed, (as we have said) the Governour marched towards *Huamanga*, upon a report that *Almagro* was come near to that City, and that his design was to possess and fortifie it, because it was esteemed a place naturally strong, being environed on all sides with broken cliffs, and inaccessible ways: Wherefore he dispeped Captain *Castro* before with his Company of Harquebussiers, to take possession of a craggy Hill which lyes in the way, which the *Indians* call *Forcas*, and the *Spaniards* *Parcos*: But whilst he was in his march thither, he received intelligence, that *Almagro* had already entred, and taken possession of the City, which troubled the Governour very much, considering the disadvantage he received thereby, and that a great part of his own Forces were not as yet come up, but marched slowly, and in several parties. Hereupon he dispatched *Alonso de Alvarado* back to hasten them, who with the diligence he used, speedily brought them all the other Companies in a body to joyn with the Army: To perform long marches, though very much tired, yet the Enemy (as was reported) being within two Leagues of them, they were forced to remain all the night on the Watch drawn up in Battalia; but other intelligence coming in the Morning, which gave them advice, that *Almagro* was removed at a farther distance from the City: They drew off, and marched forward to *Huamanga*, where they took a convenient repose; and having refreshed their Men, they enlarged their Quarters, and removed their Camp into a more open Plain; for the Countrey where they then were, was enclosed, and so strained with Mountains, that in case of a Fight, their Horse could not come to engage, and doe service; which would be of great disadvantage to them, considering that their Horse was the Nerve of their strength, being more numerous, and better armed, than those of the Enemy. Wherefore leaving the City, he drew up his Army in the Plains of *Chupas*, from whence he dispatched two persons to *Almagro*, one called *Francisco de Tiliacete*, and the other *Diego Mercado*, who informed him, that they were sent to him from the Governour.

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nour to offer unto him, and all his Souldiers and Followers, in the Name of his Majesty, a general Pardon for whatsoever was passed, provided he returned to his Obedience, and lifted himself under the Royal Standard; and that having Disbanded his Army, he promised to confirm this Pardon with Honours and Preferences. *Almagro* readily made answer, that he accepted the Conditions, provided the Pardon might be General both to himself and his Associates, and that the Government of the New Kingdom of *Toledo*, the Mines of Gold, and all the Lands and Jurisdiction over the *Indians*, which his Father possessed, should be restored and sealed upon him.

Almagro was moved to make this extravagant demand, upon an assurance which a certain Clergyman gave him, who some few days before was arrived from *Panama*, and told him, that all the talk and news there was, that the King had sealed his Pardon, and given him the Government of the New *Toledo* in which *Casco* was comprised; of which he gave him joy, and asked a reward for his good news.

Moreover, he informed him, that *Vaca de Castro* had but a small number of Souldiers, and those ill armed and discontented: the which News, though hardly to be believed, yet *Almagro* entertained with some assurance, because it was in his favour; and was thereby encouraged to make those high demands to the Governour, whose weakness, as he supposed, would cause him to yield unto all the Articles he could propose.

After *Vaca de Castro* had sent away the two Messengers before mentioned, he dispatched a Souldier called *Aloñso Garcia* with several Letters to the Captains and principal Gentlemen of *Almagro's* Army, promising them pardon for whatsoever was past, and a reward of great and large possessions and jurisdiction over the *Indians*. This Messenger went in the Habit of an *Indian*, for his better disguise, and took a by-way out of the Road, that he might not be seized or intercepted in his Journey: But the misfortune was, that it had snowed that day, so that the Scouts of *Almagro* discovering the impression which he had made in the Snow, tracked him by his footing, and so followed, and took him, and carried him with all his Letters and Dispatches to *Almagro*; who, as *Gomara* reports in Chapter 15th, and *Cabrata* in the 16th Chapter of the 4th Book, was highly incensed, and angry at the double dealing of the Governour, who at the same time that he was in treaty with him, was making Divisions and Mutinies in his Army: At which he was so greatly enraged, that he immediately caused the Souldier to be hanged, both because he came in a disguise, and brought Letters of Treasonable importance; and in the sight and presence of the two Messengers caused his Army to be drawn out, and ranged in a posture ready to engage, promising to whomsoever should kill the Governour, to bestow on him his Lands, his Wife, and all his Estate: And so he returned answer to the Governour, that he would never own or obey him so long as he was associated with his Enemies, who were *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, and *Aloñso de Alvarado*, *Gomez de Tordoya*, *John de Saavedra*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Tillen Suarez de Carvajal*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, and all the other Gentlemen who had sided with *Pizarro*.

Thus much *Almagro* uttered with intent to discourage the Governour from attempting any more the way of dividing his people by separate Treaties, or indeed to put him out of all hopes of attaining any thing by way of Accommodation; for if one of his Conditions was to cashier all those who were of *Pizarro's* party, he must be contented to remain without Army or People, which he knew could never be assented unto. And moreover, he sent him word that he would do well to leave off that way of seducing his people from him, for he might be confident there was none of them which would be tempted to forsake his party, but would all unanimously joyn in Battel to defend that Countrey against him, and all the World, which he would speedily verifie by marching out immediately to meet and fight him; *Almagro* was as good as his word, and accordingly marched against the Governour with courage and resolution to give him Battel; the which was confirmed by an unanimous consent of all his Souldiers, who generally disdained and resented the secret and treacherous dealing of the Governour, and caused them to adhere more closely to the party of *Almagro*; concluding within themselves, that he who would be false towards their Captain, might very well be suspected of the like perfidiousness and breach of Faith towards them.

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Whence it was agreed on all sides to dye fighting, and hearken no farther to any Articles of Treaty. It is believed, that had it not been for this Action, *Almagro* would have inclined to a Peace, upon the Pardon of his Majesty, which was already signed and sealed, and in the hands of the Governour.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Order that Vaca de Castro, and Don Diego de Almagro observed in drawing up their Squadrons. The beginning of the Battel, and the Death of Captain Pedro de Candia.

UPON this Answer which *Almagro* had given, the Governour observed a strange unwillingness and dissatisfaction in his Souldiers to an Engagement; who declared, that since his Majesty was so ill pleased with the late Battel of *Salinas*, that he committed *Hernando Pizarro* to Prison for it; they ought to be wary and cautious how they incurred his Majesty's displeasure by any offence of the like nature. Wherefore the Governour, to satisfy this scruple arisen in the minds of his Souldiers, recounted to them the crimes and offences of *Almagro*, how he had killed the Marquis, and murdered many other persons; that he had confiscated the Goods and Estates of other Men; and converted them to his own use; that he had made a division of *Indians*, and reparted them amongst his friends without any Commission from his Majesty; that at present he came with an Army against the King's Commission. And farther to justify his cause, he did there in hearing of all his Army, by virtue of the Power committed to him by his Majesty, pronounce sentence against *Almagro*, proclaiming him Rebel and Traytor, and for his crimes did condemn him to die, and lose all his estate both real and personal; requiring all the Captains and the whole Army to be aiding and assisting to him in the execution of this Sentence, which he declared by virtue of a Commission from his Majesty, whereby he was constituted and appointed Chief Minister and Governour of that Empire.

The Sentence being given, *Vaca de Castro* concluded, that according to the Answer of *Almagro*, which evidenced a resolution to persist in his rebellion, there was no farther place to hope for Peace by way of Treaty: Wherefore he put his people into a posture of defence, having received intelligence that *Almagro* and his Army were approaching near.

Having drawn his Forces into the Field, he made them a Speech, telling them, That they were to consider who they were, from whence they came, and for whom, and for what cause they were to fight; that the possession and enjoyment of that whole Empire was held up to them for a reward and prize to the Conquerors; if they were overcome, neither he nor they could escape death; and if on the contrary they won the Field, they would be for ever happy; for besides the King, they would remain Lords, and Possessors of all the Divisions of Land, which had been already made with the vast Wealth and Riches thereof, and for ever to enjoy the same in peace and quietness. And so to those who were not as Word of his Majesty, to divide and set out Lands to them, for reward of their Loyalty and Service to their King. In short, he told them, that he knew there was no need of long Speeches and Exhortations to incite Courage in such Noble Cavaliers, and Valiant Souldiers; and though he was well assured they would be

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forward in action, yet they should see him their Leader, to be the first who should break his Lance in the Front against his Enemies. Answer was made hereunto with common voice, that they would all dye, rather than be overcome; and since every Man esteemed himself equally concerned in this Enterprize, they earnestly intreated the Governour not to hazard himself in the Front of the Battel, but rather conserve his own Person, on whose safety the Welfare of the whole Army did greatly depend; and that he would please with a Guard of thirty Horse to retire to some place in the Rere, from whence he might see how the Battel went, and accordingly order and apply Succours to that part which he judged to be most hardly beset and oppressed; in compliance with the importunity of his Captains, the Governour consented to take his station in the Rere, in which posture they expected the coming of *Almagro*, whose Quarters were about two Leagues from thence; and the day following the Scouts returned with news, that the Enemy was come within half a League with design to give them Battel.

Hereupon the Governour immediately drew out his Forces into Battalia; On the right hand of the Infantry he placed the Royal Standard, defended by *Alonso de Alvarado*, and carried by *Christopher de Barrientos*, Native of *Ciudad-rodrigo*, and Inhabitant of *Truxillo*, where *Pedro Alvarez Holguin* was possessed of a great Estate and Jurisdiction over the Indians: *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Gargilasso de la Vega*, and *Pedro Anquez*, who were Captains of Horse, flanked the Foot on the left Wing. *Carate* faith in the 13th Chapter of his fourth Book, "That these Commanders marched very orderly, keeping their Colours and Companies in an equal line, they themselves being in the first rank; and that the Infantry, Commanded by the Captains, *Pedro de Vergara*, and *John Valez de Guevara*, marched between the two Wings and Squadrons of Horse; and that *Nuño de Castro*, who Commanded the Harquebussiers, was placed in the Van, to begin the Fight, and being repulsed to retire into the main Body.

"*Vaca de Castro* remained with his thirty Horse in the Rere, at some distance from the main Body, from whence he might be able to observe all that passed, and accordingly apply succours and relief where occasion did most require. Thus far *Carate*.

Pedro de Alvarado wore over his Arms a Coat of white Satten, slashed and pinked, saying, That when Archers shoot at Butts, there are very few which hit the white Mark. In this posture they remained in expectation of the coming of *Almagro*, who by this time was entered the Plain, and encamped on the ridge of a Hill so far distant from the Royal Army, as was out of Cannon-shot. *Pedro Suarez*, Serjeant-Major, who had been long a Souldier in Italy, and trained up to the War, soon perceived the advantage they had of the ground, and drew up his Squadrons in form and manner to answer those of the Enemy. His Infantry he flanked on one side and the other with Wings of Horse Commanded by his Captain-General *John Balsa*, and Major-General *Pedro d'Onate*; and the Captains were *John Tello de Guzman*, *Diego Mendez*, *John de Oña*, *Martin de Bilbao*, *Diego de Hojeda*, and *Malavez*: All which were brave fellows, and well resolved to conquer the Empire, and acquire Dominion over the poor Vassals of that Country. The Serjeant-Major placed all the Artillery in the Front, (of which *Pedro de Candia* was chief Master or Captain) bearing directly on that side of the Enemy, where it was possible for them to be attacked: And then he went to *Almagro*, who with a Guard of eight or ten Men was placed in the midst between the Horse and Foot; and said to him in this manner: Sir, your Lordship hath now all your Forces so advantageously drawn up under the defence of your Cannon, that if you please but to continue in this order, and not to move from it, you may overcome your Enemies either without push of the Lance, or stroke of Sword: For let the Enemy come which way they will, you must break and destroy them with your Cannon, before they can come within shot of Musket. But by that time that things could be thus ordered and disposed, it was towards the Evening, when the Sun was only two hours high.

Vaca de Castro and his Council were much divided in their opinions, whether they should engage that day or not. *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was Serjeant-Major, and an experienced Souldier, was of opinion, that by no means the Battel should be deferred that day, though they fought part of the night; for that were to give courage to their Enemies, and a check to the forward resolution of their own Army, and might, perhaps, give time and occasion unto several of them

to revolt unto *Almagro*. Hereupon the Governour resolved immediately to give them Battel, wishing he had had the power of *Jeshab* to command the Sun to stay his course.

Herewith the word was given to march directly against the Squadrons of *Almagro*, who upon their first motion ordered his Cannon to play upon the Enemy, and to startle them in the first onset; but *Francisco de Carvajal* observing, that if they kept a direct course upon the Enemy, they should receive much damage from their Cannon, which were many, and very good; directed them another way under the covert of a Hill: But having passed this shelter into the open Field, so commanded the Artillery, shot over them, so that they received no damage; which when *Almagro* saw and observed, he immediately fell upon *Pedro de Candia*, who killed him with his Lance upon the very Cannon; and being full of rage and anger for this piece of treachery, he leaped from his Horse, and mounted on the nose of one of the Guns, and with the weight of his body loosed it in such manner, as to make it bear on the Enemy; and then ordering the Cannonier to give fire thereunto, he placed his shot amidst the Squadron of *Vaca de Castro*, which raking them from the Front to the Rere, as *Carate* confirms in the 18th Chapter of his fourth Book, and *Gomara* in Chap. 150, but do not say how many were slain thereby, which were seventeen Men; which unluckily shot, had it been followed by others with the like success, they had needed no other force, but had secured the Victory according to the assurance which *Suarez* the Serjeant-Major had given; but all was lost by that treachery which *Pedro de Candia* had acted. For we must know that Captain *Pedro*, having considered that *Hernando Pizarro*, who was the Person that had affronted and injured him, was imprisoned in Spain, (as we have formerly mentioned,) and that by reason of him he had sided with the party of *Chili*. And that the Marquis, who by his Power and Greameis had much oppressed him, was now dead, he judged himself sufficiently revenged both of one, and of the other: And that now since there was a new Governour, it was his best course to return unto the Obedience and service of his Majesty, useful in the Conquest of that Empire. And on this Motive it was, that he sent secret intelligence to the Governour not to fear the Cannon, for he would so order it, that he should not need to apprehend any damage or hurt from thence. On confidence of which promise the Governour resolved to delay the Battel, though *Pedro de Candia* did not attain the end he designed.

CHAP. XVII.

*The Relation of the cruel Battel of Chupas is continued.
A disagreement amongst the People of Almagro. The
Victory of the Governour; and the Flight of Almagro.*

THE Serjeant-Major, and the other Captains of his Majesty, observing what a Lane was made through their Squadron by the Enemy's shot, and that their Foot was daunted therewith, they presently clapt within the void place, and cued their ranks to close up, and without stop or any delay to make up directly upon the Enemy; and to have no cause of retardment, they left and deserted all their own train of Artillery. The Captains of *Almagro* not well considering their case and advantage, and as people not much used to such kind of emergencies; observing the Enemy to advance upon them, cried out with a loud voice, *Let not our Enemies gain honour by our cowardise, they see us stand still as not daring to oppose them: Let us to them, let us to them, for we are not able longer to endure this affront.* Here-with they forced *Almagro* to advance with his Squadron, and with so little consideration, that they made him to interpose between the Enemy and his own Cannon; which when Serjeant-Major *Suarez* observed, he went to *Almagro*, and with a loud voice told him, saying, *Sir, had you kept the order which I directed, and had followed my counsel, you had been victorious; but since you take your measures from others, you will lose the honour of this day; and since your Lordship is not pleased to make me a Conqueror in your Camp, I will make my way to it on the side of your Enemies.* And having repeated these words, he set Spurs to his Horse, and passed over to *Vaca de Castro*, advising him immediately to close with the Enemy, and to give them no time, for that there was great disorder and confusion in their Counsels.

Vaca de Castro observing this good advice which *Suarez* had given him, commanded his Forces to march directly up in face of the Enemy; with which *Francisco de Carvajal* was so encouraged, and assured of victory, by reason of the unskilfulness of their Foes, that he threw off his Coat of Male, and his Head-piece, and cast them on the ground, telling his Souldiers, *That they should not be affrighted at the Cannon; for that if he who was as fat and big as any two of them, was not fearfull of them, much less ought any of them who were but half the mark that he was.*

At this time a certain Gentleman who was of Noble Blood, and rode with the Horse, observing both sides within Musquet-shot, and that there was no other remedy but that he must engage; he on a sudden passed forth from the Squadron of the Governour, and said, *Sirs, I declare my self for the party of Chili, for all the World knows, that at the Battel of Salinas I was then on the side of Almagro the Elder; and since I cannot now be for them, there is no reason but that I should stand neuter, and not be against them.* Herewith he fellied out of his rank, and separated himself at some distance, where a certain Priest remained called *Hernando de Luque*, who was a Kinsman to that School-master of *Panama*, that was the Companion and Associate of *Almagro* and *Pizarro*. With this Priest there was another Gentleman also, who being sick, was excused from the Fight; but the retreat of this Gentleman was interpreted by all the Army to be an effect of down-right cowardise, and that therefore he durst not engage on either side. The Harquebusers of *Castro de Vaca* would have fired upon him, but the haste they were in prevented their intention; and when they understood the reason for which he desired to stand a Neuter, they then were willing to spare their shot. I had once an acquaintance with him, and left him alive in a certain City of *Peru*, when I departed thence; and I know and remember well his Name, though I think fit to conceal it in this place, and only recount the fact in general to the end, that such a piece of cowardise may be hated and scorned by all Persons of Quality and Worthy Souldiers.

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In short, the Souldiers of *Vaca de Castro* made such haste, that without much hurt they mounted the Hill, where the Squadrons of *Almagro* were drawn up, being much disordered, and removed out of that good posture in which they were first placed. Howsoever the Harquebusers received them with such a Volley of Shot, *Tordoya*, with three Bullets, of which he dyed two days afterwards. *Nunno de Castro* was also desperately wounded, besides many others who were slain, which being observed by *Francisco de Carvajal*, he commanded the Horse to charge them, for they were the chief Force to which he trusted, being more in number than those of *Almagro*; accordingly the Horse engaged, and both sides maintained the Fight with such bravery, that the Victory for a long time remained doubtful, and by his Colour and Habit known to all, he became the common Mark, every one aiming to hit so famous a Person. On the other side the Infantry of *Vaca de Castro* charging the Enemy, came valiantly up to the very Cannon, which were now of no use, in regard that by the ill discipline and disorder of *Almagro's* Commanders, they had interposed their own Souldiers between their Cannon and the Enemy. Howsoever both sides fought with such animosity and bravery, that they could not see each other; they then made use of the words *Chili* and their parties; the greatest slaughter was amongst the *Picarrists*, and *Almagrians* knew their Lances, coming to a closer Fight, killed each other with their Swords and Pole-axes. The success of this Battel being of high concernment, animated both sides with a resolution to dye, or gain the victory; being well assured, that as the Dominion of that Empire, and the Riches depended on this Victory; so being overthrown, there remained no other reward for them, but death or slavery. It was now above two hours in the night, and yet the Fight continued with equal slaughter, being full four hours since it first began. At length the Governour charged the left wing of the Enemy, which was still entire, and not as yet broken, so that the Battel seemed to be again renewed: Howsoever, at length the Governour routed and defeated them with the loss of ten or twelve of his Guard, and *Montalvo*. By this time both sides began to think themselves secure of Victory, and yet still the Fight continued: At length the Forces of *Almagro* seemed to grow faint; which when he observed, he put himself into the head of them, and being seconded by those few which were his Life-guard, he entred amidst the thickest of his Enemies with that valour and resolution, that he performed Miracles by his own Person, being desirous to be slain on the place; but being unbravely, as *Gomara* reports of him in Chapter 150.

And now Victory began to incline to the side of the Governour; which when *Almagro* and his chief Officers observed, they called out aloud, and said, *I am such an one; it was I who killed the Marques; and so they fought with fury and despair until they were slain and cut in pieces.* Many of *Almagro's* people escaped by favour of a dark night, having taken off their white Ribbons, and placed the Colours of *Vaca de Castro* in their stead, with which they supplied themselves from those who were slain on the other side. *Almagro* himself seeing that there was no tel with six Companions, namely, *Diego Mendez*, *Bergan*, and *John de Guzman*, and three others, whose Names I have forgotten. Thence he fled to *Cusco*, where he met that Death which he could not receive from his Enemies, by the hands of those Men whom he had there constituted in Offices of Justice and Military Employments: For so soon as they understood that he had lost the day, *Rodrigo de Salazar*, who was a Native of *Toledo*, and deputed by *Almagro* for his Governour in that place; and *Antonio Ruiz de Guevara*, who was Commissioned also by him to be chief Justiciary, immediately laid hands on him, and made him Prisoner; and to consummate this cruelty, they took those also who were his Companions, and attended his Person: To confirm which particular, *Carate* in the 19th Chapter of his fourth Book, hath these Words which follow.

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" Thus ended the Reign and Government of Don Diego de Almagro, who was one day Commander in Chief of all Peru, and the day following was seized by an Officer, whom by his own Authority he had constituted chief Justiciary of Cuzco. This Battel was fought the 16th of September 1542. Thus far Certeate ; and herewith he concludes the Chapter aforesaid.

This Victory was in part obtained about nine of the Clock at night, but not completed, for the noise of fighting and clashing of Arms was heard in several places of the Field: And lest Almagro should again rally, and in the Morning renew the Battel, (for as yet his flight and escape was not known) the Governour commanded his Serjeant-Major to sound a retreat to his Army, and put them again into a posture of Battel, placing the Horse and Foot in their respective stations, with Orders to stand to their Arms untill the Morning, when the light would discover the state of their Victory: Which being accordingly executed, they continued on their Guard, and in a readines to receive whatsoever should occur.

CHAP. XVIII.

Wherein those Principal Commanders are named, who were present at this Battel; the Number that was slain; the Punishment of the Rebels; and the Death of Don Diego de Almagro.

THE Governour passed a great part of the Night in discourse to his Souldiers, praising the courage and resolution which his Captains, Cavaliers and Souldiers had shewed in that days Engagement; he applauded and admired their bravery which they had made appear in the Service of his Majesty. He then recounted some particular Actions performed by such and such, naming them by their Names; whereby he acknowledged the fidelity, love and friendship, which they had evidenced to the Memory of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, for whose sake, and in revenge of whose Death, they had exposed their own lives to all the hazards and perils in the World. Nor did he omit to mention the bravery of Almagro, whereby he had signalized himself to revenge the Death of his Father, having therein performed above what could have been expected from his years, not having passed above the Age of twenty: Nor did he forbear to commend the Courage of several Captains of the contrary party, who had carried themselves bravely in the Action of that day. In a particular manner he took notice of the stout resolution, and Military behaviour of Francisco de Carvajal, who without fear either of the great or small Shot, marched boldly at the head of his Men, being ever intent and ready to apply his succour and relief, where it was most required: Of all which Actions the Governour was the best Judge, and could give the best account of them, in regard he was retired to a place from whence he could have a prospect of all that passed. The principal Persons on his Majesty's side, who signalized themselves in this Engagement, were the Major-General Gomez de Tordoya, the Agitant Allen Suarez de Carvajal, and his Brother Benito de Carvajal, John Jello de Hieda, Thomas Valquez, Lorenzo de Aldana, John de Saavedra, Francisco de Godoy, Diego Maldonado, who afterwards obtained the Sir-name of the Rich, John de Salas, Brother of the Arch-bishop of Seville, Alonso de Loaysa, Brother of the Arch-bishop of los Reyes, Geronimo de Loaysa, John de Pancorvo, Alonso Maquela, Martin de Menezes, John de Figueroa, Pedro Alonso Carrasco, Diego de Truxillo, Alonso de Soto,

Antonio

Antonio de Quinmones, and his Brother Suero de Quinmones, and his Cousin Pedro de Quinmones, who had been an old Souldier in Italy, and were all three near in Kindred to the Governour, Gaspar Jara, Diego Ortiz de Guzman, Garcia de Melo, who lost his right hand in the Battel, Pedro de los Rios a Native of Cordova, Francisco de Ampuero, Don Pedro Puertocarrero, Pedro de Hinojola, John Alonso Palomino, Don Gomez de Luna, the Elder Brother of Garcilasso de la Vega, Gomez de Alvarado, Gaspar de Rojas, Melchior Verdugo, Lope de Mendoza, Juan de Barbaran, Miguel de la Serna, Geronimo de Albiaga, Nicolas de Ribera, and Geronimo de Ribera, who for distinction sake we have in the other part of this Book called Ribera Senior, and Ribera Junior.

All which, and many others, whose Names we cannot call to mind, did that day in the Battel signalize their Valour in an extraordinary manner, for fighting in the front of their Companies, most of them were wounded. In short, there was not one Man of note in all Peru, as Gomara affirms, but was engaged in the Battel of that day on his Majesty's side. On the King's party three hundred Spaniards were slain; many also were killed on the other, though not so great a number; the Battel was very bloody; the slaughter fell much upon the Captains, of which most of them were killed; four hundred were wounded, of which most dyed with cold that night, it happening to freeze very sharply. These are the Words of Gomara; and therewith he ends the 150th Chapter of his History.

Of Almagro's side two hundred were slain, so that Gomara with much reason terms it a bloody Battel; for of fifteen hundred Men on both sides, five hundred were slain, and five hundred wounded; of which last, four hundred were of the King's side, and but one hundred of Almagro's.

There was one of the King's Souldiers so cruel, that after the Battel was ended, he killed eleven of the Almagrians in cold blood; of which evil Act he made great boast, saying, that in such a place they had robbed him of eleven thousand pieces of Eight, in revenge of which he had killed eleven of them. Many other things of this nature passed that night; and the reason why so many of those wounded were frozen to death, was, because the Indians finding them unable to help and defend themselves, made bold to strip them of all their cloathing, leaving them naked, and exposed to the weather, without regard to either side or party, of which there could no distinction be made in the night; and if there had, yet the Indians, whose business it was to pilfer, would not have forbore on any small consideration, or complement to either side. Nor could the Conquerours for the present take that due care of their wounded, because the Carriages with their Tents not being come up, they were all forced to lodge in the open Air; onely they made a shift to set up two Tents, wherein they made an Accommodation for Gomez de Tordoya, Pedro Ancurez, Gomez de Alvarado, and Garcilasso de la Vega, who were all mortally wounded; others who had received some slighter hurts, endured the open Air, which caused their wounds so to smart, that it was grievous to hear the groans, sighs and cries which they uttered. Nor did the Indians spare those who were fled out of the Battel, taking the courage to pursue twelve others of his companions, without any regard or respect to his Quality or Character of Captain-General; in like manner they killed many other Spaniards, who fled out of the Battel in divers parts: But so soon as it was day the Governour sent abroad to bring in the wounded, taking care to have their wounds dressed: And as for the dead, they buried them together, in four or five large Graves, which were made for them, into which they cast them all without distinction, excepting onely Pedro Alvarez Eolguin, and Gomez de Tordoya de Yargua, with some other noble and principal Persons, whom they carried to Huamanga, and there celebrated their Funerals with what decency they were able. Above a hundred Horse, and fifty or sixty Foot, fled from the Battel, and escaped to the City of Huamanga; but being pursued by those few who remained Masters of the Field, were again defeated, they yielding up their Horses and Arms upon conditions of Quarter for their lives. And as that day they performed an Act of Charity in the burial of the Dead, so likewise they performed an Act of Justice in punishment of the Offenders; for having found the Bodies of Martin de Bilbao, and Arbolacha, and Hinojosa, and Martin Carrillo amongst the Dead, who cried out in the Battel on purpose to be killed, that they were the persons who had Assassinated the Marquis; and though they were then cut in pieces, yet according to a new form of Justice, they were afterwards drawn and quartered, the Cryer at the same time

publishing their offence : the like piece of Justice was executed on other insolent and rebellious persons. The day following the Governour went to *Huamanga*, where he understood, that Captain *Diego de Rojas* had killed Captain *John Tello de Guzman*, and *Pedro d'Onate*, who was Major-General to *Almagro* : the punishment of other Offenders was referred by the Governour to Judge *de la Gama*, who condemned all the principal Leaders of the *Almagrian* party to dye, who were taken and imprisoned at *Huamanga*, such as *Diego de Hocet*, *Antonio de Cardenas*, whose throats he caused to be cut ; and hanged *John Perez*, *Francisco Peces*, *John Diente*, and *Martin Cote*, and thirty others of the most culpable or chiefest Offenders ; others who were pardoned for life, were banished into the remote parts of that Kingdom.

Whilst the Governour was thus employed in doing justice at *Huamanga*, he received intelligence that *Almagro* was taken and imprisoned at *Cusco* ; wherefore hastning to that place, and arriving there, he immediately caused the Sentence to be executed, which he had passed upon him before the Battel, not being willing to spend more time in new Processess. Carate saith, that they cut his throat in the same place, and by the same Executioner, who put his Father to death, and who stripped him, and took his Cloaths in the same manner as he had done his Father's, onely some friends agreed for his Breeches, Waistcoat and Shirt, which were conveyed to him ; his Body was laid out, and exposed the whole day to publick view ; afterwards they carried it to the Convent of our Lady of the *Merced*, and there buried it by the side, or in the very Grave of his Father, without Winding-sheet or other Shroud than his own Cloaths, onely out of charity some few Masses were said for his Soul.

This was the end of *Don Diego Almagro Junior*, which was so like to that of his Father, that fortune seemed to make the circumstances of their lives parallel in every thing ; for besides that they were Father and Son, and had the same Name ; they were endued with equal courage and conduct in War, and with the same prudence and counsel in Peace ; and if there was any thing of excellency more in one than in the other, it appeared in the Son, who from his youth had been trained up in good literature, in which by help of his good parts both for judgment and quickness of fancy he made great improvement : they resembled each other in their Deaths, which happened in the same place, and almost in the same manner ; their Funerals were much alike, for having been rich and powerful, they died so poor, that their Burial-charges were paid upon charity ; and to render the circumstances of their lives in all things agreeable, the Battels they fought and lost were both upon a Saturday.

Thus poor *Don Diego Almagro Junior*, concluded the Scene of his Life, who had been the bravest *Mezquero* (that is, one begot by a *Spaniard* on the body of an *Indian* Woman) that ever this new World produced, had he taken the right side, and obeyed the Governour, who was constituted by Commission from his Majesty. He was a Man who had a handsome seat on Horse-back in both Saddles, either riding with his legs at length, or short, as is the fashion on the Gennet : At last he died like a good Christian with great repentance for his sins. *Almagro* being dead, they hanged up *John Rodriguez Barriagan*, and *Ensign Enriquez*, with eight others, who adventured to follow *Almagro* unto *Cusco*. *Gomez Perez*, and *Diego Mendez*, and another companion of theirs, made their escape out of Prison ; but finding no secure place wherein to conceal themselves in all *Peru*, they fled to the Mountains, where Prince *Manco Inca* remained in retirement, and were followed by five others, who went also to hide, and cure themselves of their wounds in that place : All which were received with great kindness, and with as good entertainment by the *Inca*, as he was able to give them ; but in what Coin they again repaid him, will appear by the sequel, for he was killed by one of them in requital for his favours and kindness towards them.

C H A P. XIX.

The good Government of Vaca de Castro ; the peace and quietness of Peru ; the cause and original of other Troubles.

DOn *Diego Almagro Junior*, being dead, and all the Complices and Heads of that party being either put to death, or banished, the whole Empire of *Peru* began to enjoy peace and settlement, the name and interest of that *Almagrian* Faction being totally extinguished. Judge *Vaca de Castro* being a prudent, and a discreet Person in all his actions, governed with much Equity and Justice, to the great satisfaction and contentment both of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, having established several Laws so advantageous to the Welfare of both Nations, that the *Indians* themselves rejoiced in such happy constitutions, and esteemed them equal to those which had been made by their *Incas*. Likewise the Governour bestowed such Plantations of *Indians*, which were void and forfeited for Rebellion, on persons who had well deserved for their Services to his Majesty in the late War : He also encreased the Possessions of others, or exchanged them for those which were better in other places, or Cities, where they were most pleased to chuse their habitation. At that time many of the Inhabitants of *Charcas* transplanted themselves and Families to *Cusco*, amongst whom my Lord *Garcilasso de la Vega* was one, who (as we have said formerly) had left the Province *Tapac-riri* to settle himself in the Province *Quechua*, which belongs to the Nation *Cotanera*, and *Huamampallpa*. And though the Governour in the Divisions he made proceeded with all the equality and caution imaginable, as was apparent to all the World, yet many were discontented for want of having Lands, and Plantations of *Indians* allotted to them, which they believed and presumed to be due for all their Services and Labours they had sustained in the Conquest of *Peru*. Amongst these discontented persons there was a certain Gentleman called *Hernando Mogollon*, born at *Badajoz*, of whom we have made mention in the third Chapter of the first Book of our History of *Florida*. This Gentleman presuming that he had well deserved and performed great Services in the Conquest of these new Countries, and particularly at the Battel of *Chupas*, where he signalized his bravery in an extraordinary manner, of which *Vaca de Castro* himself was a Witness ; for which finding he had no reward, or Lands, or *Indian* Servants divided to him, he went and applied himself to the Governour, and told him plainly :

Sir, In this Countrey, as your Lordship well knows, all People eat from the Labours of *Mogollon*, and he alone starves with hunger. And in regard that he was one of those who discovered *Florida*, and was forward and active in important Conquests which have been acquired to the Crown of Spain ; and lastly, was present in the Battel of *Chupas*, where he fought under your Lordship's Standard ; it is but reason that some remembrance should be had of him, who hath not forgotten his Duty and Service to his Majesty.

The Governour considering well the Merits of the Man, and that he asked nothing but what was very reasonable, he bestowed upon him a small share of Lands, inhabited by *Indians*. And as an expedient to quiet the minds of other complaining and indigent Souldiers, of which many were unrewarded ; and to prevent a farther Mutiny, he imitated the example of *Marquis Pizarro*, who on the like occasion dispeised several Companies with their Captains, to conquer and possess divers other parts of the Countrey ; by which means enlarging their Territories, every Man might obtain some Inheritance and Dominion over the *Indians*. And accordingly he gave order to Captain *Pedro de Vergara* to return to his Province of *Pacamuru*, where he had made some progress in his Conquest, when

he was recalled from thence to serve his Majesty in the late War with his Men, who were very good and experienced Souldiers.

Diego de Rojas, *Nicholas de Eradia*, and *Philip Gutierrez* (a Native of *Madrid*) were sent to the Province of *Musku*, called by the Spaniards *los Mozos*; with them were lifted a Company of brave Men, who had sustained many great difficulties before they arrived at the River of Plate, of which we shall hereafter give a Relation. *Gonzalo de Momroy* was sent to the Kingdom of *Chili* to recruit and assist the Forces of the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, who then was employed in the Conquest of the Provinces and Nations belonging to that Kingdom. To another Province called *Mullupampa* he sent Captain *John Perez de Guevara*, who had made a late discovery thereof, and had there received intelligence and intimation of other new Countries, and large Territories, which stretch themselves Eastward between the Rivers called *Orellana*, *Maramon*, and the River of Plate: But that those were Countries very Mountainous, and full of Moors, Fens and Bogs, and inhabited by few *Indians*, who lived in a bestial manner, like brute Beasts, without Religion, Laws or Civility, and were such as ate one the other; and that the Climate being hot, they needed no clothing, but went naked.

Thus the Governour *Vaca de Castro* having ridded his hands of the Souldiers, and cleared the Kingdom of *Peru* of the burthen of new Levies, having sent them from *Quito* to the *Charcas*, which are seven hundred Leagues distant each from the other, he remained much at ease, and freed from the daily importunities which disturbed him; so that he attended to his Government in peace and quietness to the general satisfaction of all people. And that he might form and establish Laws most agreeable to the nature and constitution of those Countries, he informed himself of the *Charcas*, and ancient Captains, of the Order and Rules which their *Incan Kings* observed in their Administration of Justice, out of which he chose and culled such as he esteemed most proper and agreeable to the constitutions of both Nations, whereby the Spaniards might be converted, and the *Indians* increased. Then he sent Letters to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who still remained in *Quito* to come to him; and having in the Name of his Majesty, and in his own behalf, thanked him for all the Services he had performed to the Crown, and applauded the dangers and adventures he had run, which his Majesty would in due time reward; he gave him leave to return to his own habitation, and to his Dominion in the *Charcas* over the *Indians* there, advising him to take care of his health, and attend to the improvement of his Estate. The *Indians* finding themselves freed from the calamities and miseries they had sustained by the late intestine Wars, which had been carried on at the expence of their Lives and Estates; of which, as *Gomara* saith, the Spaniards had been so prodigal, that above a Million and a half of them were destroyed; at length being more at ease, they returned to their Country affairs, and to tillage and cultivation of their Lands, which by the industry and knowledge of the Spaniards in Agriculture yielded great plenty, and abundance of all Provisions; and both sides attending to their own quiet and ease, the *Indians* discovered several rich Mines of Gold in many parts of *Peru*; the richest of which were situated Eastward from *Corco* in the Province of *Collahuaya*, called by the Spaniards *Carabaya*, from whence they digged great quantities of the finest Gold of twenty four Quilates; which Mines also yield some Gold to this day, though not in such abundance as formerly. To the Westward of *Corco*, in the Province of *Quechua*, which is well peopled with divers Nations so named; and on that side thereof which is called *Huallaripa*, other Mines of Gold were discovered; which though they yielded not their Gold so fine as that of *Collahuaya*, yet it amounted to twenty Quilats more or less in goodness; howsoever the quantity thereof was so great, that about nine or ten years after the Mine was opened, I remember to have seen some *Indians* bring home to their Master every Saturday night two thousand Pesos of Gold Sand for his single part or share in those Mines. We call that Gold Sand, or Dust, which they gather like the Filings of Iron; there is also another sort something thicker, like Bran after it is sifted from the Flour, amongst which they find now and then some granes as big as the Seeds of Melons or Pompions, to the value of six or eight Ducats each grane. From such considerable quantities of Gold as were daily brought to the Mint, or Melting-houses, the fifth part thereof which appertained to his Majesty, amounted to a vast Treasure; for of every

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five Marks one, and of every five Pesos, one was delivered for the King's use, and exactly counted to the last *Maravedi* or Farthing.

Thus by the prudent and good management of this Christian Governour, who was very much a Gentleman, prudent, wife and zealous for the Service of God and the King, that Empire began to flourish, and under many concurring circumstances arrived to that high pitch of happiness and felicity, that it daily increased and improved to greater benefits: But that which above all was considerable, was the propagation and increase of our Holy Catholick Faith, which the Spaniards with great zeal and labour preached over all those Countries; the which was received by the *Indians* with the greater satisfaction and diligence, because that many of those Doctrines which were preached unto them, were the same Precepts and Commands which their *Incan Kings* had by the mere light of Nature delivered to them.

But whilst the Gospel grew and flourished, and many were enlightened with the glorious Majesty thereof, and that the *Indians*, as well as Spaniards, enjoyed in *Peru* both spiritual and temporal Blessings with peace and quietness: Behold, the Devil, that common enemy to Mankind, laboured to disturb the happy progress of this prosperity: To destroy and overthrow which, he let loose his Officers and evil instruments, such as Ambition, Envy, Covetousness, Avarice, Anger, Pride, Discord and Tyranny, to whom he gave Commission in their several places to endeavour the subversion of the Gospel, and hinder the conversion of the Gentiles to the Catholick Faith, the advancement of which tended to the destruction of his Power and Kingdom; and God in his secret judgments, and for punishment of the sins of Men, permitted those devices of the Devil to succeed, in such fatal manner, as we shall find by the sequel. For some certain persons, guided by a blind and mistaken zeal for the common good of the *Indians*, took false measures in the proposals they made therein to the Royal Council; arguing in many Debates, that new Laws and Constitutions ought to be established with peculiar reference and respect to the Governments of *Mexico* and *Peru*. The person who most warmly and earnestly insisted on this point, was a certain Friar called *Bartholomew de las Casas*, who some years past being a Secular Priest, had travelled over the Islands of *Barbovento*, and had been at *Mexico*, and in the parts adjacent; and having taken a religious Habit on him, he proposed divers matters, which he alleged, were for the good of the *Indians*, and tended to the propagation of the Catholick Faith, and increase of the Royal Revenue; but what effect and success his Councils had, *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, Chaplain to his Imperial Majesty, relates in Chapter 152, and the same is confirmed by *Covate*, Accountant-General of the Royal Exchequer, in the first Chapter of his fifth Book.

The same is also related by a new Historian called *Diego Fernando*, a Citizen of *Palencia*, who recites the many disturbances which the new Laws and Constitutions caused both in *Mexico* and *Peru*; this Authour begins his History from those Revolutions, and differs very little from the substance of those particulars mentioned by the two others. Wherefore we shall repeat singly what each Authour writes; for considering the aversion I naturally have to all relations of fatal and doleful passages, I unwillingly recount any thing of that nature; but being forced thereunto for declaration of the Truth, and for continuation of the History, I judge it convenient to fortify my discourses with the testimony of the three foregoing Authours, that so I may not seem of my own head to have framed matters which have produced sad and evil consequences to the whole Empire, and which have proved ruinous to the several parties and factions of those Countries: And lest in the Quotation of these Authours, or citing them by Notes in the Margin, I should be taxed of mistakes, or of having added any thing of my own, I have rather chosen to follow my former method, by repetition of their words verbatim in those particulars, which contain matter of reflexion, or blame on any person; though in other things my discourses shall not be confined to their very words, but rather serve for a Comment, enlarging on many passages, and adding to what they have omitted; all which shall be performed with great respect to truth, founded on the testimony of those who having been Eye-witnesses, and Actors in those Revolutions, have delivered undoubted Narratives thereof unto me without partiality or prejudice to any.

Wherefore

Wherefore now to proceed after this preamble, we say, That when the Vice-king *Blasco Nunnez Vela* arrived in *Peru*, I was then about four years of Age; and afterwards in my riper years, I was acquainted with several of those who are named in this following History. In the first place therefore we will relate the many troubles which the new Constitutions caused in *Mexico*, and the good effects which in the end were produced by the prudent and wise management of the Judge, who was employed to put them in execution. After which we will return to *Peru*, and relate the many misfortunes, slaughters, and other miseries which attended them, caused by the severity, rigour and imprudence of that Vice-king, who was Commissionated to execute those Laws, and govern that Empire. And though the History of *Mexico* is foreign to our discourse, yet I have thought fit to compare the successes of one and of the other Kingdom, which had various and almost contrary effects, arising notwithstanding on the same causes. That so Kings and Princes may by the examples and precedents of History learn and observe how dangerous it is to establish Laws, which are rigorous, and cause them to be executed by severe Judges, who for want of moderation incline the Subjects and Vassals to a detestation of their Government, whereby they lose that respect, duty and allegiance, which is due thereunto. And indeed all Histories, both Divine and Humane, hath from all antiquity averred the truth hereof; and the experience of these Modern times have given us to understand, that never was any Rebellion commenced against Kings, who were gentle and kind to their Subjects; but when cruelty, tyranny and oppression by taxes, and heavy impositions prevailed, then all things ran to misery and confusion.

CHAP. XX.

Of the New Laws and Constitutions made in the Court of Spain, for the better Government of the two Empires, Mexico and Peru.

WE must understand that in the year 1539, a certain Friar called *Bartholomew de las Casas*, came from New Spain to Madrid, where the Court resided at that time, shewing himself in all his Sermons and familiar Discourses extremely zealous for the good of the *Indians*, and a great Favourer and Protector of them: In evidence of which, he propounded many things, and maintained them to be very reasonable, and which in themselves outwardly appeared holy and good, yet in the execution thereof they proved rigorous, cruel and difficult to be put into practice. The proposals notwithstanding of this Friar were offered, and laid before the Supreme Council of the *Indies*, where they were ill approved, and rejected by the prudence and understanding of *Don Garcia de Loaysa*, the good Cardinal of *Seville*, who was made of that Council, in regard that for several years he had been Governour of the *Indies*, and had more knowledge and experience of the affairs of those parts, than any of those who had been Conquerours and Inhabitants thereof: Wherefore dissenting from the opinion of the Friar, his Proposals were not entertained, but suspended untill the year 1542, when the Emperour *Charles the Fifth* returned into Spain after a long Journey he had made through *France*, *Flanders* and *Germany*. His Majesty, who was endued with great zeal and devotion for propagation of the Christian Faith, was easily persuaded to hearken to the gentle propositions of the Friar, which he insinuated under the specious colour of Conscience, and with the guise of Religion, offered several new Laws and Constitutions to be enacted and put in force for the greater good and benefit of the *Indians*.

After

After his Imperial Majesty had duly heard and considered all that the Friar had to offer, he assembled his great Council, to which he farther added several grave and learned persons both Prelates and Lawyers; and, having laid before them the particular Laws and new Establishments, they were approved, and passed by the major part of the Assembly; notwithstanding many being of a different opinion dissenting from the Majority, and declared their Votes to the contrary; amongst which were the Cardinal aforementioned, President of the Council, the Bishop of *Lugo*, *Don John Suarez de Carvajal* (with whom I was once acquainted) *Francisco de los Cobos*, Secretary to his Majesty, *Don Sebastian Ramirez*, Bishop of *Cuenca* and President of *Valladolid*, who formerly had been President in *St. Domingo* and *Mexico*; *Don Garcia Manrique*, Count of *Osona* and President of *Ordenez*, who (as *Gomara* saith) had for a long time been Super-Intendent over the Affairs of the *Indies*, during the absence of Cardinal *Garcia de Loaysa*; all which having been long conversant, and Men of experience in the Affairs of the *Indies*, did dislike and disapprove the new Laws and Ordinances, which were 40 in number, as disagreeable to the natural Constitutions of those Countries and People. Howsoever the same were passed and confirmed by the Emperour in *Barcelona*, on the 20th of November, 1542. as *Gomara*, in Chap. 152. relates: and the Battle of *Chupas* was fought between the Governour *Vacca de Castro*, and *Don Diego Almagro Junior*, on the 15th of September, of the same year, being two months and five days before these Laws were signed and passed: by which it may plainly appear how much the Devil was concerned to disturb and hinder the propagation of the Gospel in *Peru*: for no sooner was one Fire extinguished, before another was in a Flame more fierce and terrible than the former, occasioned by those Discontents which arose from the new Constitutions; of which we shall mention only four, which are laid down by the aforesaid Authours, as most pertinent to the present History, and are these which follow.

The first Law was this, That after the Death of the Conquerours and of those who had Plantations, and had built Cities, those who were in possession thereof should hold them of the King, for their Lives only, without right of Inheritance descending to their Wives and Children; but that when any one died the King should succeed, giving to the Children such a proportion of the fruits thereof as might support and maintain them.

That no *Indian* should be charged with any Tax or Imposition unless in those Countries where the *Indians* paid not the same by bodily Labour; that no *Indian* should be forced to labour in the Mines or fish for Pearls; and that having paid a Tribute or Imposition on his Goods to the Lord of the Manour or Freehold, he should be discharged from corporal services.

That the Lands and Plantations cultivated by *Indians*, which Bishops or Monasteries, or Hospitals held in their own right, should be quitted by them, and vested in the King; and that all Governours, Presidents, Judges, Officers of Justice, and their Deputies under them; as also all the Officers of his Majesties revenue should renounce and disclaim all Title and Interest to such Lands and Plantations of *Indians*; and that no Officers of his Majesty should be capable of keeping *Indian* Slaves, though they should renounce their Offices to be capacitated thereunto.

That all such as have Lands in *Peru*, (which is to be understood of those who have command over *Indians*) and have had any concernment, or been interested in the late disturbances between *Don Francisco de Pizarro* and *Don Diego de Almagro*, shall lose and forfeit all their power and dominion over the *Indians*, as well one side as the other: by which Law and Constitution (as *Diego Fernandez* well observes) all People were comprehended, there not being one person in all *Peru*, who was capacitated either to hold Lands, or to enjoy an Estate in all that Country: and consequently all Persons of Quality as well in new Spain as in *Peru* were excluded not only by this, but by the third Law; for all or most of them had been Governours, Justices, Deputies or Officers of the Royal revenue: so that both these two Laws were as Toiles which caught every person, being so comprehensive, as to take in every person in the *Indies*, and by virtue thereof excluded them from all their Possessions: but for the better understanding of these Acts, Laws and Constitutions, and the grounds thereof, we shall mention and declare the Motives and Reasons which the Legislators produced and alleged for constituting and establishing the same. And as to the first Act or Ordinance we must know, that in recompence and reward to the first Discoverers and Conquerours of the

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Indies,

Indies, a Grant was made to possess and enjoy the Lands they had gained for two Lives, that is, for their own, and the life of their eldest Son, and to the Daughter, in case a Son should be wanting.

Afterwards a Command was given, That every one should marry, upon supposition, that men being married would desire to be quiet, and apply themselves to cultivate and improve their Lands, and not be mutinous and desirous of Novelties; and upon this Consideration, and for the encouragement of Marriage, it was ordained, that the Wife for want of Children should enter into the possession, and enjoy it for her Life. The reason of the second Law or Constitution, exempting the *Indians* from payment of Taxes or Impositions was grounded on a suggestion, that the *Spaniards* paid or allowed nothing to the *Indians* for their pains or labour in their services: perhaps this might be particularly true in relation to some *Spaniards* of evil consciences and tyrannical dispositions; but as to the generality, it could not be made good; for that many *Indians* were entertained in the service of the *Spaniards*, and as Day-labourers hired themselves out to hew or saw timber, receiving their wages and hire for their labours: and therefore to ordain that the *Indians* should not be charged with labours or employed in work, was to cut off their bread and their gain: and therefore it had been much more political to have made a Law severely to punish those who withheld payment from the *Indians*, after they had done their service and labour which deserved it.

As to that Law, which forbids the *Indians* to be compelled to work in the Mines, I have nothing to say, but only to refer my self to the present practice, which is now used in this year 1611. when by order of the Government, the *Indians* are compelled to labour in the Silver Mines of the Mountain of *Potosi*, and in the Mines of Quick-silver which arise in the Province of *Huancá*: in which, if the *Indians* were not employed, the quantities of Gold and Silver which are yearly imported from this Empire into Spain would greatly fail.

As to that particular Law which imposes a Tribute or Quit-rent payable by the Tenant to the Lord of the Manor, it was a matter so well established, that it was received with general applause at that time when President *Pedro de la Garca* proportioned the Tax in *Peru*, of which I was my self an eye-witness: but as to the exemption of *Indians* from personal service, they gave no good information, nor did they know how to make such a report as might be proper in that case. For the matter stood thus: Every Adventurer that was an Inhabitant had a certain number of *Indians* allotted to him in lieu of part of his Tribute, for maintenance of his house; so that every Lord, besides his principal Mansion dwelling had some small Cottages of about forty or fifty in number, or sixty at the most, set out to him, obliged to personal Services; that is to say, to provide his house with Wood, Water, and Hay or Grass for his Stables, for at that time, they had no Straw; and, besides this, they were obliged to no other Tribute or Service: and of this nature my Father was possessed of three little Villages in the Valley of *Cusco*; and in the parts adjacent, the Inhabitants of *Cusco* held divers such like Cottages obliged to the use and service of the City. And where it happened out, that the lot fell to any person, in places uninhabited, they presently sent to the Head-quarters to be supplied with *Indians* in part of the Tribute due to them; and accordingly the same was granted, and the *Indians* which were allotted to them, with great cheerfulness and contentment followed and observed the imposition of their Masters: so that when the President *Gasca* came, and found this particular point so equally disposed and established, he approved thereof, and made no manner of alteration therein.

As to the third Precept, which retrenched the Bishops, Monasteries and Hospitals in those large proportions of services which former Governors had bestowed upon them, over *Indians*: It seemed neither injurious nor unreasonable wholly to take them away; for that the Intention of the Governors was not to grant them for a longer time than they were impowered by his Majesties Commission, which was only for two lives, which being expired, their right ceased; and herein Monasteries, Bishoppicks and Hospitals, though of perpetual duration, yet could not pretend to a greater privilege than the Adventurers and Conquerors of those Empires. The remaining part of this third and fourth Ordinance we shall declare hereafter, in the place where we give a relation of the Complaints which those made who believed themselves injured and damnified thereby.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Officers which were sent to Mexico and Peru, to put these Laws into Execution. And a Description of the Imperial City of Mexico.

When these Laws of the new Establishment came over; It was farther ordered, that the Court held at *Panama* should be dissolved, and another new one erected in the confines of *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, to which Court the whole *Terra Firma*, or Continent, was to be subjected.

It was farther ordained, That another Court of Chancery should be erected in *Peru*, consisting of four Judges and a President, to whom the title should be given of Vice-king and Captain General: And that a certain person should be sent unto *New Spain* with a power of Visitation, to oversee the Government of the Vice-king, and the Proceedings in the Court of *Mexico* and of the several Bishoppicks, and to take an account from the Officers of the Royal Revenue, and of all the Justices of that Kingdom.

All which Regulations were issued forth with the aforementioned Ordinances, which, as formerly declared, were forty in number. And whereas there resided in the Court of Spain many *Indians* from all parts; divers Copies of these new Rules were translated, sent over and dispersed, which all and every particular person, inhabitants of those two Empires, took out for his information, being of general concernment: but so displeasing were these new regulations to the generality of those People, that in high discontent they caballed together, and held public meetings to contrive a remedy.

Some few days after the publication of these Orders, his Imperial Majesty nominated *Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval*, a Native of *Seville*, who had been Inquisitor of *Toledo*, to be his Visitor, for which Office he judged him the most proper person he could chuse, in consideration that he had formerly been a member of the Royal Council of the *Indies*, and a person of great probity and prudence, and for that reason, was well worthy of the employment, to see that the new Laws should be put in execution as well in *New Spain* as in other parts of the Empire, and to that purpose, that he should visit all places, to see them actually performed and put into practice.

At the same time *Blasco Nuñez Vela*, who was Surveyor-General of the Forts of *Castile* was named President and Vice-king of the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Peru*, concerning which matter *Carate*, in the second Chapter of his fifth Book, hath these words following, "The great experience his Majesty had of this Gentleman, whom he had tried and approved in other Governments of Countries and Cities, namely, in *Malaga* and *Cuenca*; and having found that he was a Gentleman of great probity and rectitude, executing impartial justice unto all men without respect to persons, and that he was ever zealous for the Royal Interest, and that with great courage he performed the King's Commands, and without failure in any thing; his Majesty therefore judged him worthy of this honourable employment. Thus far are the words of *Carate*."

Moreover *Don Diego de Cepeda*, a Native of *Tordesillas*, who had been Judge in the Isles of the *Canaries*, and *Don Lison de Texada*, a Native of *Logrono*, who had been Judge of the Marshal's Court held at *Valladolid*, for deciding points of Honour, and *Don Alvarez*, who had been a Pleader or Advocate in the same Court, with *Don Pedro Ortiz de Carate*, a Native of the City of *Orduña*, formerly Mayor of *Segovia*, were all four put into Commission, and appointed Officers in those parts.

Moreover *Augustine de Carate*, who had been Secretary of the Privy-Council, was appointed Auditor General of all the Accounts of those Kingdoms and Provinces, and of that whole Continent. To whom, and to the persons above-mentioned, these Rules and Orders above-mentioned were delivered, with Command,

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mand, That so soon as the Courts were feted and established in the City of *Los Reyes*, where his Majesty commanded they should be held; the several Laws mentioned in the sequel of the Commissions, should be observed and maintained without any violation.

Thus much is reported by *Diego Fernandez* in the second Chapter of his Book, and the like also is mentioned by *Augustine Carate*, almost in the same terms; and that these Laws were issued out and dated in the month of *April*, 1543.

And now, in the first place, we will briefly relate the happy success of these matters in *Mexico*, from whence we will proceed to *Peru*, and there declare the sad and doleful effects thereof, which happened in that Kingdom as well to *Spaniards* as *Indians*.

In the month of *November*, 1543. the Vice-king, together with his Judges, Ministers, and Chief Super-Intendent, *Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval*, embarked at *San Lucar* upon a noble Fleet, consisting of about 52 Sail of good and tall Ships; and loosing from thence with a prosperous gale arrived in 12 days at the Islands of the *Camaries*; from whence having taken some refreshments, they pursued their voyage; and then divided their Fleet; those for *New Spain* steering their course to the right-hand; and chose for *Peru* unto the left; where we will leave our Vice-king in prosecution of his voyage, to relate the success of the Visitor or Super-Intendent in the Kingdom of *Mexico*. And passing by the many particulars of his voyage, which are mentioned by *Diego Fernandez Palentino*, we shall say, in short, that in the month of *Febr.* 1544. he safely arrived in the Port of *St. John de Ulva*, and from thence proceeded to *Veracruz*; and in a short time afterwards came to *Mexico*; being received in his way thither by all People with that respect, duty and joy, as was due to his Quality and Commission.

But the People of *Mexico*, being informed of the Rules and Instructions he brought with him, resolved to goe forth and meet him at some short distance from the City, not with Musick or Merriment; but as *Diego Fernandez* reports, clothed in Mourning; and with such sadness and sorrow in their countenances, as might testify their resentments, fears and apprehensions, they conceived at his entrance into the Government.

Which Intention being made known to the Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, he presently endeavoured to prevent the same, and to put the People into a better humour, commanding them to receive him with Joy and Mirth; and accordingly the Vice-king and Council, with the Officers of State, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, as also the Clergy, with above 600 Gentlemen all richly adorned and well-armed, went forth to receive him at half a League distance from the City. The Vice-king and the Super-Intendent met, and entertained each other with much complement and ceremonies, and the like passed with all others; and then he proceeded to the Monastery of *St. Domingo*, at his entrance into which he was received by Father *John Camarrage*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, Arch-bishop of *Mexico*, and was conducted thither by the Vice-king, who having seen him there in his Lodging, he left him, and committed him to his repose. All which being thus far related by *Diego Fernandez*, he proceeds to give us a description of the City of *Mexico* in these words.

"If it may be lawfull for me; who am an *Indian*, and for that reason may seem partial to my own Country: I should gladly repeat the words which he uses in honour of that great City, which may be compared to the ancient greatness of *Rome* in its glory: His words are these. "This great City of *Mexico* is situated in a plain, and founded amidst the Waters like *Venice*; and therefore for the better communication of the Inhabitants, it is furnished with a great number of Bridges. The Lake in which this City is built, though it seems to be of one single Water; yet in reality it consists of two, which are of different natures, the one is of a bitterish and brackish sort of Waters: and the other of a sweet taste and wholesome for the body: the Salt-water ebbs and flows; but the Sweet-water doth not so, but being of a higher situation falls into the Salt-water, and the Salt-water on the contrary doth not arise so high as to damage the other.

"The Salt-water Lake is about five Leagues broad, and eight Leagues in length; and the Sweet-water is much of the like dimension; upon these Lakes about 200 thousand small Boats are employed, which the Natives call *Acates*, and the *Spaniards*, *Canoes*; they are all made of one piece of Timber, and are

"bigger or less, according to the proportion of the Tree out of which they were hewen.

"About this time this City contained 700 great and principal Palaces, well built of Lime and Stone; the which were not covered with Tile or Slate, but made flat with a Tarras, so that People might walk on the top.

"The Streets are very commodious, plain and straight, and so wide that four Horsemen may be able to ride a-breast with their Lances and Targets, without touching one the other.

"The Town-house, where the Tribunals of Justice are held, hath nine several Courts or Yards within it, together with a large Garden, and a spacious place, where they exercised their Sports called the *Fiestas of Bulls*. Within this House the Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoza* kept his Court, and the Visitor or Super-Intendent *Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval*, with three Judges and the Accountant General were conveniently lodged. Within the Verge also of this Town-house, the Royal Prison was contained, and a House and Office for founding Bells and Cannon, as also the Mint for Coinage of Money.

"Upon one side of this House the Street fronts which they call *Tacuba*, and on the other side runs the Street of *St. Francis*, and behind is the Street called the *Chase*, all which are Principal Streets; and on the Front of all is the open Place where they bait the Bulls; and, in fine, this Palace is of that large circumference, that it answers to the eighty Gates belonging to the Houses of Principal Inhabitants of that City.

"The *Indians* of this City live in two great Streets called *St. Jago* and *Mexico*; the number of which are at this time reckoned to be 200 thousand. The avenues to this City are four, one whereof is two Leagues in length, and is that to the South-ward, by which *Hernando Cortes* made his entry.

Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez*, to which this Author adds, That in those days there were 700 great capacious Houses, he might mean rather 700 large Streets, which may well be imagined, if we take the Measures thereof by the proportion of that vast Palace, wherein were contained the Vice-king's House, the Visitors Apartments, with the Lodgings of the Judges and other Officers of the Kingdom, as also the Prison, the Mint, and the rooms wherein the Bells and Cannon were founded; all and every of which Offices were so large that each of them of it self contained a whole Street; which this Author confirms in the Description he gives of this House, saying, That this House is so large that it answers to 80 great Gates belonging to the Houses of Principal Citizens. In short, we may positively affirm, that this Imperial City of *Mexico* is certainly one of the chief, if not the most considerable City in the World. The which I prove by the testimony of a *Dutch* Gentleman, who having out of curiosity travelled to see the most famous Cities of the Old World, did averre, that out of curiosity onely to see *Mexico*, he took a voyage into the new-found World; and that, besides the pleasure he took in the sight thereof, he had gained 20 thousand Ducats in his Countrey upon several wagers he had made, concerning the particulars he had related thereof; to prove which a man was purposely sent to those parts.

But not to make too long a Digression upon this Subject, we shall omit many particulars which he related to me hereof, as also of his long Travails he made there, and the many years he spent therein, which to my best remembrance he told me were 14. *Palentino* reports, that when the Vice-king went forth to meet and receive the Visitor or Super-Intendent, he was accompanied with the Privy Council, Judges and other Officers of State, as also with the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the Clergy, together with 600 Gentlemen all very richly attired and well armed; all which was no Romance nor more than the truth. For besides other Grandeurs and pieces of Ostentation belonging to *Mexico*; it is most certain, that 'tis common and usual on Sundays, and other Festival-days, to see 5 or 600 Gentlemen riding through the Streets, not upon design of Matches or Horse-races, or the like, but onely for common pastime, and to take the Air: which for a subordinate Government without the presence of a King, is very magnificent and extraordinary.

C H A P. XXII.

Persons are appointed to petition against the New Laws; the same are publicly proclaimed. Of the Trouble and Mutiny which was caused thereby; and how it was appeased. And how matters flourished in all the Empire of Mexico by the prudence and good conduct of this Visitor or Super-Intendent.

BUT to return again to the course of our History from whence we are digressed; we are here to declare, that the next day after the arrival of this Visitor, there was a general mutiny and discontent in all the City of Mexico; saying, That this new Guest was come to put the new Laws in execution, and every one descanted on matters according to his own humour and fancy, so that there were several public Cabals and Consultations held in what manner to overthrow, and prevent this general agrievance, the result of which was with general consent, that they should petition against these Ordinances, and lay before the Visitor their Objections against them; to consider and perfect which the Corporation of the City and Officers of his Majesties Exchequer spent that whole night and the Sunday following; and upon Munday morning, so soon as it was light, they convened together, namely, the chief of the Cabal with their Clerk who attended with a multitude of People, went to the Monastery of *St. Domingo*, where they delivered their Petition and Reasons against the new Regulations: and though the Monastery was very spacious, yet the Croud of People was so great, that the place was not capable to contain them. And though the Visitor was something fearful and apprehensive of the rudeness and insolence of the rabble, yet he put a good face upon the matter, and with much frankness declared unto them the Reasons of his coming. Howsoever he gently reproved them with fair words, wondering that before he had opened his Commission, or declared the causes and matters upon which he was employed, that they should so eagerly offer their Complaints against agrievances which never touched them. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace with their multitude, and out of them to depute two or three of their principal Officers to represent their Complaints before him; and that they should return to him in the afternoon, when he would treat with them, and give Answers to their Demands: with this Answer they all retired, and upon consultation together, they appointed the Attorney General and two Justices of the Peace, and the Clerk of the Cabal, named *Lopez de Legaspi*, to be their Deputies; who accordingly at two a clock in the afternoon went to the Monastery to offer their agrievances.

The Visitor to outward appearance seemed to receive them with much cheerfulness; and having admitted them into an inward room, began sharply to reprove them for the Tumult which they had raised in the morning, aggravating their Fault by the dangerous consequences which might have happened thereupon, to the dishonour of God, and the breach of the publick Peace. Moreover he assured them, that he came not to destroy or prejudice the Country, but to advance and improve it to the utmost of his power: he likewise promised to intercede with his Majesty on their behalf, and represent the Inconvenience of the most rigorous Statutes, and that until an Answer thereof were returned, he would suspend the execution of them.

In fine, he so managed his discourse, and so overcame them with good words and forcible Persuasions, that without enforcing the particulars on which they were deputed, they returned with full satisfaction, and appeased the unquietness and rage of the Tumult; and so the Mutinies of the People being abated for
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space of several days, until Monday the 24th of *March*, when the new Statutes were publicly proclaimed, at which time the persons who were present were, the Vice-king, the Visitor, and all the Council. So soon as the Proclamation was ended, the Sheriff of the City broke through the Croud, and in a confused manner came up to the Visitor, and delivered him a Petition which he had prepared, with several Reasons against the new Statutes; the People at the same time murmuring, and seemingly resolved to maintain their former liberties: Upon which the Visitor, fearing the outrage of the People, began to excuse himself, and with much earnestness declared, that what he had done therein, was not of choice, but by compulsion: promising them with all the assurance imaginable, that whatsoever in that Proclamation tended to the prejudice of the Conquerours he would never enforce or execute; and that he would assuredly perform whatsoever he had promised to the Deputies of the Common Council of the People. And whereas they seemed to give no credence to his words, he much complained, and with vehement Asseverations vowed and swore to them, that he was infinitely concerned, and that they themselves did not so much desire the flourishing estate and condition of *New Spain*, as he did.

He moreover promised upon Oath to write unto his Majesty in favour of the Conquerours and Inhabitants, beseeching his Majesty not only to conserve unto them their Estates and Revenue, Privileges and ancient Charters, but likewise, to confirm and enlarge the same, and to confer upon them those other Lands to be equally divided, which lye waste and without a Possessor. In like manner the Bishop of Mexico, observing the general sadness and discontent which appeared in the countenance of the Citizens, offered to engage his own Faith and Credit, that the Visitor should perform whatsoever he had promised; and for an evidence of his kindness, he invited all the People on the next day being the twenty fifth of *March*, and the great Festival of our Lady, to be present at the great Church, where he promised to give them a Sermon, and that the Visitor should celebrate Mass.

With these Promises and Assurances, though their Minds were a little eased, yet they departed sad and fearfull, doubting the performance of the many Promises which were made to them; and though they passed that night with fear and anguish of mind; yet in the morning they flocked to the great Church, where the Vice-king, the Judges and Officers of the Corporation of the City were present. The Visitor having finished the Mass, the Bishop of Mexico ascended the Pulpit, and began his Sermon, in which he produced many Texts of Holy Scripture pertinent to the Affliction of the People, and enforced them with that zeal and fervour of Spirit as gave great comfort and consolation to the People. After which their fullness began to vanish, and more cheerfulness appeared in their conversation and business: so that the Attorney General and Judges went to make their visit to *Don Francisco Tello*, contriving with him the form and method whereby they were to make their application to his Majesty for a redress of these agrievances which were designed against them: in pursuance of which, with the consent and advice of the Visitor, they named two Friars of good esteem, and two Burgomasters of the City Council, whom they deputed in behalf of the whole Kingdom to carry their address into *Germany*, where the Emperor at that time resided being employed in Wars against the *Lutherans*: with them the Visitor sent his Letters of recommendation, giving his Majesty to understand, how much the suspension of the late Statutes concerned the Service of God, and of his Majesty: and the conservation of the common peace and quiet of that Country; and on the contrary, what inconveniences, troubles and confusions might result from the execution of them.

In all which particulars the Visitor performed his word like a Gentleman. For in his Letters to his Majesty, having in the first place given a relation of his voyage, and of what happened at his arrival in *New Spain*, he touched upon divers things relating to the execution of the New Statutes; remarking what in every Law might properly be restrained or enlarged: within this Letter he inclosed a paper containing 25 Heads, relating to such conditions as were proper and tending to the welfare of the *Indians*, and in what manner they might be best conserved, and the Natives increased: howsoever the Articles were all for the most part in favour of the *Spaniards* who were Inhabitants of those Countries.

With these Dispatches the persons deputed to carry the Address embarked for *Spain*, and with them several others who were willing to be absent, to avoid the force

force of these new Laws, howsoever some few days after they were published, the Visitor craftily and underhand began to insinuate and privately to put some of the new Regulations into practice. The most easie and safe way, as he thought, was to begin with the King's Officers, who could not reasonably complain of such Rules as their Master imposed on them; in pursuance whereof he acquitted the *Indians* of their services to them; in like manner he released them from all manner of service to Convents, Bishops and Hospitals; and hereof gave immediate advice to his Majesty.

In the mean time the Friars and Burgeffes who were deputed to carry this Message, departed from *New Spain*, and, having had a fair wind, gained a prosperous passage, and arrived safe in *Castile*, from whence they hastned with all diligence into *Germany* to represent their cause before his Imperial Majesty, and in regard the Wars in *Germany* were very hot, and the persecution of Monasteries and religious Persons which the Hereticks exercised in those parts were very grievous; the Friars thought fit to change their habit, and accouter themselves in the fashion of Souldiers. In short, their negotiations at the Court were successfull, and speedily dispatched, having obtained his Majesties Royal hand for the ease and redress of their aggrivances, they, by the first Fleet, gave an account of the success of their affairs, and how prevalent the recommendations and report which the Visitor had given them were towards the relief and redress of their aggrivances.

So soon as these Dispatches arrived at *Mexico*, and that the Letters were read at the Common Council of the City, they all immediately repaired to the House of the Visitor, but in a far different manner, and with a more cheerfull aspect than when they first came to offer their petition, and considerations against the new Statutes: for now, without that fullness of look which they formerly shewed, they now with smiles and pleasant looks returned him many thanks for the Letter which he had so kindly wrote in their favour; by virtue of which they had obtained the Royal Mandate, which they delivered to him; commanding the Visitor to suspend the execution of the new Laws, untill farther Order; and moreover it was therein added, that his Majesty would speedily give directions for dividing the Countrey among the Conquerours and the Inhabitants thereof: and accordingly in the very next Fleet his Majesty sent a Commission to *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, to make a distribution of such Lands as lay waste, and without any Possessour: all which gave such general satisfaction, that the Common Council of the City gave orders for a day of festivity and rejoycing to be solemnly celebrated; which was performed with Bull-baiting and other Sports and Pastimes in such manner as the like was never practised before: After which, all fears and jealousies vanishing, every man followed his pleasures and delights.

And farther, to confirm them in the Assurance that the new Laws should not be put in execution, an Instance was given them by the death of one of the Conquerours, who leaving a Widow without Issue, the Vice-king and the Visitor ordained, that the *Indians* who were his Subjects, and whom he held in villenage, should still continue in the same condition, subjected to the Widow of the deceased; the which action took away the remainder of the jealousy they apprehended concerning the Practice of the new Statutes.

Thus *Don Francisco Tello* having performed all matters in *New Spain* in the manner as we have related, and settled every thing according as he was commanded by his Majesty, he returned again to *Castile*, where he was preferred by his Majesty to be President in the Courts of Judicature in *Granada* and *Valladolid*, and made President of the Royal Council of the *Indies*: and in the month of December, 1566. his Majesty conferred upon him the Bishoprick of *Osma*.

Thus much shall serve to have said concerning the new Laws and Constitutions in *Mexico*: We shall now proceed to give a relation of the many sad misfortunes and calamities which were the consequences of them in *Peru*, where all things being managed in a different manner to those of *Mexico*, occasioned great Disorders in that Empire: the riches whereof being great, it was necessary to use the more severity and rigour to put the new Statutes in practice: whence proceeded so many slaughters, ruines, robberies, tyrannies and cruelties that we are not able to describe the tenth part of those Miseries which *Spaniards* and *Indians* of both sexes and all ages sustained in that great tract of Land where was nothing but Misery and Confusion for the space of 700 leagues together.

The End of the Third Book.

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

Of the Accidents which befell the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez Vela so soon as he landed on the Continent and on the Confines of Peru.

IN the preceding History we have given a Relation of the happy and prosperous State of Affairs in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, caused by the Moderation, Wisdom and good Conduct of the Visitor *Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval*: We are now, on the contrary, obliged to make a Relation of the Ruines, Slaughters and other Calamities of the Empire of *Peru*, caused by the Rigour, Severity and Evil disposition of the Vice-king *Blasco Nunnez Vela*, who so obstinately, against the opinion and sense of all his Council and Officers, pursued the design of putting the new Statutes into practice, that for want of due consideration of what might conduce to his Majesties service, he put the whole welfare of the Empire into danger: We have formerly mentioned, how that the two Fleets bound for *Peru* and *Mexico* separated each from the other in the Gulf or Bay of *Las Damas*; and steering thence a different course, the Vice-king with a prosperous Wind arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, on the 10th of January 1544. from whence he travailed to *Panama*, where he manumitted, or set at liberty great numbers of *Indians*, and freed them from their duty and servitude to the *Spaniards*, who had brought them from *Peru*, and caused them again to return thither; the which action was displeasing and ill resented on all sides; for that the *Spaniards* were highly troubled to be deprived of the Vassalage of their *Indian* Servants whom they had instructed and taught to be industrious: and they themselves being turned Christians, and inured to the service of the *Spaniards*, and domesticated in their families, were unwilling to quit their Masters. And though it was often insinuated to the Vice-king that this action would prove to the disservice both of God and the King, to exempt the *Indians* from their servitude to the *Spaniards*; in regard that such of them as had declared and professed themselves Christians, could not long continue in that state; but so soon as they returned to the power of their *Caciques*, would renounce Christianity, and revert to their old principles and Sacrifices to the Devil. Moreover, they represented unto him, that though his Majesty ordained that the *Indians* should be set at liberty, yet he commanded, that they should be free to reside where they pleased, and not be forced against their own wills to return unto *Peru*, and with so little Provision and ill accommodation, that it was almost impossible for them to be sustained, but that most of them must perish in the voyage thither: To all which the Vice-king

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king made no other reply than that such was the express command and pleasure of his Majesty, from which he was resolved not to deviate in the least title: and accordingly he sent his Orders to all Masters of *Indians*, that they should immediately set their *Indians* at liberty, and furnish them with provisions for their voyage: in pursuance of which Command 300 *Indians* were embarked, and dispatched away, but so ill accommodated and provided in the Ship, that many of them were starved with hunger, and others being landed and left to shift for themselves on the coast, perished with famine and the hardship they sustained in that desolate Country. Such persons as undertook to dissuade the Vice-king from putting the new Laws into practice, offered many Reasons to the contrary, representing unto him the many late unhappy Civil Wars which would easily be renewed by a People whose humours were already in a fermentation, and disposed to make insurrections.

These Discourses being displeasing and ungrateful to the Vice-king, moved him to unhandsome expressions, and to tell them that such Motions as those were punishable, and that, were he in a place within his own jurisdiction, he would advance the Promoters thereof unto the Gallows: the which angry and rude Answer gave a check to all Addressees intended to be made to the Vice-king of this matter.

Blasco Nunez remained twenty days in *Panama*, during which time the Sheriffs and Justices of the City received several advices of the state of *Peru*, in which two things were very considerable: One was, that upon the advice of the coming of the new Rules, the Conquerours of *Peru* were all in a Mutiny, and in great Discontent: And the other, that it was impossible to put the same in execution without great danger of subverting the whole Government: For that it being but lately since the *Bastel* was fought, wherein *Vaca de Castro* overthrew *Diego de Almagro* the younger, with the Slaughter of 350 men: and that those who survived esteemed that the dangers they had sustained by the suppression of this Rebellion was a piece of such service to his Majesty as deserved a high reward, rather than the least diminution of their Estates and Privileges. However the Justices and Officers, being acquainted with the humour and disposition of the Vice-king did not think fit to inform or press him farther, supposing that upon his arrival in *Peru*, having seen and observed the nature and constitution of those Countreys, he would be more easily convinced, and more apt to receive the impressions of better Councils: but the Vice-king, being of a froward and petulant disposition, easily moved with the least occasion, resolved not to suffer the Judges to associate or go in company with him; swearing, that before they came thither, he would effect and compass all matters, according to the Rules and Laws which were prescribed.

Carate, who was then Governour of *Panama*, being at that time sick and in his Bed, the Vice-king made him the Complement of a Visit before his departure: when *Carate* told him, that since he was resolved to depart without the attendance and company of the Judges, he earnestly desired and heartily admonished him to enter into the Country in a mild and gentle manner, and not to propose or attempt to put any of the new Laws into execution or practice, until the Courts of Justice were erected and settled in the City of *Los Reyes*; and till he was fully possessed of the Power and Authority of the Country; for before that time such an enterprize would not be feasible, nor prove honourable for his Majesty; nor conduce to the welfare of the People or conservation of the Government: And in regard that several of those new Laws which he designed to put in execution were very rigorous and oppressive on the People; he advised him to suspend them, until he had given his advice thereupon unto his Majesty, with his opinion of the mischiefs which might accrue thereby; and that if, after all this, his Majesty should continue his Pleasure to have them executed; it might then be more reasonable, to promulge and put them in practice, for that by that time he might be able to get into Power, and establish himself in the Government. All which, and many other things, were declared to him by *Carate*; but he not relishing them, being contrary to his humour, served only to move his Choler, and cause him in a passion to swear, that he would, without other preamble or address to the King for other Instructions, immediately execute the new Laws, without the help or assistance of the Judges; who upon their arrival in *Peru*, should find that he had no need of their help to enforce those Laws.

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In this manner, without other attendance than his own private Family, he embarked, and on the 4th of *May* he arrived in the Port of *Tumbes*, from whence he travelled over Land, and all the way he went, he published the new Orders, and caused them to be executed and obeyed, laying a Tax or Imposition on the People according to the numbers of those *Indians* they held, and taking them away from others, caused them all to be held as of the King.

In this manner he passed through *Piura* and *Truxillo*, proclaiming the new Laws as he went, and causing them to be executed, without admitting any Petition or Argument thereupon. And though the Inhabitants alleged that this method of proceeding was not justifiable without hearing the Objections they had to produce unto the contrary, and that the Laws were not to be enforced without knowledge of the Cause, or publication of his Power, or Commission in a Court of Judicature; it being expressly signified by his Majesty that those new Laws were to be published in Court in presence of the Vice-king and four Judges. Howsoever the Vice-king, unmoved by any reasons or persuasions proceeded resolutely to execute them, threatening those who refused to obey them, the which struck great terror and confusion into the minds of the People, considering that the Laws were general and comprehensive of all sort of People without any qualification or restriction. And herein this Vice-king was so positive, that so soon as he was landed on the Coast of *Peru*, he dispatched his Emiffaries before him to the City of *Los Reyes*, and to *Cuzco*; giving them to understand, that he being arrived with him, and that thereupon the Commission and Command of *Vaca de Castro* was superseded.

Some few days before these advices were brought to the City of *Los Reyes*, the whole tenure of the new Regulations dispatched from the King by *Blasco Nunez Vela* were made known by the Copies which were dispersed in all places; so that the Corporation of *Los Reyes* dispatched away the Advices thereof to *Antonio de Ribera* and *John Alonso Palamino*, desiring them to make *Vaca de Castro* acquainted therewith; but he was not ignorant before of all that passed; for his Servant in *Spain* called *James de Aller*, being informed of the new Statutes and Regulations, speedily posted with them to his Master in *Cuzco*, so that he was informed of every particular before the Vice-king arrived.

Thus far is reported by the Writings of *Fernandez de Palentino*, and generally all the Historians agree with him in the same Relation.

CHAP. II.

Judge Vaca de Castro goes to the City of Los Reyes, and discharges those who went with him upon the way. The great noise and disturbance which the Execution of the new Laws occasioned, and the mutinous words which the People uttered thereupon.

THE Governour *Vaca de Castro* having received information of the approach of the Vice-king *Blasco Nunez Vela*, and of the tenure of the Laws which he brought with him, and that he put them in execution with all the vigour imaginable, without hearing any man speak or admitting any Petition to the contrary; he thought fit to secure his own interest and party by a due compliance with him; in order whereunto he went to the City of *Los Reyes*, there to receive him for Vice-king. And though the Corporation of the City of *Rimac* sent their Emiffaries *Antonio de Ribera* and *John Alonso Palamino* to him, and also others from the City of *Cuzco* and other parts, persuading him not to go in person to the Vice-king, but rather to send a Message to him in the name of all the People, desiring him to suspend the execution of the new Laws. And whereas this Vice-king by

reason of his rough and obstinate humour, had rendred himself incapable of Office by not giving ear to the complaints and aggressances which his Majesty's good Subjects offered to him; shewing nothing but fierceness in the execution of matters of the smallest moment, they were generally of opinion that he should be rejected and not admitted to the Government; and that in case *Vaca de Castro* would not concur with them herein, they did not doubt but to fix upon another person who should join with them in the opposition which they intended to make.

By this obstinacy and fierceness of the Vice-king all *Pern* was put into a flame, and the humours of the people into a fermentation: there was now no other talk or discourse over all *Pern* than of the new Laws, the contents of which the Messengers of the Vice-king, whom he had sent before to take up his quarters, had openly divulged in all places: and thereunto the rumour of the people, as is common in such cases, had aggravated the severity thereof, the more to provoke and incense the people. Hereupon *Vaca de Castro* prepared himself for his Journey to *Los Reyes*; and being upon his departure from *Cusco*, he was accompanied with a numerous Train of Citizens and Souldiers; for being a person well beloved, there would not have remained so much as one person in the City if he would have accepted of their attendance; and, being on his way, he was met by Messengers from the Vice-king giving him to understand, that his Commission for the Government was now superseded by his arrival in those parts, and that he was to receive and acknowledge him for the chief Governour of that Country; to all which *Vaca de Castro* cheerfully submitted, and desisted from exercising the power of his Office: but before that time, by a Writing under his hand, he had bestowed and settled several Plantations of *Indians* on certain persons, who had by their services and sufferings well deserved the favour and reward of his Majesty, being such of whose merits he had been an eye-witness, or at least had received sufficient Testimonials of their loyalty and good services before he came to the administration of the Government. The Messengers which the Vice-king sent before to provide for his entertainment, gave a relation in all places in what manner the new Laws were put in practice and how enforced; how he had freed the *Indians* in *Panama* from their duty and vassalage to the *Spaniards*, against whose will, and in despite of whom, he had embarked and sent them away to *Pern*; how he had in *Tumpiz*, *St. Michael's* and *Truxillo* laid a Tax upon some Lands, and freed others, and settled them all in *Capite* to be held of the King, according to the rules prescribed by the new Laws, without any consideration of difference or distinction of cases, but made all things equal without admitting of privileges, or reservations, or hearing what any man had to alledge; but with an unshaken resolution pretended that so was his Majesty's pleasure. The which so much enraged the people who accompanied *Vaca de Castro*, that most of them returned back to *Cusco* without so much as taking their leave of the Governour, pretending that they could not appear before a man so fierce and arbitrary without danger of being by him condemned to the Gallows: Howsoever they gave out, that when the Auditors and Justices came, they would then appear to give in their plea and reasons against such proceedings; yet in the mean time they seemed to act like discontented persons, professing openly their aggressances and dissatisfaction: for when they came to *Huamanga* they took away all the Artillery which had been lodged there ever since the defeat of *Almagro* and carried them away to *Cusco*; the chief Author of which enterprise was called *Gaspar Rodriguez*, who, by the help of great numbers of *Indians*, carried them away to the dissatisfaction of all those who either saw or heard of the action. *Vaca de Castro*, having intelligence hereof, proceeded on his Journey, and by the way it was his fortune to meet with a certain Priest called *Baltazar de Loaysa*, who out of kindness told him, that in the City of *Los Reyes* the people spake hardly of him; and therefore he advised him to be wary and to go well attended both with Men and Arms. *Vaca de Castro* making use of this information, desired those Gentlemen, who came in his company and entred into his attendance, that they would now be pleased to leave him and return to their own homes: and that such who were unwilling so to do, and were desirous to continue with him; yet at least, that they should quit their Lances and Fire-arms; though it were the practice at that time, as well as many years after, to travel both with offensive and defensive Arms. Accordingly his Friends that accompanied him laid aside their Weapons, and by short journeys arrived

arrived at length at *Los Reyes*: the persons who were his associates were *Lorenzo de Aldana*, *Pedro de los Rios*, *Benito de Carvajal*, a civil Lawyer, *Don Alonso de Montemayor* and *Hernando de Bachichao*; whose arrival at the City of *Los Reyes* was solemnized with great joy, though much abated by the apprehensions they conceived of the severity of the new Statutes, and the inexorable and inflexible humour of the Vice-king, so different from the temper of his Predecessour. So soon as he was arrived he immediately dispatched away from thence his Steward called *Pernimo de Serent*, and his Secretary *Pedro Lopez de Cagalla* with Letters to the Vice-king, congratulating his safe arrival, with offers both of his life and fortune to serve both his Majesty and his Lordship. Whilst these matters passed on the way between *Cusco* and the City of *Los Reyes*, other more unpleasing passages occurred in the Journey between *Tumpiz* and *Rimac*, where the Vice-king, without any difference or consideration of circumstances, put the new Rules into execution with all the rigour and fury imaginable, without giving ear to the defence or reasons which the Conquerours and Gainers of that great Empire could make or alledge in their own favour and behalf, saying, that so was the King's will and pleasure, which admitted of no delay or contradiction, or any thing besides pure obedience: Hereupon all the Citizens and Inhabitants, being generally concerned, were inflamed and enraged; for as *Fernandez* saith, there was not a man amongst them unconcerned; so that people began to talk loudly and scandalously against those new Laws, saying, that this course was the effect of the pernicious Counsels of evil men, and of such as being envious of the riches and power which those Conquerours had acquired, had for their own ends put his Majesty upon indirect means, and upon rigorous courses very prejudicial to the publick welfare, and persuaded him to see them executed by Officers inflexible and without reason: all which is fully reported by *Gomara* in the 155th Chapter of his Book, the Title of which is this,

The manner how Blasco Nunnez treated with those of Truxillo, and of the Reasons and Objections which the People gave against the new Rules and Statutes.

"At length *Blasco Nunnez* entred into *Truxillo* to the great discontent and general sorrow of the *Spaniards*; for he immediately made Proclamation to impose a new sort of Tribute, and to affrighten men from bringing the *Indians* under vassalage; forbidding all people from oppressing, or causing them to labour without pay or against their inclinations: in fine, the *Indians* were all brought under vassalage to the King and no other. And though the people and several Corporations petitioned against the most oppressive Articles of the new Rules, being willing to admit of the Tributes and Taxes which were imposed upon them, and to free the *Indians* from their services; yet the Vice-king would hearken to no terms of composition or moderation, but positively persisted in the execution of the express commands of the Emperour, without any Appeal: All that they could get of him was this, that he would write and inform his Majesty how ill he had been advised in the constitution and establishment of those new Laws. Notwithstanding which fair words, the Inhabitants, who observed his inflexible disposition, began to mutiny; some said that they would abandon their Wives; others declared that those Women or Wenches which, by command of the Government, they had married and taken for Wives, they would renounce and cut them off from alimony and maintenance; others said it were better to have no Wives or Children to maintain than to want the subsistence and benefit of Slaves who might labour in the Mines for them, and in the works of Husbandry and other servile Offices, for their support and easiness of living; others required money, and the price of their Slaves, for which having paid the fifths unto the King, their brand and mark had been set upon them; others murmured and complained that their Services were ill rewarded, and their time ill employed, to have spent their youth and flower of their years in hardships and difficulties, and at last to be deprived of their Servants and convenient attendances in their old age; some shewed how their Teeth were fallen out with eating roasted Mayz during the time of War in *Pern*, and others opened and displayed their wounds and fractures of their Bones, and the bites of Serpents and venomous Creatures received in the enterprises they undertook to gain that Empire; in which also they had spent their Estates and shed their Blood, and all to increase the Dominions of the Emperour, in reward for which he was pleased to de-

prive

"prive them of those few Vassals they had purchased to themselves: and the Souldiers huff and muttered, that they would not concern themselves farther in new adventures, since they had no encouragement: but were resolved to live upon spoil and plunder on all hands.

"The King's Officers and Ministers complained, that they were hardly dealt with, to be deprived of the vassalage of the *Indians* whom they had so kindly treated and used in their Services: and the Friars and Clergy declared, that they should be unable to support and sustain their Monasteries, and Churches, and Hospitals, without the necessary services of the *Indians*. But none spoke more daringly and freely, both against the Vice-king and the King himself, then did Friar *Peter Munoz*, of the Order of *Merced*, saying plainly, that his Majesty had ill rewarded those who had served him well; and that those new Laws sinelt rank of interest and selfishness rather than of equity; for it was an intolerable injustice in the King, to take away those Slaves whom he had sold, and yet not return the money for them, and the price he had received; and that Monasteries, Hospitals and Churches, and the very Conquerours themselves should be divested of their servants and slaves, to make them vassals to the King: And, what was most unreasonable, in the mean time a double duty and tribute was imposed upon the *Indians*; which was intended for their ease and relief, though in reality it proved their greatest aggravance and oppression. Thus far are the words of *Gomara*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Discourse and Reports the People of Peru raised against the Promoters of the new Laws; and particularly against the Civil-Lawyer Bartholomew de las Casas.

SUCH Liberty the People generally took in their Discourses against all those who had been Contrivers and Promoters of these new Laws, that they reported a thousand evil things of them; and particularly of Friar *Bartholomew de las Casas*, who being notoriously known to have had a chief hand in these new Regulations, fell under the severe lash of their Tongues; for as *Diego Fernandez*, one of the first Adventurers and Conquerours of *Peru*, reports, they ript up a thousand Misdemeanours of which he was guilty before he entred into the profession of a religious Life; and particularly how he had endeavoured to make himself the Conquerour and Governour of the Island in *Cumana*; and that he had been the cause of the destruction and slaughter of many *Spaniards*; by the false reports he had given to the Emperour of the State of Affairs in *Peru*; making great and large Promises of advancing the King's revenue, and of sending vast quantities of Gold and Pearl to the *Flemings* and *Burgundians*, who resided in the Court of *Spain*. Many of those *Spaniards* who had been employed in the Conquest of the Isles of *Barlovento*, were well acquainted with *Bartholomew de las Casas* before he professed himself a Friar, and were well informed of the effect and success of the Promises he made touching the Conversion of the *Indians* in the Isle of *Cumana*; of all which *Lopez de Gomara*, in the 77th Chapter of his History writes so particularly that it is probable he might have received a Relation thereof from some of the Conquerours of that Countrey; in confirmation whereof, and for the better authority of this his History; I will here insert the very Chapter it self, the Title whereof is as followeth.

Chapter the 77th, wherein is contained a relation of the Death of those Christian Spaniards who followed Bartholomew de las Casas a Priest.

Bartholomew de las Casas, a Priest was in that time at *St. Domingo*, when the Monasteries of *Cumana* and *Chirivichi* were in their flourishing state and condition; and having heard a good report of the fruitfulness of that soil, of the gentle and pacifick humour of the Natives, and of the great abundance of Pearl which that Country

Countrey afforded; he sailed into *Spain*; and demanded of the Emperour the Government of *Cumana*, promising to improve and increase the Royal Revenue, which was much abated by the frauds and abuses of those Officers who had it in managemet. But *John Rodriguez de Posseca* and Dr. *Lewis Capaton*, and Secretary *Lopez de Conchillos* contradicted him in his report and represented him as a person uncapable of such office and employment, in regard he was not only a Priest, but a person of ill fame and reputation, and ignorant of the Countrey, and of the state of those affairs which he pretended to declare. Howsoever, upon the pretence of being a good Christian, and of a new method he proposed by a more ready way to convert the *Indians*, and upon promises of advancing the King's revenue, and sending them store of Pearls, he obtained the favour of Monsieur *Lopez*, Lord Chamberlain to the Emperour, and of several *Flemings* and *Burgundians* who were men of power and authority in that Court. At that time great quantities of Pearls were imported into *Spain*, so that the Wife of *Xenares* begged 170

* Marks of them which came on account of the King's fifths, and many *Flemings* and Artificers to be sent with him, rather than Souldiers who were fit for nothing but to plunder and pillage, and to be mutinous and disobedient to Commands: He desired also to be accompanied with a new order of Knights, who should wear a golden Spur and carry a red Cross of different shape and fashion to the order of *Calatrava*; which distinction, as it ennobled them, so also it was a testimony, that they went voluntarily, and of their own accord. Moreover, Orders were sent to *Seville* to provide him with Ships and Seamen at the charge of the King: and with this equipage he arrived at *Cumana* in the year 1520, with about 300 Artificers, all wearing Crosses; at which time *Gonzalo de Ocampo* resided at *New Toledo*; who was much troubled to see so many *Spaniards* under the command of a person of that ill character, and transported thither by order of the Admiralty and Council, because the Countrey was of a different nature to what it was reported to be in the Court. Howsoever, *Bartholomew* presented and shewed his Commission, requiring that, according thereunto, they should quit the Countrey, and leave it free for him to plant his People, and to govern the place: Whereunto *Gonzalo de Ocampo* made answer, that with all ready obedience he did submit thereunto; but howsoever he could not put those matters into execution without first receiving directions from the Governours and the Judges of *St. Domingo*, by whose Commission he was placed in that station. And in the mean time he passed many a jest upon the Priest on certain occasions which had formerly happened, for he was well acquainted with him, and knew his humour and his conversation: sometimes he jeered his new Knights and their Crosses, all which the Priest would put off with a Jest, though he was inwardly troubled to be taxed with so many Truths which he could not deny: And in regard they would not give him admittance into the Town of *Toledo*, he built himself a House of Wood and Morter, near to the Monastery of *St. Francis*, which served him for a Magazine wherein to lodge his provisions, stores and instruments, during the time that he went to *St. Domingo* to make known his Complaints and seek a Redress. *Gonzalo de Ocampo* went also, I know not for what cause or reason, whether on this occasion, or for some Law-suit he had with the People of that place; but certain it is, that all the Inhabitants followed him; so that the Town was abandoned by all excepting the Artisans and Mechanicks which he brought with him: The *Indians*, who were glad to make their advantages of these differences and quarrels amongst the *Spaniards*, took this opportunity to demolish their Houses, and to kill all the golden Knights and others which remained there, excepting some few who made their escape in a small vessel, so that there remained not one *Spaniard* alive in all the Coast where the Pearl is taken.

So soon as *Bartholomew de las Casas* was informed of the death of his friends and the loss of the King's Treasury, he entred himself a Friar amongst the *Dominicans*; with which an end was put to all his great Actions; so he neither advanced the King's revenue, nor ennobled his Artisans, nor sent his Pearls to the *Flemings* and *Burgundians*, as he had promised: And thus far are the words of *Gomara*.

This and much more, to the prejudice and disparagement of *Bartholomew de las Casas*, was reported by those who found themselves aggrieved by the late new regulations: though *Gomara* endeavours to mince and disguise much the matter: but

65 Ryalls plate to every *Marco*.

but those of *Peru*, who speak more plainly of this matter, report, that he had turned Frier in discontent, because he was fallen under his Majesties displeasure, and feared lest he should be called to account for the false relations he had given of matters which he had never seen nor understood of the Countrey of *Cumana*; and because he was conscious to himself that he had been a principal Contriver of the new Statutes, upon the specious pretence of raising the King's revenue, and out of a zeal he shewed to the good and benefit of the *Indians*: but how real and sincere all this was, may very well be judged by his actions, of which people spake and talked more at large than can be exprest in this History. *Diego Fernandez* reports, that this Frier *Bartholomew* was by the Emperour created Bishop of *Chiapa*, which is a Countrey in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, but he durst not go to his See, by reason of the many mischiefs which he had been the Authour of in the *Indies*. In the year 1562. I met him at *Madrid*, where he gave me his hand to kiss; but when he understood that I was of *Peru*, and not of *Mexico*, he was a little more reserved in his behaviour towards me.

CHAP. IV.

The Reasons which the Complainants gave against the new Regulations. And the manner how they prepared to receive the Vice-king.

MUCH and many were the Reasons which the Complainants produced against the new Regulations, as well those of the City of *Los Reyes* as of all *Peru*. And the better to clear this point, we must observe, that both at *Mexico* and in *Peru* the *Spaniards* had then a Custom amongst them which continued until 1560, (which was the year that I came from thence) to make choice of four Gentlemen of principal quality, in whom they could repose most confidence and trust, to be Officers of the Royal revenue, to collect the fifths of the King's gold and silver, in what part soever it did arise; and this was the first Tribute which the Catholick Kings imposed upon the new World. These Officers of the revenue were Treasurers, Accountants, Factors and Comptrollers: and to them was committed the care (besides the fifths) to collect such Tribute from the *Indians* as became due by the death of the Inhabitants, who all held their Estates of the King.

Besides which Offices, the *Spaniards* every year, in all parts where they inhabited, made choice of two chief Constables in ordinary, one Judge and a deputy Judge, with 6, 8, or 10 Justices of the peace, more or less, according to the extent of the Countrey; and to them several other Officers were adjoined, to conserve the safety and welfare of the Commonwealth.

These Officers, as also all Governours, Presidents, Judges and other Ministers of Justice and their Deputies were concerned in the third ordinance: by virtue of which both they, and such as had been employed in Offices, were commanded to quit all claim, interest and power in and over the *Indians*.

In opposition whereunto the Complainants made this Reply. We, said they, at the hazard and expence of our Lives and Blood, have gained this large Empire, which contains many Kingdoms and Dominions, the which we annexed to the Crown of *Castile*. In reward of these our services and adventures the *Indians*, which we now possess, and retain in our services, were given and granted to us for two Lives: the which dominion and jurisdiction ought to be as firm and valid as the Seigniories or Lordships are in *Spain*. Now the reason why this privilege is taken from us is no other than because we are chosen to be Commissioners of his Majesties Royal revenue, and employed in the Offices of Justices of the peace and Judges.

If we have administred these Offices faithfully and without the prejudice or aggravance of any person; what reason is there that we should be deprived of our *Indians*, onely because we are in the service of his Majesty, and bear our part in the

in the Government of the people. It had been better for us to have been Thieves, Adulterers, Homicides and Robbers rather than honest men, since that the Law is in force against the latter and not against the former.

With like liberty and freedom of speech, did those who were comprehended under the fourth Law vent their anger; namely, those who had taken party with the two Factions of the *Picarrists* and *Almagrians*; by virtue of which (as *Diego Fernandez* observes) no person in all *Peru* could be master of *Indians* or Estates. What fault, said they, had we who obeyed the Governours and Magistrates which his Majesty had sent us; as both those were, and who acted by Commision from his Majesty: And if there arose private quarrels and animosities amongst themselves, by the instigation of the Devil, to which men diversly adhered; yet neither of these Parties acted against the Crown. And if one Party was in the wrong, and was guilty of Delinquency, yet the other acted for the King's service; and why then should they be equally punished by confiscation of their Goods and Estates with those who have offended; which seems to be such a piece of Injustice as is not to be parallel'd by the tyranny of *Nero*, and seems rather to proceed from an arbitrary Constitution, to satisfy the lust and interest of certain persons, than from a desire tending to the welfare and good of the Subject.

To all which they added a thousand curses upon those who had contrived these new Laws, or counselled his Majesty to pass and sign them, and to order the execution of them with such severity, on pretence that it was for his service, and advancement of his Royal Crown.

If they (said they) had been at the Conquest of *Peru*, and sustained those labours and hazards which we have done, they would have been of another mind than to make such Laws; nay rather, they would have been the first to oppose them. In confirmation whereof, they quoted several passages in History both ancient and modern, which might be compared to the civil Wars between the *Almagrians* and the *Picarrists*; and particularly said they in the Wars of *Spain*, between those two Kings, *Don Pedro* the Cruel, and his Brother *Don Henrique*, to whose parties all the Noblemen and persons of Estates in *Spain* adhered on one side or the other, and actually served until the death of one of them determined the quarrel; if a succeeding King, after the Wars were ended, should have deprived all those who were engaged in this quarrel both of one side and the other, what troubles would it have created, and how would it have moved the spirits of all the powerful men in *Spain*? The like which happened between the House of *Castile* and that of *Portugal* might be brought into example; as namely the Party which held for *Beltraneja*, who was twice sworn Princess of *Castile*, and in favour of her many of the chief Lords of that Countrey appeared; whom when Queen *Isabella* called Rebels and Traitors, the Duke of *Alva* replied, pray God, Madam, that we may overcome them, for if we do not, I am sure they will call us Traitors and prove us so too. To apply these particulars in History to the present case; what will become of us, said they, if the Successour to this King should seize on the Estates of those who were concerned in this War. Besides all which, they uttered many scandalous and seditious words, which we purposely omit not to offend the ears of the hearers; howsoever the contrary Party was highly incensed thereat, and both sides put into a fermentation, whence all those mischiefs were derived which afterwards happened.

But to return to the Vice-king, who was now on his Journey to *Los Reyes*; so soon as the Messengers from *Vaca de Castro* came to him, he received them to outward appearance kindly and with much respect, and gave them a speedy dispatch that they might return freely again to *Los Reyes*; where being returned, they rendred a sad relation of the rigour and severity wherewith the new Laws were put in execution, and of the rude and morose humour of the Vice-king, who admitted of no Pleas, or Petitions, or Appeals to the contrary; which served to add new fuel, and blow all into a flame both in *Los Reyes*, *Cuzco*, and in all that Kingdom.

So that now they began generally to discourse, that they would neither receive this Vice-king, nor obey the new Laws which he was putting into practice; for that they were well assured, that the very day that he entered Vice-king into *Los Reyes*, and his Laws were published, they should be no longer Masters of their *Indians* nor of their Estates; and that besides the point of taking their *Indians* from them, his Laws and new regulations included so many severe things, that all their

Estates were confiscated and their Lives endangered: for by the same rule that they took away their *Indians* from them, because they had been engaged on one side or the other, with the *Almagrians* or the *Picarrists*, they might also take off their heads; which was a case intolerable and not to be endured, though they were reduced to the condition and lived under the notion of Slaves.

To such a pitch of mutinous humour the whole City of *Los Reyes* was incensed, that they had almost taken a resolution not to receive the Vice-king; which they had certainly pursued, had not the Receiver General, named *Suarez de Carvajal*, and *Diego de Agüero*, who were principal men of that Corporation, and greatly esteemed for their prudence and moderation, prevailed upon the people, and dissuaded them from that rash design: so that at length it was resolved to receive him in state, and with much solemnity, in hopes that by their services and humility, they might incline his mind to some sort of flexibility and good nature; at least that he might lend a gentle ear to the Pleas which they made for themselves, and in favour of those Laws which the Catholick Kings, and the Emperour himself had made in favour of the Conquerours and of those who had gained and subdued this new World, with particular respect to the people of *Pera*, who having acquired this rich Empire, ought more especially to be cherished and favoured, as persons of highest merit and desert.

It being thus determined to receive the Vice-king, all the people decked themselves with their best ornaments and array, preparing themselves against the day of his entry into this City; when in the mean time *Ylen Suarez de Carvajal*, and Captain *Diego de Agüero* were scandalously treated by the people, who always mutinied against them, whensoever as any thing went cross, or contrary to their humour; saying, that for their own interest they had solicited and persuaded them to receive the Vice-king; namely one of them being Receiver General of the King's Treasury, and the other having been in the late Wars; and both of them being Justices little esteemed the loss of their *Indians*, more in regard to their own interest than to the service of the Emperour.

In the mean time the Vice-king, pursuing his Journey, put the new Laws in execution in all places wheresoever he arrived, with his usual severity and rigour without admitting any plea to the contrary; giving them to understand, that he stood in fear of none, but as a good Minister and Servant to his Master, he was to obey his commands without respect or regard unto any.

At length he came to the Valley called *Huaura*, where at the Inn he neither found *Indian* nor Provisions, nor any accommodation whatsoever; the which though in reality was caused by the default and omission of the Inhabitants of *Los Reyes*, whose duty it was to take care of the Provisions in the way for the Vice-king; yet he otherwise took it, and attributed the want thereof to *Antonio de Solar*, who was a Native of *Medina del Campo*, and a Citizen, because he was the chief Proprietor of that Valley; for which reason he was highly incensed against him, and more vehemently, when upon a white Wall of that Inn, which, as the saying goes, is the paper of bold and angry men, he saw this Motto written, *He that will drive me from my House and Land, I will drive him out of this world if I can*. The which Sentence being supposed to be written by *Antonio Solar*, or some other by his order, he conceived a mortal hatred against him, which though he concealed for a while, yet at length it burst out, as hereafter will be declared.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

In what manner they received the Vice-king, the imprisonment of Vaca de Castro, and of the great trouble which it caused both to the Vice-king and the People.

THIS were the people discontented, sad and enraged (though they endeavoured as much as was possible to conceal and dissemble it) when the Vice-king arrived about three Leagues distant from *Rimac*, where he was met by several Gentlemen of Quality, and particularly by *Vaca de Castro*, and *Don Gerónimo de Loaysa*, (Bishop of that place, afterwards made Archbishop) who came thither to conduct him to the City. The Vice-king received them all with much kindness and humanity, especially the Bishop and *Vaca de Castro*, entertaining no other discourse with them in the way as they travelled than what was of indifferent things, and of the pleasantness and fruitfulness of that Valley.

When they came to the passage of the River, he was met by the *Garcidiaz de Ariza*, who was elected Bishop of *Quitos*; who, with the Dean and Chapter of that Church and the rest of the Clergy, remained there in expectation of his coming, and at their meeting there was much joy and cheerfulness. And proceeding farther until he came near to the City, he was met by the Jurats and Corporation of the City, accompanied with the Citizens and principal Gentry thereof; and, as all the three Authours do agree in their report; the Commissary of the King's Revenue, named *Ylen Suarez de Carvajal*, went forth in the head of them all; and being the chief of the Corporation, did in the name thereof offer an Oath to the Vice-king, whereby he was to swear that he would maintain the Privileges, Franchises and Immunities which the Conquerours and Inhabitants of *Pera* had received and did hold of his Majesty; and that in the Courts of Justice he would receive their Petitions and give ear to the Reasons they should offer against the new Regulations.

The Vice-king would swear no otherwise than that he would perform all that which was conducing to the King's service and to the benefit of the Countrey; at which many took exceptions, and said that he swore with equivocations and what would admit of a double meaning. Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez*.

This Oath which the Vice-king took being onely in general terms, and which might admit of such a sense as he himself would be pleased to put upon it, was occasion of much discontent both to the Clergy and Laity; so that all their mirth was dashed, and every one turned sad and melancholy; saying, that nothing could be expected of good from such an Oath, which rather administered just cause to fear and suspect that in a short time they should be dispossest of their *Indians* and Estates, which was a hard case for men of their age, who were grown old and infirm by the labours and hardships they had sustained in their youth to gain and conquer that Empire. Notwithstanding all which they conducted the Vice-king with great triumph into the City, under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, supported by the chief Magistrates of the Town, in their Gowns of crimson Sattin lined with white Damask; the Bells of the Cathedral Church and of the Convents rang out, and all sorts of musical Instruments resounded through the Streets, which were adorned with green Boughs, and triumphal Arches erected in various works and forms made of Rushes, in which, as we have said, the *Indians* were very curious. But yet so much sadness appeared in their countenances, that all the solemnity seemed rather a performance of some Funeral Rites than triumph for receiving a Vice-king; all their joy being forced and strained to cover an inward grief which lay heavy upon their spirits.

In this manner they went in Procession to the great Church, where having adorned the most holy Sacrament, they conducted the Vice-king to the House of *Don Francisco Picarro*, where he and all his Family was lodged.

Some few days after which, the Vice-king having notice of the great noise and stir which were making in the Streets, by those who were upon their return to *Cusco* with *Vaca de Castro*, he presently suspected, as *Carate* in the fifteenth Chapter of his third Book reports, and with whom other Authours agree; that *Vaca de Castro* had been the cause of all that noise and disturbance; for which reason he ordered him to be seized and committed to prison, and all his Estate to be sequestered.

The people of the City, though they had no very great kindness for *Vaca de Castro*, yet they petitioned the Vice-king in his behalf, desiring him, that since *Vaca de Castro* was one of his Majesty's Council, and had been their Governour, that he would not be so severe upon him as to commit him to the common Prison, since that a person of his Quality, though condemned the next day to lose his head, might be secured in some decent and convenient Prison; whereupon he was sent to the Town-house, under bail of an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, in which sum the Citizens of *Lima* had engaged for him. With such rigorous courtes as these the people being much disgusted, many of them forsook the City, privately departing by few in a company taking their way towards *Cusco*, where the Vice-king had not as yet been received. Thus far are the words of *Carate*; the which is confirmed by *Diego Fernandez*, almost in the same words, to which he adds, that *Vaca de Castro* remained a Prisoner in the common Gaol; his words are these which follow.

Such as remained behind in the City often met in several Caballs and Councils, lamenting together the misery that was come upon the Land and the Inhabitants of it, bidding adieu to all the Riches, Liberty and Jurisdiction which they as Conquerours and Lords of *Indians* had gained and acquired, which would be a means to unpeople the Countrey, and to cause an abatement of the King's Customs and other parts of his Revenue; and therefore they positively averred, that it was impossible that the King's Commands could be executed herein, or that ever there should be any new discoveries made, or Trade and Commerce maintained for the future; besides a thousand other inconveniences and damages which they alleged. And with this fear and distraction of mind was every man possessed, when some of the most principal persons, pretending to make a visit to the Vice-king, in hopes that he, having proved and had some experience of the Constitution of the Countrey, might be induced to alter his humour, or at least render it more flexible and easie; but so soon as any person touched on that string, though with the greatest gentleness and submission imaginable, he immediately put himself into a passion, and by his authority forbade all farther discourse upon that point, obviating all objections with the name of the King's pleasure and command; which abrupt manner of treaty gave great discontent, and excited in the minds of men rancour and malice against his person.

Some few days after the Vice-king's reception, three of the Justices which remained behind with Doctor *Carate*, who lay sick at *Truxillo*, came then to Town; upon whose arrival he immediately caused a Court to be called, and appointed a place of Judicature to be erected in the House where he himself was lodged, being the most convenient for his own accommodation, as also because it was the most sumptuous Chamber in all the City. He also ordered a stately reception to be made purposely for his Commission under the Great and Royal Seal, which was put into a Case covered with Cloth of Gold, and carried on a Horse decked with a Foot-cloth and Trappings of Tissue, the which was at each end held up by Judges of the City, clothed in Gowns of crimson Sattin, and one of them led the Horse by the Bridle; the which was performed with the same solemnity as they used in *Castile* to receive the person of the King.

So soon as the Court was sate, they began to treat and enter upon business as well relating to Justice as Government, and herein he thought to render himself the more popular by favouring the cause of the poor, who generally are more pleased with revolutions and changes, than the rich. And now the Devil, who designed the downfall and ruine of this pernicious and evil Vice-king, began to disturb and disquiet all the Countrey, which was so lately settled after the troubles of an intestine War; the first commotion took its rise from an ill understanding between the Vice-king and the Judges, and indeed of all the Kingdom; for that the Vice-king resolving to carry on his work, in putting the new Laws in execut-

execution, he little regarded the Petitions and Addresses which were presented to him from the City of *Los Reyes*, of *Lima* and other smaller Corporations.

Thus far are the words of *Fernandez Palentino*, in the 10th Chapter of his Book. And this Authour, farther discoursing of the humour of this Vice-king, and the shame the Devil owed him for being the cause of all those Commotions which were raised in the Countrey, and also that he was the occasion of that discord which ruins Kingdoms and destroys Empires, and which particularly proceeded not onely to a quarrel between the Vice-king and the Conquerours of that Kingdom, but also to such a mortal feud between him and the Judges, as was not to be reconciled: And indeed herein the Judges had much advantage, for that they were men of great temper, discreet and unbiaised; who foreseeing the many inconveniences which the rumour onely, much more the execution of the new regulations would occasion, dissuaded those rash proceedings, wherein they were the more positive, in consideration that this Kingdom, which was scarcely appeased and settled since the late Wars, and was still in agitation and commotion, would never be able to support such extravagant oppressions which would certainly be the cause of the total ruine and destruction of that Empire.

These plain representations made to the Vice-king, with intention and design onely (if it had been possible) to attemper his angry and froward disposition, served to little purpose and effect; for that his humour being wholly bent on his own obstinate resolutions, he termed all those who concurred not with him in the same opinion, rebellious to the King and enemies to himself. And farther, to widen these breaches, he ordered the Judges to remove from his neighbourhood in the palace, and to take other lodgings in other quarters for themselves. All which, and much more, so inflamed the minds of both parties, that sharp words and reparties frequently intervened between them: Howsoever, in regard the Judges for better administration of affairs, were obliged to keep fair with the Vice-king, they so concealed and dissembled their resentments, that their passions were not publicly made known. But because the resolution of the Vice-king to put in execution the new Laws, became daily more and more apparent and manifest; the Discontents and Quarrels arose daily to a higher degree, and those who were injured and prejudiced thereby became uneasie and impatient: And as *Diego Fernandez*, in his 10th Chapter, saith, that the Judges considering the obstinate and inflexible humour of the Vice-king on one side to execute the new Regulations of the Emperour, to whom by reason of the distance of the place, no opportune or seasonable applications could be made for a moderation or redress; and that on the other side; in case they should condescend to be deprived of their *Indians*, it would be very difficult to recover that vassalage again: they were by these difficulties reduced to such a kind of *Dilemma*, that they were all distracted, and knew not which way to turn or resolve. Nor was the people onely confused and unequipped by these thoughts; but even the Vice-king found himself reduced to an inquietude and distraction of mind when he found the people mutinous, and turmoiled with a thousand fancies, and resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes rather than to submit tamely to their own destruction. As hereafter we shall find by the success. And thus far are the words of *Palentino*, which we have extracted verbatim from his own Writings.

C H A P. VI.

The secret quarrel concealed between the Vice-king and the Judges breaks out in publick. Prince Manco Inca and the Spaniards who were with him write to the Vice-king.

NOR did the quarrel between the Vice-king and the Judges contain it self within the limits of private resentments, but burst forth into the publick Streets and places of common Meetings: the which calling into the mind of the Vice-king that Motto or Sentence which he had read in the Inn of *Huaura*, belonging to *Antonio Solar*, and which he believed was either wrote by himself, or by his order, for which cause, as both *Carate* and *Diego Fernandez* report, sending for him and discoursing with him in private, and having given him some very severe terms and reprehensions; he gave order to have the gates of the palace shut, and calling his Chaplain to confess him, with intent to have him hanged on one of the Pillars of the Court-yard, which leads towards the High-street. But *Antonio Solar* refusing to confess, his execution was suspended till such time as his danger and case was divulged through the whole City, upon the rumour of which the Arch-bishop and all the persons of quality came to intercede for a pardon or suspension of Justice; and after great intercessions, all that they could prevail was for one day's reprieve, upon which he was committed to close imprisonment. But the fury and impetuosity of this choler passing over, he considered, that it was not convenient to put him to death, but rather to detain him in prison, and accordingly he kept him under restraint without process of Law, Endictment or any Accusation whatsoever, for the space of two months, untill such time as the Judges going on a Saturday to visit the prisons, were desired by some of the friends of *Antonio Solar* to make their enquiry concerning the state of his affair, with which though they were well enough acquainted before, yet, for form sake, they asked him the cause and crime for which he stood committed; to which he replied, that he knew not any; and then calling for the books of the prison to see what actions or process had been made against him; and finding none, and that the Keeper of the prison could assign no cause against him; the Judges, on the Monday following made a Report to the Vice-king, that having visited the prison, they found that *Antonio Solar* had been there committed; and upon examination of the books, no crime or cause was entered against him; only that he was there imprisoned by his order: Wherefore, in case no crime were laid to his charge, his imprisonment was not justifiable; and therefore according to the rules of Justice they could not do less, than to set him at Liberty.

Hereunto the Vice-king replied, that he was committed by his order, and that he intended to have hanged him as well for that Motto or Sentence which was wrote on the wall of his Inn, as also for several other scandalous reports he had vented against his person. And though he had no witnesses to produce in this matter, yet by the authority and privilege of a Vice-king he had power not only to imprison him, but also to put him to death, if he so pleased, without rendering an account to any person whatsoever: to which the Judges replied, that there was no Government but what was agreeable to Justice, and founded on the Laws of the Kingdom; and on these terms they parted, so that the Judges on the Saturday following freed *Antonio Solar* from the prison, and confined him only to his own house, and speedily afterwards they set him at liberty. This manner of proceeding angered the Vice-king to the very soul, and provoked him to contrive some way of revenge, which he supposed he had effected in this manner, which was this; It seems that these Judges with their Servants were lodged and dieted in the house of one of the richest Citizens in the whole town; and had been there lodged and boarded by order of the Vice-king for a short time, untill they could otherwise provide for themselves. And now the Vice-king, thinking to do them a discourtesy, recalled the aforesaid Order, forbidding the Citizens to entertain them longer upon pretence that it was not suitable to the King's honour nor to their own quality to lodge upon free-quarter, or to keep company with Citizens and Merchants.

To which the Judges gave for answer; That, as to their lodging, they could find no other convenient place, untill such time as they could hire a house for lease for some term of years; that for the future they would pay for their diet. And for matter of their conversation with Merchants, it was not unlawfull or prohibited; but, on the contrary, it was practised in *Casfile* by all those who were of the King's Council, as being beneficial to them to understand by information from trading men all the transactions and businesses of the World. In this manner both parties remained at variance each with other, which was apparent at all times whensoever occasion offered. In pursuance whereof one day Dr. *Alvarez* made *Affidavit* before a Master of Chancery, that he had paid a certain sum in Gold to *Diego Alvarez*, who was brother-in-law to the Vice-king to have him nominated and preferred to an Office by the Vice-king; the which deposition he highly refuted. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, and the same is again confirmed by *Diego Fernandez*, almost to the same purpose.

For in this manner, saith he, the Vice-king and the Judges seemed like two different factions and parties; to increase which, so soon as *Antonio Solar* was set at liberty, he went privately about raising mutinies and discontents in the minds of the people against the Vice-king; to increase and inflame which they reported abroad many bad things which the Vice-king had said and done. And though all was so far from being true, that nothing of that nature did so much as enter into the thoughts or imagination of the Vice-king: yet by reason that *Blasco Nunez* was hated and detested by the people, all the evil that was said of him found easie admittance, and he appeared as black as common fame could make him; for such indignation the people conceived against him, that the name of Vice-king became as odious (though the first that ever governed *Peru*) as the name of King was to the *Romans* after they had expelled *Tarquinius Superbus* and his Family. Thus far are to the words of *Diego Fernandez Palentino*.

Also Dr. *Gonçalo de Tellez*, in his Pontifical History of the Popes, having occasion to treat of the affairs of *Peru*, gives this Character of the froward and uneasie disposition of *Blasco Nunez Vela*.

After these things, says he, *Vaca de Castro*, for the space of a year and a half, quietly and peaceably governed all matters, untill such time as he was superseded by *Blasco Nunez Vela*, a Gentleman of good quality, of *Avola*, who was fitter with Character of Vice-king; bringing with him many severe Rules and Laws which he put in execution; over and above which he put in practice others for which he had no Commission; the which this Doctor *Tellez* declares in a few words, and says more than all our Historians durst to say or write upon this particular subject.

Whilst these disturbances happened in the City *Los Reyes* the like mutinies or greater arose in other Towns and Corporations of less consideration. Howsoever, the like spirits of Ambition, Envy, Tyranny and Desire of Government did not so far prevail as they did in that City of *Los Reyes*.

And now diffention and quarrels over-ran all, and amidst these Turmoils, the poor Prince *Manco Inca* had the misfortune to be killed, though he remained content and quiet in his retirement; and became a voluntary exile, whilst other men striving for his Empire committed many murders and slaughters, as appeared in the late Wars, and we might apprehend others more bloody yet to come, in case it were possible for any to be more bloody and cruel than those which were past.

And here it is to be noted; That *Diego Mendez* and *Gomez Perez*, with six other Spaniards whom we formerly nominated, and mentioned to have made their escape out of prison, where they had been confined by the faction of the *Pizarros*, and by the Justice of *Vaca de Castro*, and having taken refuge with this *Inca*, they by his means came to know and receive all the Informations and Advices concerning the new Troubles and Diffentions arising upon the execution of the new Laws: for whereas it was reported that the Vice-king came to turn all things upside down, and to change and alter all the Constitutions of the Countrey; the *Inca*, who was encompassed within the craggy and lofty mountains, was informed by his Subjects of all these revolutions which he thought might be of benefit and concernment to him.

With this news *Diego Mendez* and his Companions were highly pleased, and persuaded the *Inca* to write a Letter to the Vice-king, desiring his Licence to be enlarged

enlarged from his retirement, and appear in his presence, and serve his Majesty in any thing, as occasion should offer: the *Inca* was induced at the persuasion of the *Spaniards* to make this Petition, who told him, that it might be a means to open a way to his recovery of the whole Empire, or at least of the best part of it. The *Spaniards* also wrote as from themselves desiring a pardon for what was past, and a protection or safe conduct in the attendance of his Lordship, to perform their duty to him.

Gomez Perez was the person appointed and elected to be Ambassador from the *Inca*, attended with 10 or 12 *Indians*, who by command of the *Inca* were ordered to doe him service; and being come to the Vice-king, he presented his Letters of Credence to him, giving him a large relation of the State and Condition of the *Inca*, and of his true and real designs to doe him service. The Vice-king joyfully received the news, and granted a full and ample pardon of all crimes, as desired. And as to the *Inca* he made many kind expressions of love and respect, truly considering that the Interest of the *Inca* might be advantageous to him both in War and Peace. And with this satisfactory Answer *Gomez Perez* returned both to the *Inca* and to his own Companions, they provided to be gone, and with all convenient speed to attend the service of the Vice-king; but *Blasco Nunez Vela* was not so fortunate as to obtain and enjoy so great a good, for now ill success attended him in every thing, as will appear in the following Chapter.

C H A P. VII.

Of the unfortunate Death of Prince Manco Inca, and of the Mutinies which arose amongst the Spaniards by reason of the new Laws.

THE *Inca*, to humour the *Spaniards* and entertain himself with them, had given directions for making a bowling-green; where playing one day with *Gomez Perez*; he came to have some quarrel and difference with this *Perez* about the measure of a Cast, the which often happened out between them: for this *Perez*, being a person of a hot and fiery brain, without any judgment or understanding, would take the least occasion in the world to contend with and provoke the *Inca*; who notwithstanding being a very discreet person and of good temper, did moderate and disguise his passion, and would not refuse to play with him, as he did with other *Spaniards*, who were more obliging, and less offensive in their gaming; but *Gomez Perez*, being puffed up with the late favours he had received from the Vice-king, and with the hopes he had in a short time to disengage himself from that place, became more rude and insolent towards the *Inca* than he had formerly been; treating him with the same terms that he did those poor *Indians* who were his servants and slaves. At length *Gomez Perez* became so intolerably insolent, that, playing one day with the *Inca*, he so affronted him, that, being no longer able to endure his rudeness, he punched him on the breast, and bid him to consider with whom he talked. *Perez*, not considering in his heat and passion either his own or the safety of his Companions, lifted up his hand, and with the Bowl struck the *Inca* so violently on the head, that he knocked him down: The *Indians* hereupon, being enraged by the death of their Prince, joined together against *Gomez* and the *Spaniards*, who fled into a house, and with their Swords in their hands defended the door, the *Indians* set fire to the house, which being too hot for them, they fell out into the Market-place, where the *Indians* assailed them and shot them with their Arrows untill they had killed every man of them: and then afterwards, out of mere rage and fury they designed either to eat them raw, as their custome was, or to burn them and cast their ashes into the river, that no sign or appearance might remain of them; but at length, after some consultation, they agreed to cast their bodies into the open fields, to be devoured by Vultures and bird

birds of the air, which they supposed to be the highest indignity and dishonour that they could show to their Corps.

This was the fate and unhappy destiny of the poor Prince *Manco Inca*, to perish by the hands of one whom he had protected, and nourished, and entertained with all the hospitality he could show: thus we see, when a man's time is come, that neither his voluntary exile, nor the inaccessible rocks to which he was fled for refuge, were able to defend him from the stroke of a rash fool and mad-man, who was destitute of all sense and reason. *Francisco Lopez*, in the 156th Chapter of his Book touches upon this particular point, though he differs something in the relation of the manner and circumstances of his death: but I have informed my self very perfectly from those *Incas*, who were present and eye-witnesses of the unparalleled piece of madness of that rash and hair-brained fool; and heard them tell this Story to my Mother and Parents with tears in their eyes, relating in what manner they came out of those mountains in company with *Inca Segri Tucac*, son of that unfortunate Prince, by order of the Vice-king *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of *Cannete*; all which we shall (God willing) relate when we arrive at the due and proper place.

The Devil, who is the mortal enemy of mankind, being always vigilant and intent to take his advantages, did now make use of this opportunity to give a stop to the propagation of the Gospel in that great and opulent Empire of *Peru*; and to promote and further his design herein, he dispeeded his Eminencies into all parts, who insinuated jealousies, and fears, and discontents into the minds of the people; which so prevailed, that a stop was given to the preaching and spreading of the Gospel: and all that peace, concord and good correspondence which flourished during all the Government of *Vaca de Castro*, was now totally subverted and brought to confusion. But this Sedition, by the endeavours of evil spirits, was blown into a flame, and highly increased in the City of *Cuzco*, where being above eighty families of principal Citizens, more concerned than any others in the vassalage of *Indians*; the new Ordinances became more grievous to them than to others, whose interest was not so great: howsoever the discontent was general over all *Peru*, for the Conquerors were sensible of their loss, seeing themselves deprived in one day of all their *Indians*, fortunes and estates.

These Mutinies and Discontents of the People incensed the hot and violent spirit of the Vice-king to a higher degree; so that he rejected all Petitions and Addresses from particular Cities, Boroughs and Corporations: for which reasons, the four Cities, namely, *Huamanga*, *Arequipa*, *Chaquisaca* and *Cuzco* resolved to join together in the Address, wherein they thought they might be the more plain, in regard the Vice-king had not as yet been received in any of those places: and to promote their desires declared in that Address, they made choice of a General Solicitor, who was not onely to represent the Case of the four Cities, but also thereby included the common concernment of the whole Empire, inasmuch as *Cuzco* was the head and capital City of *Peru*. The whole matter was negotiated by an intercourse of Letters, and by common consent *Gonzalo Pizarro* was the person fixed upon as the most proper person to act in this affair; both because he was brother to *Marquis Francisco Pizarro*, and a man of great interest, having been a chief Actor in the Conquest, and sustained therein all the hazards and hardships we have before, though in brief and imperfectly, expressed: he was moreover as to his extraction noble, in his condition virtuous and generally beloved: besides all which, had he not been elected and appointed thereunto, yet he had a right to this Office, in respect to the Title he had of being the Protector and Defender of all the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in that Kingdom. Upon these Considerations general Letters were wrote from the Corporations of the four Cities to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who was then at his Plantation in the *Charcas*, desiring him to come up to *Cuzco*, to consider with them what course was to be taken in this Conjunction for the good and safety of the common welfare; and to move him hereunto, they acquainted him that he was most concerned of any in this affair; for, besides the loss of his *Indians*, he was in danger of his Life; for that the Vice-king had often said and declared, that he could produce a Command from his Majesty to take off his head. *Pizarro* having received these advices, gathered what money he could make of his own Estate, and of what belonged to his Brother *Hernando Pizarro*, and with ten or twelve Friends in company travelled to *Cuzco*, where, as *Carate* saith in the fourth Chapter of his fifth Book, the whole City went forth to meet

and welcome him, being overjoyed at his coming; and every day people fled from *Los Reyes* to the City of *Cusco*, reporting sad stories of the practices of the Vice-king, which served to enflame and stir up the minds of the People and Citizens to Sedition. Many Meetings and Consultations were now held by the Magistrates of the Town, where the Judges were assembled with the generality of the chief Citizens. And coming to treat upon the matter, how they were to treat and receive the Vice-king when he should come thither, some were of opinion that they should not refuse to receive and entertain him; but as to the new Statutes and Laws, they should not be admitted until they had by their Messengers represented their Case unto his Majesty, and received his farther pleasure thereupon. Others were of a contrary sense, and said, that having once admitted of those Laws, and suffered themselves to be deprived of their *Indians*, they should with much difficulty retrieve them again. In fine, It was agreed and resolved, that *Gonzalo Pizarro* should be the person elected for the City of *Cusco*, and that *Diego Centeno*, who was constituted Plenipotentiary for the City of *Plata*, should delegate his power to *Pizarro*, whereby being authorized and endowed with a general and common power from several Cities; he might with greater confidence and assurance appear at the City of *Los Reyes* in presence of the Vice-king. But before the matter was concluded there arose many debates upon the point, whether *Pizarro* were to be attended with Souldiers and Guards for his person; and after some dispute it was agreed, that he ought to be guarded and defended with Souldiers; for which many reasons were produced; as first, that the Vice-king had already beat up his Drums in *Los Reyes*, and had declared, that he would march against those who had seized the great Guns and carried them out of the Fort, and punish them as Rebels to the King: and moreover, considering the morose and angry temper of the Vice-king, who was inflexible in his humour and resolved never to admit the Addresses of those, who petitioned for a suspension of the new Laws; which he put in execution without the concurrence and assent of the Officers of the King's Court, which was contrary to his Instructions from his Majesty. And likewise considering what he had often declared, that he had his Majesty's Command to cut off the head of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, as an Actor and evil Instrument in the late unhappy Wars, and a Conspirator in the Murder of *Don Diego*, and therefore they ought to appear open faced, and defend themselves with Armes; but others, who were more moderate men, would not allow that a Guard should be granted on the reasons aforesaid, but rather on pretence that there was need and occasion thereof to defend the person of *Pizarro* on the way in his travels to *Los Reyes*, being to pass a dangerous Country infested with Wars and Souldiers belonging to the *Inca*. But others who would speak more plainly, and not mince the matter, declared openly that the Souldiers were designed to defend their Agent or Messenger from the implacable spirit of the Vice-king, who observing no Laws of justice or reason, there could be no security for any man to treat with him: And as to other proceedings by way of Witnesses and Informations, little could be effected, having to deal with Procursors and Clerks of his own; who would confound all businesses, and make them to turn according to his own will and pleasure; so that being deprived of all ways of Law and Justice, there was no other means left, than to have recourse unto Arms, and to repel force with force; and that a Judge who availed himself on violence and on law, was to be set at defiance and openly resisted. The matter being thus resolved; *Gonzalo Pizarro* set up his Standard, to which the Citizens flocked in great numbers, offering both their persons and estates and vowing to dye in maintenance of that quarrel.

Thus far are the words of *Augustine Carate* in the fourth Chapter of the fifth Book of his History of *Peru*. That which now follows, are the words of *Francis Lopez de Gomara* in the 157th Chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

The Dissentions and Troubles are increased. The four Cities write to Gonzalo Pizarro, and elect him to be Procurator or Agent General of all Peru. He raises men to march with him to the City of Los Reyes.

Gonzalo Pizarro living quietly and in retirement in the *Charcas*, was so solicited by the constant Letters which came to him from particular persons, who had attained to considerable estates, that he was at length persuaded after *Vaca de Castro* was gone to *Los Reyes*, to leave his dwelling, and repair to *Cusco*. Many of those who feared a deprivation both of their estates and vassalage of their *Indians* flocked to him; which numbers were increased by many who affected novelty; howsoever liberty was pretended and protection from the violent designs of *Blasco Nunez*, who refused to incline to reason, to admit appeals, or to hearken unto any addresses; so that they were forced to have recourse to Arms, and to make choice of *Pizarro* for their Chief, whom they would follow and defend: but *Pizarro*, who was desirous to prove them and justify himself, told them, that they would do well to consider first, what they did, for to oppose the Commands and Ordinances of Regal Power, though by way of Petition, was to contradict the Authority of the Emperour himself. That War was a matter of great moment, and not lightly to be undertaken; that the management was laborious and painful, and the success doubtful; that he could not gratify their desires in things which were contrary and in opposition to the King's service, or accept the charge of Procurator or Captain for them: but they on the other side insisted on the justice of their cause, and the lawfulness of the enterprize; arguing that, if the design of conquering the *Indians* were justifiable, then likewise it was lawful to bring them into vassalage; that it was not in the power of the Emperour to deprive them of the people and slaves which he once had given them, or recall his donation, having bestowed them on several persons in consideration of marriage. That it was as lawful for them to defend the vassals which they had gained, and privileges; as for the Gentlemen of *Castile* their liberties, which were granted to them by the Kings, for having been aiding to them in the Wars against the Moors, and on the same terms might they insist who had wrested those dominions out of the hands of Idolaters. In fine, they concluded, that they were not resolved to trouble themselves about these Laws, or supplicate or intreat against them, for that they found no obligation in the least to acknowledge or receive them; notwithstanding all which, there were some who maintained the honour and the Loyalty which was owing to the King, and declared the folly of these men, who, upon pretence of maintaining their own rights and immunities, contradicted and opposed that Loyalty to which they were all engaged, and made themselves State-men in matters of which they were all ignorant: but all this was to no purpose, to inculcate matters unto men who were deaf, and resolved not to hear or understand: but this rash language stopped not here, but proceeded to farther extravagances, and Souldiers began to speak ill of the Government, and reflect upon the Emperour himself, imagining that such threats would mollify his displeasure, and incline him to favour towards such brutes as themselves. To aggravate all which, they reported, that *Blasco Nunez* was an unexperienced person in affairs, obstinate, an enemy to the rich men, an *Almagrian*, who had hanged a Priest in *Tumbes*, and hanged and quartered a servant of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, because he was an enemy to *Diego de Almagro*, for having brought the command for putting *Pizarro* to death, and for the punishment of those who had joined with him in the battel of *Salinas*. And to accomplish all the evil sayings which could be alledged against him, they reported, that he prohibited wine, and to eat spices and sugar, and to wear silk cloaths, and to travail with Hamocks or Bedding. And thus, with these reports, some true and some false, *Pizarro* made his ends and advantages, being willing and ready to take hold of any pretence to ground his

his Title of Captain General or Procuratour General, supposing that he might, according to our Proverb, be enabled hereby, 'To enter in at the sleeve, and come out at the collar.

Thus was *Pizarro* chosen and elected Procuratour General of *Cusco*, which was the Metropolis of *Peru*; in like manner the Corporations of *Guamanga*, the Town of *Plate*, and other places concurred in the same choice, and the Souldiery gave him the Title of their Captain General, with full and ample Authority to be their Agent and Plenipotentiary, promising to stand to whatsoever he should agree and consent unto in their names: And on the other side he took the usual Oath which is commonly administered on such occasions.

After this *Pizarro* set up his Standard, beat up his Drums, and seized all the Gold in the Exchequer belonging to the King: and there being a good Magazine of Arms at *Chupas*, he made use of them, and armed 400 men therewith both of Horse and Foot. Those persons who were concerned in the Government, namely, *Alamirano*, *Maldonado*, *Garcilasso de la Vega* and others, considering farther of this matter, did upon second thoughts begin to repent of the power they had passed over unto *Gonzalo Pizarro*; knowing how fast he had them by the hand, when they onely had hold of him by the finger; howsoever they thought not fit to revoke their power, though privately, and in their hearts, they wished that they could handsomely have retracted it.

Thus far are the words of *Francisco Lopez* extracted *verbatim* from his own Writings. But, to explain the meaning of these Authours, who write something confusedly upon this point, and seem to describe the minds of these people, as if they were overmuch prompted to rebellion, which afterwards too manifestly appeared by the success. Howsoever we are to understand that when *Gonzalo Pizarro* was by consent of the people elected and chosen Procuratour or Adjutant General, they entertained no imagination or thought of vindicating their rights and privileges with the Sword; but their meaning onely was in an humble and plain manner to make their Address and lay their case before the Chief Governour, representing, as Loyal Subjects, their great merit in the conquest of that Empire, and annexing of it to the Crown of *Spain*: supposing that in case the Vice-king would onely vouchsafe to hear them; their cause was so just as could not be rejected even at the Bar or Judicature of the most barbarous Nations of the World.

This was certainly the true meaning and original intentions of the four Cities at the beginning, when they dispatched their Agents with full and ample power to signify their concurrence in the election and choice of *Gonzalo Pizarro* to be their Representative: but such was the rude and turbulent spirit of the Vice-king, and the rumours and reports which every day filled the City of *Cusco*, concerning the extravagances which he acted; that *Gonzalo Pizarro* thought it not fit to trust the safety of his person to bare Papers or the dead letter of Laws, though never so much in his favour; but rather to provide in prudence to secure his person with Arms and a forcible defence, as we shall understand by the sequel of this Story.

And indeed herein *Gonzalo Pizarro* wisely considered, that he had to doe with a wild brute Beast, rigorous and positive to execute the new Laws; against whom there was no defence but power, for the Vice-king had often declared, that he brought with him a Command from the Emperour to take off his head; to secure which, he resolved to goe attended with a company of about two hundred Souldiers appointed for a guard to his person; but that he would neither carry Ensigns or Colours, or name Captains, lest it should look too much like a martial force, or favour of a rebellion. And this doctrine was notified and interpreted by the Judges of every City, declaring that their intention was nothing, but to act by way of Petition for conservation of their own rights, which being so reasonable, they could not doubt but to obtain favour from their King and Prince therein; and upon this ground they advised *Pizarro* to dispose himself to act in form and manner of one who was by way of Address to represent the state and condition of the peoples grievances; in regard they entertained no other thoughts and intentions than such as became loyal and obedient Subjects. To which *Pizarro* made answer, that since they were well acquainted with the implacable spirit of the Vice-king, who had often boasted that he brought a Commission with him to take off his head; he could not but wonder, that they should send him bound to the hands of the Executioner; and with the glorious title of their Representative to stand

stand with his hands in his pockets untill the other should cut his throat. And therefore rather than go in such manner on this errand, he would chuse to return unto his own house and retirement, and there expect his fate, than to anticipate his death by going to the place of execution.

The Citizens seeing the resolution of *Pizarro*, and considering the reasons which he alledged, could not but concur with him in his opinion as reasonable, and therefore permitted him to raise Men, under notion onely of his Guard and to defend him, as several Authours averr, in his passage through those Mountains, wherein the Prince *Manco Inca* had fortified himself. And with this license, and under this colour for raising Men, he increased his numbers to four hundred men, as *Gomara* saith, both Horse and Foot; and as some say to many more: which when the City observed, they began to repent them of their Election and Design, which put on the face of a Rebellion rather than the humble guise of Petitioners; against which way of proceedings many made their protests, and particularly the three before named, as *Gomara* reports. Howsoever *Gonzalo Pizarro* pursuing his design, wrote very instant and urging Letters unto all parts, where *Spaniards* inhabited, and not onely to the three Cities before mentioned, but to the Plantations of *Indians*; addressing himself to them all particularly with such endearing terms as might best affect them, offering to them his Life and Fortune to spend in their Service, either upon the present emergencies or upon any other occasion which should occur for the future: by which his design was no longer under a dubious sense or disguise, but became clear and evident, as the three *Historians* write, for that he set up a claim and title to the sole Government of *Peru*, by virtue of an ancient Patent from the Emperour to his Brother *Francisco Pizarro*, constituting and appointing him chief Governour, and after him whom he should nominate to succeed him during life; so that the Government was given for two Lives, as was also the distribution of *Indians*, and those held by vassalage for two Lives, according to the original Grants given to the first Conquerours.

CHAP. IX.

Gonzalo Pizarro, having named and appointed his several Captains and Officers, departs from Cusco. The Vice-king in like manner assembles his People, and appoints Captains, and imprisons Vaca de Castro, and other principal men of note and quality.

WITH this specious pretence *Gonzalo Pizarro* proceeded in raising Men, so that now it seemed rather an open War than an Address by way of Petition for relief against Oppressions; and to make his designs yet more manifest, he sent *Francisco de Almeydas* (who was my Godfather) into the great Road leading to the City of *Los Reyes*, with a party of twenty Men besides *Indians*, carefully to intercept all persons that passed, not permitting any to travel thither, either from *Cusco* or *Rimac*. All the Gold and Silver which was in the King's Treasury he seized, as also the Estates of persons deceased, and Monies deposited; which he took up by way of loan, and to re-pay the same again with interest; all which he made use of for payment of his Souldiers, and carrying on his design. The Cannon which *Caspar Rodriguez* and his Companions transported from *Huamanga* to *Cusco*, and which were many and very good, he seized upon, and took with him for his Train of Artillery; for the supply of which he gave order to make great quantities of Gun-powder, for compounding which they wanted not Salt-peter in abundance; for in the parts near *Cusco* the best Salt-peter is digged in all that Kingdom. The Captains named for his Army were *Afonso de Toro* Captain of Horse, who had formerly been Major General to *Don Pedro Porto Carrero*, *Pedro Cermeno* was appointed Captain of the Harquebussiers, *John Velez de Guevara*, and

his Title of Captain General or Procurator General, supposing that he might, according to our Proverb, be enabled hereby, To enter in at the sleeve, and come out at the collar.

Thus was *Pizarro* chosen and elected Procurator General of *Cozco*, which was the Metropolis of *Pern*; in like manner the Corporations of *Guamanga*, the Town of *Plate*, and other places concurred in the same choice, and the Souldiers gave him the Title of their Captain General, with full and ample Authority to be their Agent and Plenipotentiary, promising to stand to whatsoever he should agree and consent unto in their names: And on the other side he took the usual Oath which is commonly administred on such occasions.

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and *Diego Gumiel* were made Captains of the Lances, and *Hernando Bachicao* was made Master of the Ordnance, of which there were twenty excellent Pieces. Moreover *Carate*, in the Fifth Chapter of his Eighth Book, tells us, that he provided both Ball and Powder, and all sort of Ammunition necessary and required to his Cannon: And having thus prepared every thing in order to his evil intent, he then professed openly, that he and his Brothers having discovered that great and vast Continent, and by their Adventures, Hazards and Achievements reduced the fame with the help and authority of his Majesty's Commission under his Royal Power, in return whereof he had remitted vast quantities both of Gold and Silver to his Majesty's Exchequer, as might evidently appear upon the List and Register. And that whereas after the death of the Marquis, his Majesty was so far from settling the Government upon his Son or himself, as was confirmed by the Letters Patents, that in lieu thereof he sent to make seizure of their Estates, from which no person is exempted, who by one matter or the other is not concerned and brought within the compass of these Rules and new Regulations; and to mend the matter, an obdurate person, one *Blasco Nunez Vela*, was employed to put them into execution, who would neither receive Petitions, nor hearken to Reason, treating the people with injurious and severe terms, as might be easily proved by good and sufficient Witnesses; and likewise that he had sent a Commission to take off his Head, who had never deserved his Majesty, but on the contrary, as was manifestly known, had been loyal, faithful and a good Subject, as was apparent to all the world. For which reasons as aforesaid he was resolved, with the consent and approbation of the City, to make a Journey to *Los Reyes*, there to complain in the publick place of Judicature of the aggressions of his Majesty's good Subjects; after which they would dispatch Messengers to the King in the name of the whole Kingdom, to inform his Majesty of the truth of all that had passed, with their humble offers for a redress, not doubting but his Majesty would yield a gentle and a gracious ear thereunto; and when they had performed this their duty, and could receive no relief, they would then contentedly acquiesce, and with humble resignation submit unto his Majesty's pleasure. And whereas they could not esteem themselves safe and secure from the designs and menaces of the Vice-king, who was marching against them with a Body of Men, they agreed, that this their Plenipotentiary should likewise be attended with a Body of Men, merely for the security of his Person, and to remain only on the defensive part. And with this design only and no other, he exhorted the Souldiers that they would keep Order and Military Discipline to avoid surprize, and that he and the other Gentlemen who were his Associates would maintain and pay them as was reasonable, in regard they were employed for conservation of their Lives and Estates. And with such fair pretensions as these, he persuaded the people to joyn with him in the justification he had made of his cause, which being generally approved, they freely offered their Services to defend him to the last drop of their blood: and in this manner he departed from *Cozco*, attended with the Citizens and Inhabitants as before mentioned. Thus far are the words of *Carate*.

With these preparations before-mentioned, which amounted unto five hundred Souldiers, and twenty thousand *Indians* to attend the Camp; for twelve thousand only were requisite to draw and manage the Cannon and Artillery, *Gonzalo Pizarro* departed from *Cozco* to march unto the City of *Los Reyes*, giving out that his design was no other than only to petition and to treat; and being marched as far as *Sacahuana*, being four leagues distant from the City, we shall leave him there a while and return to the Vice-king, to declare how matters passed between him and his Subjects in *Los Reyes* and other parts.

Though *Blasco Nunez Vela* was settled in the seat of his Authority, and received for Governour of that Empire, yet he was uneasy and unable to relish the sweetness of Power, by reason of those discontents and jealousies which the people conceived in execution of the new Rules of Regulation; wherefore to secure his Person from any treasonable attempt, and as a mark of his Authority and State, he gave order to Captain *Diego de Urbina* to raise and arm fifty Archbushers to be his Life-guard, and attend his Person on all occasions, (as *Gomara* reports in the 158th Chapter of his Book.) And now none durst open his mouth to him, for suspending the practice of the new Laws; as *Carate* saith in the Fifth Chapter of the Fifth Book: And though a Petition had been preferred to him in open Court from

from the Corporation of that City, where it had been publicly debated, yet he refused to hearken thereunto; and though he plainly confessed himself, that those Laws were prejudicial to the interest of the people, and could not be put in execution without disservice to his Majesty, and that if those persons who formed and ordained them were here present, and had observed the difficulties and inconveniences that attended them, they would never have persuaded his Majesty to have constituted or enacted the same: and that though for these reasons he was resolved to send his Commissioners together with theirs to supplicate his Majesty that he would be pleased to recall those Ordinances, as inconsistent with the good of his People, howsoever in the mean time he could not suspend the execution, having Instructions and Commands from his Majesty to the contrary. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, who, with other Writers, proceeds in this manner.

During this time the Road from *Cozco* was so stopped that all intelligence was intercepted, so that none was brought either by the Spaniards or Indian Messengers, more than that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was come to *Cozco*, where the people, who were fled from *Los Reyes* and other parts, flocked to him upon the news that there was like to be a Civil War. Whereupon the Vice-king and the Judges dispatched their Orders to the Citizens of *Cozco*, giving them to understand that their duty was to receive *Blasco Nunez* for their Vice-king, and therefore those present Letters were to summon them to appear forthwith at *Los Reyes* with their Horse and Arms. And though these Orders were intercepted on the Road, yet some Copies of them were brought to *Cozco* by some persons who came by by-ways, the which so wrought upon several of the Citizens, that they accordingly came and made their appearance at *Los Reyes* to serve the Vice-king; as shall hereafter be declared.

Affairs standing upon these terms; certain intelligence came to the Vice-king of all that had passed at *Cozco*, which so alarm'd him that he gave immediate Orders to increase his Army; to raise and maintain which having occasion for a good sum of Money, he caused the Money, being an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, laden by *Castro de Vaca* on board a Ship for account of his Majesty, to be brought ashore, and employed for the use and service of his Army.

The persons to whom he gave Commissions of Captains to command the Horse, were *Alonso de Monte Major* and *Diego Alvarez de Cuenca* his Brother-in-law; of the Infantry were *Martin de Robles*, *Paul de Meneses*; and Captain of the Archbushers was *Gonzalo Dias de Pinnera*: his Brother *Vela Nunez* was made Captain General, *Diego de Urbina* Lieutenant General, and *John de Aguires* Sergeant Major. His whole Army besides Natives consisted of six hundred Souldiers; of which there were an hundred Horse, two hundred Fire-arms, and the rest were Pikes and Lances.

He caused great store of Fire-arms to be made, some of Iron, and some of Bell-metal; for he gave Orders to take down the Bells of the great Church, and to cast them into Muskets: he also made great quantities of Halberds. And because he suspected the affection and reality of the peoples good will towards him, he caused several false Alarms to be given, that so he might try in what manner the Souldiers and People would behave themselves if occasion were. And because he was jealous of the practices of *Vaca de Castro* with his Servants, and others of his Party to whom he had given the liberty of the City, under a confinement not to exceed the bounds thereof; he one day about Dinner-time caused an Alarm to be given, that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was near at hand, and had entred the Market-place with his Army: upon which occasion he gave Orders to *Diego Alvarez de Cuenca* to seize on the Person of *Vaca de Castro*, who with other Officers took also *Don Pedro de Cabrera*, *Hernan Mexia de Guzman* his Brother-in-law, as also Captain *Lorenzo de Aldana*, *Melchior Ramirez*, and *Baltasar Ramirez* his Brother, and carried them all together to the Sea-side, and embarked them upon a Ship belonging to the Fleet, commanded by Captain *Jerónimo de Curbano*, a Native of *Bilboa*: in a few days after which, he set *Lorenzo de Aldana* at liberty, and banished *Hernan Mexia* to *Panama*, and *Melchior* and *Baltasar de Ramirez* to *Nicaragua*; but he continued *Vaca de Castro* in the Ship, without making any Process by Law, or legally laying any Fault or Crimes to their charges, or receiving any information against them. Thus far are the words of *Angustine de Carate* in the sixth Chapter of his Book.

C H A P. X.

Two of the Inhabitants of Arequepa revolt to the Vice-king, with two of the Ships belonging to Gonzalo Pizarro, and the Citizens of Cozco desert his Army.

WHILST the Vice-king *Blasco Nunnez*, was troubled with these thoughts and fears, a lucky accident happened much to his advantage and satisfaction; for two persons which belonged to the City of *Arequepa*, one of which was called *Jerónimo de Serna* and the other *Alonso de Carceres*, seized upon the two Ships in that Port belonging to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, which he had bought with his own money, with intent to ship his Ammunition and Provisions thereupon, and with them to be Master of those Seas, which was of great and high concernment to him: these two persons, as we have said, corrupted the Mariners, and persuaded them to sail the Ships to *Los Reyes*, where the Vice-king resided, who received them with great joy and contentment; for thereby perceiving that the Forces of his Enemy were wavering, and enclining to his side, he took it as a good Omen of his following success.

In the mean time it happened out in the Army of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, which we left in *Sacabambana*, that the Citizens which belonged to *Cozco*, reflecting within themselves upon the design in which they were engaged, and considering how unbecomely and improper a matter it was to petition for Justice with Arms in their hands, which ought to be performed in a more humble and submissive manner; it was agreed amongst the principal men amongst them, (as was before privately discoursed) to desert the cause of *Gonzalo Pizarro* and return again to their own habitations.

The chief and leading men in this design were *Gravriel de Rojas*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *John de Saavedra*, *Gomez de Rojas*, *Jerónimo Cofilla*, *Pedro del Barco*, *Marin de Florencia*, *Jerónimo de Suria*, *Gomez de Leon*, *Doctour Carvajal*, *Alonso Perez de Esquivel*, *Pedro Pizarro*, and *John Ramirez*.

These are all particularly mentioned by the two Authours, *Cavate* and *Diego Fernandez*; but besides these, there were several others not named by them, as *John Julio de Hojeda*, *Diego de Silva*, *Thomas Barquez*, *Pedro Alonso Carrasco*, *John de Pancorvo*, *Alonso de Hinojosa*, *Antonio de Quinones*, *Alonso de Loyasa*, *Martin de Meneses*, *Mancio Serra de Leguicamo*, *Francisco de Villa Fuerte*, *John de Figueroa*, *Pedro de los Rios*, with his Brother *Diego*, *Alonso de Soto*, and *Diego de Trujillo*, *Gaspar Jara*, and others whose names I have forgotten, who were in all about forty in number, with many of which I had a personal acquaintance.

All these having deserted the cause of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, returned to their own homes at *Cozco*; where having provided themselves with such conveniences as were necessary for their Journey, they with all diligence took their Journey to *Arequepa*, with design to seize the two Ships belonging to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, which they knew lay at that place, and embark themselves thereon, and sail to *Los Reyes*, esteeming it for a great piece of service to the King, and a means to ingratiate themselves with the Vice-king; but herein they were disappointed, for that the Captains *Alonso de Carceres* and *Jerónimo de la Serna* had forestalled them in their design, having carried the Ships away to *Los Reyes* before their arrival.

And being thus disappointed of their hopes, they considered of the securest way they were now to take to get to the Vice-king; for they knew that *Gonzalo Pizarro* had stopped all the Roads and Passages over the Plains and Mountains; wherefore they agreed to build a great Boat or Vessel, and thereon to take their passage by Sea to *Los Reyes*: the building of this Vessel took up forty days time to little purpose; for the Carpenters being both unskilful in building, and the Timber green and unseasoned, no sooner was the Vessel lanced, and her Provisions laden upon her but she sunk down to the bottom in the very Harbour. Wherefore finding that there was no other way now left them, they resolved to hazard themselves on the Land, which succeeded according to their desires, for the Road

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being clear'd of their Enemies, they arrived safe at *Los Reyes*; but when they came thither, they found that the Vice-king was made a Prisoner, and embarked and sent away into *Spain*. As we shall understand more particularly in the sequel of this History.

This delay of forty days in building the Vessel, was the cause of all the mischief which ensued; for during that time the Vice-king was made a Prisoner, which had otherwise been prevented had those Gentlemen opportunely arrived; for had it been known that persons of that Quality had revolted from *Pizarro*, and were come from *Cozco* to joyn with the Vice-king, it would have brought to great a reputation to his affairs, that none would have dared to have touched the Vice-king, or declared for the Party of *Pizarro*. And as some Authours report, the people seized on the Vice-king and put him on Ship-board, only out of fear to secure him from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who they heard was on his march with intention to kill him. But these Gentlemen of *Cozco*, finding, contrary to all expectation; that the Vice-king was sent away, every man shifted for himself as well as he could; some of which remaining in the City, we shall have occasion to discourse of them hereafter.

On the other side, *Gonzalo Pizarro*, perceiving that those who were men of the greatest interest and power in the Army had relinquished his interest, he gave himself over for lost, and, as the Historians report, resolved to return to the *Cherates*, or to retire into *Chile* with about fifty of the most faithfull of his Friends and Comrades, who, he was assured, would stand by him to the last: but whilst he was meditating of these matters, *Pedro de Puellas* came to him, and brought the news of the departure of the Vice-king, which was so much to the advantage of *Pizarro*, that he with new courage and triumph returned to *Cozco*. The Indians which belonged to those who revolted he appropriated to his own service, only those who were in vassalage to *Garcilasso de la Vega* he bestowed on *Pedro de Puellas*, and gave up his Houses to be plundered by the Soldiers, one of which afterwards intended to have set fire to them, having a fire-brand in his hand to that purpose, and had certainly effected it, had he not been prevented by another of a better and a more mild temper and disposition, who said to him, What hurt have these Houses done you? if the Master were here we might revenge our selves upon him, but what evil have these Walls deserved? This word gave a stop to his intention and saved the House; howsoever they plundered it from the top to the bottom, not leaving any thing in it which was worth one farthing; and turned out the Indian Servants both Men and Women, charging them not to come within the Walls upon pain of death: howsoever they permitted eight persons to remain therein, namely my Mother, and Sister, and a Maid-servant, as also my self, (for my Mother would rather have died than have been without me) and *John de Alcobaga* my Tutor, with his Son *Diego*, and his Brother, and an Indian Maid, which they would not deny me the service of.

John Alcobaga, being a person of a good life and exemplary piety, void of passion and worldly interest, gained that respect and favour amongst them, that they would not take away his life; the friendship we had amongst several of them, saved us also; for many of those who adhered to *Pizarro* were yet Friends to my Father, and would say, turning to us, what have these Children and old People done, or what punishment have they deserved for the faults of another? Howsoever after this we had certainly perished with hunger, had not the *Incas*, and some Ladies of their Family, who were related to us, sent us secretly and by private ways, some Food wherewith to support our selves; but such was the fear and dread they had of these Tyrants, that the Provision was so little as was scarce able to sustain us.

A certain *Cacique*, who was under the command of my Father, called *Don Garcia Paucuri*, who was Commander over two Plantations, which are situated on the Banks of the River *Apurimac* seven leagues distant from the City, one of which is called *Huayllari*, was more kind and faithfull than all others relating to us; for he, not fearing the threats they had given, adventured with danger of his life to relieve us, and came one night to our House, to give us notice that we should fit up and watch the night following, for that about such an hour he would send us in twenty-five Bushels of *Mays*, which he accordingly did; and about seven or eight nights after he sent us in the like quantity, which was a sufficient provision to relieve us during the eight months of our famine and restraint, untill the time

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that *Diego Centeno* entred into *Cusco*, as we shall relate hereafter. I have thought fit to mention this particular passage to shew the faithfulness and loyalty of this good *Curaca*, and record the fame to the honour of him and those who defend from him.

But besides the Charities we received from this good man *Panqui*, I received some other relief from a noble Person, called *John Escobar*, who at that time had no command over *Indians*, though some years afterwards *Doctour Castro* bequeathed some to him, upon an intermarriage between him and the Daughter of *Vasco de Guevara*, begotten on the body of *Maria Enriquez*, both Persons of Honour and Quality.

This worthy Gentleman *John de Escobar*, who lodged in the House of *Alonso de Mesa*, in a certain Street built in the midst of my Father's Rents, very much compassionating our wants and penury, desired my Tutor to give me leave to come every day to dinner, and at night to supper with him; we accepted very kindly the dinner, but as to the supper, we thought it not convenient to keep our doors open at that time of the night; for we were hourly in fear of being massacred, for which we had good grounds, being always threatened by them; and none put us into more fear than *Hernando Bachicao*, who was Master of the Ordnance; for though he went not out with them, yet he mounted some Cannon at his own House and made a Battery upon ours, which, in the Map or description we made of the Town, just fronted with his, nothing being between us but only the two Market-places of the City, which he had certainly levelled to the ground, had not some Friends and Relations interceded for us: Nor did the Relations of those others who revolted fare better than we; though they evidenced a more particular malice and anger against my Father, as one who had more signally been concerned in this revolt than any other. *Graviel de Rojas* was as deeply engaged as he, but having his Houses and Possessions in *Chquisaca* the City of Plate, they had not the same opportunity to be revenged on him.

Having thus vented their anger upon the Houses of those Citizens of *Cusco* who had revolted from their cause, they returned again into the Road of *Los Reyes* to meet *Pedro de Puelles* and the people who followed him; but they were very tedious in their march to *Huamanga*, by reason of the great Incumbrance of their Cannon which followed the Camp. *Jerónimo de la Serna*, and *Alonso de Carceles*, who had revolted with the two Ships to *Los Reyes*, reported amongst other things to the Vice-king, how that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was elected General Representative of the whole Empire, and that he was raising Men, and providing Ammunition and Artillery to march unto *Los Reyes*.

This report being brought to the Vice-king and the Justices, which as yet was news to them; for (as we have said before) the Roads being all stoppt, they had received no other intelligence of *Gonzalo Pizarro* than that he was come from *Cusco* to the *Charcas*: but so soon as they understood that he was raising Men, they immediately dispatched away Orders to the four Cities, requiring and commanding them to receive *Blasco Nunez Vela* for Vice-king by Commission from his Majesty. And that in case they had any grievances they should send their Commissioners to the City of *Los Reyes*, there to represent their Complaints and demand Justice in those matters wherein they judged themselves aggrieved. And in order hereunto, as *Gomara* says, the Vice-king sent *Friar Thomas de San Martin* to assure *Gonzalo Pizarro*, that he had no Commission to his hurt or prejudice, but rather Instructions from the Emperour to reward and gratifie him for his many labours and services performed towards his Majesty: And therefore desired him, that laying all fears and jealousies aside, he should dismiss his people, and come freely and frankly to him to converse and treat upon affairs. Thus far *Gomara*. Now we will proceed to the Rebellion of *Pedro de Puelles*.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

Wherein is related, how *Pedro de Puelles* rebelled against *Blasco Nunez Vela*, and revolted to *Gonzalo Pizarro*; and how others whom the Vice-king sent after them to fetch them back, did the like, and joined with the contrary Party.

BESIDES the Orders which the Vice-king sent to the four Cities, and the Message which he had dispatched to *Gonzalo Pizarro*; he likewise sent his Summons to *Pedro de Puelles* to come and serve his Majesty, the success of which we may find written by *Diego Fernandez*, in the sixteenth Chapter of his Book, and by *Augustine de Carate*, in the tenth Chapter of his fifth Book, who give a relation thereof, almost in the same words.

When the Vice-king was first received in the City of *Los Reyes*, *Pedro de Puelles*, a Native of *Seville*, came to kiss his hands, being at that time Deputy Governour for *Vaca de Castro* in the Town of *Guanuco*: And having lived long in the *Indies*, he was highly esteemed by the Vice-king for his great experience; so that he gave him a new Commission to be Deputy Governour of *Guanuco*, enjoying him to get the People of that City in a readiness, that in case necessity should require, they might at an hour's warning appear with their Horse and Arms. *Pedro de Puelles* obeyed the Commands of the Vice-king; and not only put his own Citizens into a posture to march, at the first Summons; but also retained several other Souldiers, who came from the Province of *Chapapoyas* in company with *Gomez de Solis* and *Bonifaz*, to attend the Commands of the Vice-king, for their march: and accordingly upon his Orders dispatched by *Jerónimo de Villegas*, a Native of *Burgos*. *Pedro de Puelles* immediately marched away with intention to join with him.

But being come as far as *Guanuco*, they began to lay their heads together and consider of the issue and event of affairs, in case they should subdue and overthrow *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his party; and having concluded most certainly, that in that case, the Vice-king would make use of his Victory, to put in execution the new Laws without controul, to the great damage and ruine of the People; and that no man, as well Souldiers as others should be able to enjoy the service and vassalage of their *Indians*, which would disenable many from paying the taxes for maintenance of the Army: they all unanimously resolved to revolt unto *Gonzalo Pizarro's* party; and so marched another way to join with him in such place where it should be their fortune to meet him.

The Vice-king, having speedy intelligence thereof by an *Indian* Captain called *Matapa*, greatly resented the ill-success; but howsoever, taking courage, he immediately dispatched his brother *Vela Nunez* with a Detachment of forty light Horse and thirty Arquebusers, under the command of Captain *Gonzalo Diaz*, which for better expedition were mounted upon so many Mules, which cost twelve thousand Ducats taken out of the King's treasury, and to them were added ten other Souldiers, who were the kindred, friends and relations of *Vela Nunez*, so that the number of the Foot were made equal to the Horse, and had Orders to intercept *Pedro de Puelles* in his march, and to get before him, and dispute the first pass with him. Being thus provided with all things necessary, and being on their march as far as *Guadachile* (which is about twenty Leagues from the City) it is said, that they agreed to kill *Vela Nunez* and revolt to *Gonzalo Pizarro*; and that some of the Scouts being advanced about four Leagues from *Guadachile* happened to meet with *Friar Thomas*, the Provincial of *St. Domingo*, whom the Vice-king had sent to *Cusco*, with Commission to treat and accommodate matters with *Gonzalo Pizarro*: and being met, one of the Souldiers who was born at *Avila*, taking him aside, discovered to him the designs the Souldiers had to kill *Vela Nunez*; that so he might forewarn him thereof, and advise him to take some course for his security, for otherwise he would be killed that night by the Souldiers.

The Provincial made great hate in his journey, and with him the Scouts also returned upon the advice he had given them, that *Pedro de Puelles* was two days march before him, and had passed the *Xauxa*, so that it was impossible for them to overtake him: And being come to *Guadachile*, he told the People the same Story, and that it would be to no purpose to goe in pursuit of him: and taking *Vela Nunnez* on one side, he privately whispered to him the Danger in which he was, advising him to make use of this Information for his own safety. *Vela Nunnez*, revealing the treachery against him to four or five of his kinsmen who were with him, they privately towards the glimps of the Evening, stole on horse-back, as if they intended to give their horses water, and having the Provincial for their guide, they made their escape under the protection of the night. So soon as their flight was known, *John de la Torre*, *Piedra Hita*, *George a Grecian*, and other Souldiers who were concerned in the Conspiracy seized upon the Guard in the night, and clapping their fire-locks to the breasts of the other Souldiers, swearing to kill them, if they resolved not to goe and join with them. Whereupon every one almost freely declared, that they would be of their side, and particularly Captain *Gonzalo Diaz*, and though they affrighted him with the same terror as did the others, and bound his hands behind him, and in appearance offered many other affrighting things to him, yet it is believed that he was in the Conspiracy, and the principal in the Plot; and so it was believed and went for current amongst all the People of the City; for it could not be imagined, that he who was a kinsman and son-in-law to *Pedro de Puelles*, could be of a contrary party to him, there having been no quarrel or cause of difference between them. And thus all of them getting up and mounting their Mules which had cost so dear, they traivelled towards *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whom they met near *Guamanga*, where *Pedro de Puelles* and his men being arrived two days before them; found such discouragement in the Camp of *Pizarro*, by reason of the slow motion and coldness of *Gaspar Rodriguez* and his Associates; that had *Pedro de Puelles* and his men stayed only three days longer before they had come up, the whole Camp of *Pizarro* had most certainly broken up and been dispersed: but the arrival of *Pedro de Puelles* put such life and spirit again into them, both by his recruits and by his words; that they resolved to proceed in their enterprise; for he told them, that in case *Gonzalo Pizarro* would retract, and not think fit to proceed, he notwithstanding was resolved to undertake the design, not doubting but to be able with his own men to take the Vice-king and rid the Countrey of him, considering that he was generally hated, and that all the people were disaffected to him. *Pedro de Puelles* had little less than forty Horse with him, and about twenty Musquetiers; but when *Gonzalo Diaz* and his men were come up and joyned with them, then all parts were encouraged, and resolved without any fear or doubt to proceed: by this time *Vela Nunnez* was arrived at *Los Reyes*, and had acquainted the Vice-king with all that had passed; who, as we may believe with reason, resented this ill beginning as ominous, finding his affairs every day to fall into a worse estate. The next day *Rodrigo Nimno*, who was son of *Hernando Nimno*, Mayor of *Toledo*, returned to *Toledo* with three or four more who refused to follow *Gonzalo Diaz*, notwithstanding all the affronts and abuses they could put upon them; for they took from them their Arms and Horses, and stript them of their Cloaths, so that *Rodrigo Nimno* came only in quерpo, with a pair of old Trunks, without Hose, or Shoes, or any thing on his Feet, unless a pair of pack-thread Sandals, walking all the way on foot with a Cane in his hand. The Vice-king received him with all the kindness imaginable, and praising his Loyalty and Constancy, told him that, considering the Cause for which he suffered, the Habit in which he was, seemed more becoming than if he were vested in Cloth of Gold. Thus far the two Authours agree in the same sense, and almost in the same words: To which *Diego Fernandez Palentino* adds, as follows:

When news was brought to the Vice-king of these ill Successes, he greatly resented them, clearly now perceiving that his Affairs went cross, and that the affections of the people were tainted with rebellion: Howsoever, that he might in some manner revenge the disloyalty of Captain *Gonzalo Diaz*, who had so ignominiously broken his faith and word with him, and since he could not inflict a punishment on his person, he caused the Colours or Ensign of his Company to be trailed along through the Market-place in the sight and view of the Captains, Souldiers, and of all the City; and commanded the Serjeants and Ensign of the Com-

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pany of *Gonzalo Diaz*, and of all the other Companies, to run the points of their Lances into his Colours, and tear them in pieces in dishonour, and to the ignominy of the absent Captain; but *Gomez Esfacio*, who was Ensign to that Company, and other the Associates, who were to support the Colours, were not a little nettled at this Affront, as if it had in some manner reflected upon themselves: and more particularly *Gomez Esfacio* found himself aggrieved, because the Vice-king had commanded him to trail the Colours with his own hand; and from that time he became disaffected to the Vice-king, and a friend to the Cause and Party of *Gonzalo Pizarro*. And though it be granted that many did approve the action of *Gonzalo Diaz*, and did agree that the dishonour shewed to his Colours was but just, and no more than what his infidelity deserved: Howsoever they were well enough pleased to see the power of the Vice-king weakened, whose ruine and down-fall they desired by the better fortune and success of *Gonzalo Pizarro*. Thus did nothing thrive which the Vice-king acted, but all turned to his prejudice; of which he was sensible, though he strove to conceal his inward trouble, and put the best face upon it that he could. Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez*.

And now men who were disaffected began to blame the Council which was given to the Vice-king, to send *Gonzalo Diaz* against his Father-in-law; and, as other Authours say, it was much wondered that the Vice-king should be so much overseen as not to consider the inconvenience of engaging the Son-in-law against the Father, between whom there had been no quarrel or ground of displeasure. And in like manner reflecting on the concernment of *Gomez Esfacio*, Ensign of *Gonzalo*, divers were of opinion, that it was an Affront given him without any Cause; and that it was improperly done to command him who had in no manner been engaged in the Treason of his Captain, to be an Executioner of a disgrace which could not be acted without great reflexion on himself. Thus did the hatred which men had conceived against the Vice-king turn all the actions he did to a bad interpretation.

C H A P. XII.

A Pardon and safe Conduct is given to Gaspar Rodriguez and his Friends. His death, and of divers others.

NOW to set forth what these Authours report of *Gaspar Rodriguez*, whom *Cerate* sometimes mentions by the name of *Gaspar de Rojas*; we are to observe that he was a brother of the good Captain *Perangures de Campo redondo*, who was slain in the battel of *Chupas*, and after his death he came to the inheritance and possession of his Indians, which *Vaca de Castro* bestowed upon him by special Grant. This was the Gentleman who rashly and without consideration seized upon the Cannon which were at *Ahuamaca*, and carried them to *Cusco*, and was greatly engaged in the designs of *Gonzalo Pizarro*: but observing that many of the principal Citizens who had taken part with *Pizarro*, had relinquished his Cause, and fled from him; he also resolved to follow their example, and revolt to the Vice-king: but being conscious of his Crime in carrying away the Cannon, he thought it best and most secure to obtain a Pardon for the same, both as to life and estate, before he trusted himself in the hands of the Vice-king, whom he knew to be a man of a morose and severe disposition, and one who would not spare him, in case he fell into his hands, without such a Precaution: and to make his access and pardon the more easie by an appearance of some signal service, he treated with some friends of his, persuading them to pass over to the other party, following the example of those other noble Citizens who had lately done the like: and with them he so prevailed, that they resolved on the point, and as a preparation thereunto, to demand their Pardon first, and to receive a Protection or Letter of safe conduct freely to come and offer their service.

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But whilst these Matters were in agitation *Pedro de Puelles* (as the Authours report) arrived very opportunely; for, had his coming been delayed but three days longer, it is the general opinion, that all the Army of *Gonzalo Pizarro* had of themselves been disperfed and disbanded. Howsoever, these new recruits did not alter and remove the intentions of *Gaspar Rodriguez* and his Companions from their former purpose; in pursuance of which they communicated their design to a certain Priest, a Native of *Madrid*, called *Baltasar de Loaysa*, with whom after I was acquainted in *Madrid*, in the year 1563. I cannot say that I knew him before, being very young; though he knew me very well when I was a child, being a friend of my father's, and one who had a general acquaintance with all the noble families of that Empire.

Gaspar de Rodriguez and his friends treated with this Priest (who was more fit for a Souldier than a Priest) and persuaded him to take a journey in their behalf to *Los Reyes*, and to obtain a Pardon for them, with a Letter of Licence for their Security; and with that occasion, that he should give an account of the number of those who were come lately to join with *Pizarro* and of those who were gone off; and to assure him, that the Affairs of *Pizarro* stood on that uncertain foundation, that so soon as he and his accomplices were gone off, that all the other Forces of *Gonzalo Pizarro* would speedily disband.

With this Message *Baltasar de Loaysa* privately departed from the Camp; of which so soon as *Pizarro* had notice, he immediately sent after him to fetch him back; but having taken a by-way out of the common road, they missed of him, and he got safe to *Rimac* where the good news he brought, made him welcome to the Vice-king; for the intention of *Gaspar Rodriguez* and his Companions was of great importance to him: the joy whereof the Vice-king not being able to suppress, and esteeming it necessary to be divulged for the encouragement of his people; the secret took air and was made publick; which being with all expedition wrote back to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, *Gaspar Rodriguez* was seized with his Companions, and were all afterwards put to death. Howsoever, before that was known *Baltasar de Loaysa* was dispatched with the Pardon and Letters of safe-conduct, which he desired; which was no sooner done, but it was divulged over all the City (as *Carate* reports, whose authority we rather follow in these passages, than any other, because he was present at these transactions) and thereupon the Citizens, and other persons who were inclined and secretly well-affected to the Cause of *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Party, did really imagine that in case he were deserted by *Gaspar Rodriguez* and his Accomplices, it would strike so great a damp to *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Souldiers as would cause them to disperse and break up their Camp, as despairing of their design; and then the Vice-king would remain triumphant, to execute his new Laws without any contradiction or restraint upon him: to prevent which some of the Citizens and Souldiers resolved amongst themselves to send a party of light Horse after him; hoping speedily to overtake him.

It was in the month of September 1544, when *Loaysa* with one person onely in his company called *Hernando de Cavallos* left the Town; and the next night afterwards was pursued by twenty five light Horsemen, the principal of which were *Don Baltasar de Castilla*, the Son of Count *Gomara*, *Lorenzo Mexia*, *Rodrigo de Salazar*, well known for his crouch-back, and was the person famous for taking *Don Diego de Almagro Junior* in *Cusco*; there were also with them *Diego de Carvajal*, surnamed the Gallant, and *Francisco de Elcobedo*, *Francisco de Carvacal*, *Pedro Martin de Cecilia* alias *Pedro Martin de Don Benito*, with others to the number of twenty five, all which company together travailed with so much expedition and diligence, that in less than forty Leagues distance from *Los Reyes* they overtook *Loaysa*, and took all his papers and dispatches from him; and sent them away by a Souldier, who crossing the Country came by a shorter cut than the common road to the Camp of *Pizarro*, and acquainted him with the whole matter, who at first secretly communicated it to *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was lately made his Major General in the place of *Afonso de Poro*, who was fallen sick: then he imparted it to other Captains and Persons of quality, who were not privy nor concerned in the Confederacy; and having considered of the matter amongst themselves, they all generally agreed, some from a principle of particular enmity, others from envy, others from covetousness, fearing to lose their *Indians* and their Possessions; that it was necessary for example unto others, and to deter them from the like perfidiousness, to punish this act of Treachery with the greatest

rest severity: and accordingly it was concluded amongst those who were unconcerned in this safe Conduct and Pardon; to kill *Gaspar de Rojas*, *Philip de Gutierrez*, the son of *Afonso de Gutierrez*, who was Treasurer to his Majesty and born at *Madrid*, and also *Arias Maldonado* a Gentleman of *Galicia*, who, with *Philip Gutierrez*, had loitered two or three days Journey behind in *Guanama*, upon pretence of certain businesses to be done there in order to their Journey; but during their stay at that place *Gonzalo Pizarro* dispeeded *Pedro de Puelles* with a party of Horse to take off their Heads: but the execution of *Gaspar Rodriguez* was more difficult, for he was then a Captain in the Field, and actually at the head of almost two hundred Lances, and being a person very rich, of great interest, and very popular, they could not act their design publicly upon him, and therefore they had recourse to this Stratageme. *Gonzalo Pizarro* commanded an hundred and fifty Harquebusers of Captain *Carmenno's* Company to be in a readiness, and having given out to each tains to come to him, telling them that he had certain advices, which he had late received from *Los Reyes*, to communicate to them. And being all come, and amongst the rest *Gaspar Rodriguez*, *Gonzalo Pizarro* stepped out of his Tent, which was well guarded with Cannon, and pretending as it were some other business, in mean time the Major-General *Carvajal* comes to *Gaspar Rodriguez*, and laying his hand on the hilt of his Sword, drew it out of the Scabbard, advising him to call for a Priest and confessor, for that he was to die immediately: *Gaspar Rodriguez* resisted a while, pretending to be innocent, and to clear himself of those accusations which were against him; but that would not serve his turn, for immediately they cut off his head.

The execution of these men terrified the whole Camp, and more particularly those who were conscious to themselves of being Complices in the same Action for which those were put to death; and these acts of severity were the more affrighting because they were the first which *Gonzalo Pizarro* had committed since the usurpation of his tyrannical Power. Some few days afterwards, *Don Baltasar* and his Comrades came to the Camp bringing *Baltasar de Loaysa* and *Hernando Cavallos* (as we have said) Prisoners; but the day before he knew that they were to enter into the Camp, he sent his Major General *Carvajal* before him, with orders that wheresoever he met them he should put them to death: but such was the good fortune of *Loaysa* and *Cavallos*, that they mistaking their way, the Major General was disappointed of his prize, and the Prisoners were brought to the Camp, where so many intercessours appeared in favour of the two Delinquents, that *Loaysa* was released and sent away without any provision made for him, but *Hernando de Cavallos* was continued, and carried away with the rest of the Army. Thus far is the account given by *Carate* in the fifth Book and the eleventh Chapter.

In fine, they killed *Gaspar Rodriguez* and his Accomplices, whose death was hastened and occasioned by their applications to the Vice-king for a Pardon and a safe Conduct, which he and his adherents demanded for safety of their lives, and a safe Conduct was general for all, *Pizarro*, *Francisco de Carvajal*, *Benito de Carvajal* and some few others onely excepted; at which *Pizarro* and his Major-General were so much offended, that they immediately hanged up *Gaspar Rodriguez*, *Philip Gutierrez* with the rest; which are the words of *Gomara*. In this manner this poor Gentleman *Gaspar Rodriguez de Campo Rotondo* ended his days; for being of an unquiet spirit, he was neither well with those who were called Tyrants and Rebels, nor with those who were esteemed for Loyallists.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Death of Agent Yllen Suarez de Carvajal, and of the great mutiny and disturbance he caused in Peru.

DURING all these troubles and slaughters in the Camp of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, there happened an accident sad and tragical in the City of *Los Reyes*, which *Gomara* in the 159th Chapter of his Book relates to have been in this manner. *Lewis Garcia San Manes*, who was Postmaster in *Xanxa*, brought certain Letters which were wrote in Cyphers by *Benito de Carvajal* to the Agent *Yllen Suarez*, his Brother: the Vice-king presently took a jealousy upon the Cypher, and a suspicion of the Agent's faithfulness, and shewing them to the Judges, demanded their opinion, whether they were not ground sufficient to put him to death: to which the Judges replied, that it were convenient first to know the contents of them. Hereupon the Agent was called for, who coming, did not seem, as they say, to be startled or change his countenance, though he was severely treated with sharp words; but took the paper and read it without hesitation, Doctor *John Alvarez*, noting the words which he read: the sum or substance of all the Cypher was, the number of Souldiers that were with *Pizarro*, and what his intentions were; who were in his favour and who not; and in fine declared, that he would watch his opportunity to slip away, and come to the service of the Vice-king so soon as he could disengage himself, according to the Counsel which the Agent had given him. After which the Key of the Cypher was called for, and the matter being thereby disclosed, it was found to agree with the interpretation given by the Agent, and to verify the truth thereof *Benito Carvajal* came to *Lima* two or three days after *Blasco Nunez* was seized, not knowing any thing of the death of the Agent. Thus far are the words of *Gomara*.

Howsoever there still remained upon the mind of the Vice-king such a jealousy of the Agent, that like an evil Spirit it still haunted and followed him, never suffering him to be at rest until at last the direful effects thereof broke out in the very Chamber of the Vice-king, where the Agent was assassinated without any cause or reason for it, which struck a greater terror into the minds of the people on this side than was the late consecration in the Camp of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, so that neither Party was free from Tragedies of their own. And particularly here happened out one the night following, occasioned by the flight of *Baltazar de Castilla* and others afore-mentioned. The three Authours report this History almost in the same manner: and first we shall repeat what the Accountant *Angustine Carate* says upon this Subject, and then we shall add that from the others which he hath omitted. That which he relates in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Book is as follows, and herewith we will return to the Subject of our History.

Some few hours after *Don Baltazar de Castilla* and his Companions were departed from the City of *Los Reyes* in pursuit of *Loaysa* as is before-mentioned, the matter was not so secretly carried but that it came to the knowledge of Captain *Diego de Urbina*, who was Major-General to the Vice-king; for he going his Rounds in the night through the City, and calling at the Houses of some of these who were fled, neither found them at home, nor their Arms, nor Horses, nor the menial *Indian* Servants which belonged to them; upon which suspecting what was slain out, he directly went to the Vice-king's Lodgings, who was then in Bed, and told him that he had reason to believe that the greatest part of the people had deserted the City.

The Vice-king was greatly troubled (as was reason) at this report, and arising from his Bed gave immediate order to sound an alarm, and that every man should stand to his arms; and calling his Captains, gave them order to go from House to House and make enquiry who were absent, that so he might be informed of the number of those who were departed. And having accordingly made search, and found that *Diego de Carvajal*, *Jerónimo de Carvajal* and *Francisco de Escobedo* were missing, who were Kinsmen of Agent *Yllen Suarez de Carvajal*, it was instantly believed that he was engaged in the Plot, and in favour of *Gonzalo Pizarro*; for it could

could not be imagined that his Kinsmen could have acted herein without his consent, or at least without his knowledge, in regard they all lodged under the same Roof, and onely had two different Doors to each Apartment: but for better assurance of what was suspected, the Vice-king sent his Brother *Vela Nunez* with a guard of Musketeers to bring the Agent before him, and he being in Bed they caused him to rise and dress himself, and so carried him to the Lodgings of the Vice-king, who having not slept all night, was laid upon his Bed with his Arms on, to take some little repose. And the Agent being introduced by way of the Court-yard-gate; those who were then present report that the Vice-king presently arose and said; Is it so, Traitor, that thou hast sent away thy Kinsmen to serve *Gonzalo Pizarro*? To which the Agent made answer, I beseech your Lordship not to call me Traitor, for in reality I am not so: then replied the Vice-king, I swear by God, that thou art a Traitor to the King. I swear by God, said the Agent, I am as good a Servant to the King as your Lordship. At which words the Vice-king became so enraged, that coming in his fury to him, he stabbed him in the breast with his Dagger; though the Vice-king denied to have done it himself, but that his Servants and Halbardiers of his Guard, hearing how insolently he answered, gave him so many wounds with their Halberds and Partisans, that he dyed upon the place without so much time as to confess or speak one word: And left, being a person generally well-beloved, the manner of his death should cause some mutiny and disturbance amongst the Souldiers, of which an hundred every night kept watch within the yard of the House; the Vice-king gave order to have his Corpse conveyed away by a certain private Gallery leading to the Market-place, where some few *Indians* and *Negroes* received it, and buried it in a Church near thereunto, without other Shroud or Winding-sheet than onely his own Scarlet Cloak which he usually wore.

Three days after which, when the Judges seized on the person of the Vice-king (as we shall relate hereafter) one of the first things they laid to his charge was the death of the Agent; and the Preamble to their Process was, that being carried about midnight into the House of the Vice-king, he never since that time appeared; and it was proved, that they had wounded and buried him. So soon as this murder was made publick, it occasioned much talk and murmuring in the Town; for every one was assured that the Agent was a true Friend to the Vice-king and his Cause, having been the chief Instrument to persuade the Town of *Los Reyes* to receive him, against the sense and opinion of the major part of the Judges. These matters happened out upon Sunday at night, being the thirteenth day of September, 1544. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, which are confirmed also by *Diego Fernandez*, who in the seventeenth Chapter of his Book, adds this farther;

They conveyed, says he, his Corpse by a certain Gallery, and buried them in a corner or nook of the great Church near adjoining thereunto; but some few hours after that his anger grew cool, and that the Vice-king began to reflect with reason upon what he had done in his passion: it is most certain that he repented of this rash act, and bewailed it with tears from his eyes. Howsoever so soon as the death of the Agent was made publick in the Town, the Vice-king sent to call the principal Citizens to him, telling them, in excuse for what he had done, that the insolent words of the Agent had drawn his death upon himself; adding, that none ought to take offence thereat, for whether he had done well or ill, he was accountable to none but God and the King; which words more angered and displeased the people than before: so that after the revolt of the several men before-mentioned, which was followed by this bloody Tragedy, which cannot be excused from the imputation of arbitrary Tyranny without any ground or foundation for it, a resolution was taken to imprison the Vice-king: though it is most certain that he much lamented this unhappy fate, saying, that the remembrance of the death of *Yllen Suarez* made him often distracted; and therefore cursed his Brother *Vela Nunez*, calling him fool and beast, for that knowing his choler and passion, he had yet brought him to his presence at a time when he knew that he was raving and inflamed therewith: for had he been, said he, a man of discretion, he would have deferred the execution of those commands, and not have suffered *Suarez* to appear until he had seen his anger pacified. Thus far *Diego Fernandez*, to which *Gomara* adds, and says,

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That the Agent going to justify himself, the Vice-king stab'd him twice, crying out with a loud voice, kill him, kill him; upon which his Servants came in and dispatched him, though some of them threw Clothes upon him to keep off the blows: which are the words of *Gomara* in Chap. 159. with which he concludes, and says, that the death of the Agent, who was a principal person and of great esteem, caused great commotions and heart-burnings in those parts, and such fear and apprehensions that the Citizens of *Lima* were afraid to lie in their Houses at night: and *Blasco Nunez* himself confessed to the Judges, that he had committed a great error in that Fact, and that he believed it would be an occasion of his ruine, &c. And so indeed it proved to be the down-fall of the Vice-king; for his very Friends, and such as were really of his Party, did hereby conceive such fear and dread of his passionate and violent humour, that they fled and hid themselves, not daring to appear in his presence; at which his Enemies took great advantage and courage to maintain their cause against him.

CHAP. XIV.

The various resolutions which the Vice-king took upon the news he received of the march of Gonzalo Pizarro towards Los Reyes; and how the Judges openly opposed the Vice-king.

Gonzalo Pizarro being thus re-inforced by the coming in of *Pedro de Puellas* and others who were revolted to him from the Vice-king, proceeded forward with greater assurances than formerly, though very slowly and with short marches, by reason of the great incumbrance of the Cannon, which being carried on the shoulders of the *Indians* and over rocky and sharp ways, it was not possible to make greater haste. The Vice-king in the mean time being alarm'd by the nearer approach daily of his Enemy, and considering how much his own people were dissatisfied, and that those who outwardly seemed most affected to him, proceeded faintly and coldly in his service, and that the general dissatisfaction of the people was now plain and evident, and that his condition every day became worse than other; he resolved, though too late, to change his Counsels, and to publish at length a suspension of the new Laws until his Majesty's pleasure should be farther known thereupon, hoping that upon such a Declaration the minds of the people would be quieted, and that *Gonzalo Pizarro*, having no farther subject of complaint, his Army would consequently disband, and every one return peaceably to his own home.

Now let us hear what *Gomara* says, Chap. 158.

Blasco Nunez, says he, was much troubled to understand that *Pizarro* was so well provided with Arms, Cannon and Souldiers so well affected to his cause and interest: wherefore, seeing no other remedy, he declared that he would suspend the execution of the new Laws for two years, until they should receive other Orders from the Emperour; though at the same time he made his Protest against it, and noted it in his Table-book that he was compelled to that suspension by force, and that so soon as the Countrey was again in quietness, he would resume the old pretensions, and put them in practice as before; all which served to inflame that hatred which the people conceived against him. He also proclaimed *Pizarro* a Traitor and those also who were with him and of his Party; promising to those that should kill him or them, to bestow their Houses, Lands, Riches and Estates on them for a reward; at which Declaration those of *Cusco* took great offence, as did also those of *Lima*: and in the mean time he actually confiscated the Estates of those who had revolted to *Pizarro*. Thus far *Gomara*.

Though this suspension of the Laws came late, howsoever it would have had some good effect towards pacifying and quieting the minds of the people, and have opened such overtures towards an accommodation, but that unluckily at the

same time that the Suspension was published; the News was, that the Vice-king had made his Protest against it, as an Act to which he was compelled, and that he would again return to the execution of the new Laws so soon as the Countrey was appeased, and the disturbances allayed; which more incensed the minds of the people than ever; and confirmed them in a belief, that the Vice-king was obstinate and a person inexorable, and not to be treated with; whence so much mischief ensued, as by the sequel will appear; and which served to confirm the people in their pretensions and resolutions either to dye or obtain their desires.

The Vice-king seeing that the means he used to pacify the people inflamed them the more, and that his own people became greatly discouraged; and many of them inclined to favour *Gonzalo Pizarro* for the Gallantry they observed in him, who had so freely sacrificed himself for the publick good; he thereby measuring the weakness of his force, thought it not safe to meet *Pizarro* in the field, but to defend himself within the Walls of the City.

In pursuance of this design he fortified the City, set up Posts and Chains in every Street, made loop-holes on the Walls for small shot, and laid in provisions for a siege: but News coming daily of the great force with which *Pizarro* marched against them, and the resolved mind of his Souldiers; the Vice-king thought it not safe to confine himself within the Walls of *Los Reyes*; but to retreat to *Truxillo*, which is about eighty Leagues distant from thence. And contriving how to dispose of the Inhabitants, he designed to transport the Citizens Wives by Sea, in such Ships as were then in Port, and the Souldiers were to march by Land along the Sea coast: And for the City it self, he resolved to dismantle it and demolish the Walls, break down the Mills, and carry all things away which might be for subsistence of the Enemy, and drive the *Indians* from the Sea-coast into the in-land Countries; supposing that *Pizarro* coming thither with his Army, and finding no subsistence, must either disband, or his men perish. The Vice-king having communicated these his Intentions to the Judges, they boldly and openly opposed him, telling him plainly, that the Royal Courts of Judicature could not remove out of the City, for that their Commissions from his Majesty obliged them to act in that place; and therefore they desired to be excused, if they refused to accompany his Lordship or to suffer their houses to be demolished. Herewith an open quarrel arose between the Judges and the Vice-king, declaring a different interest to each other, the Inhabitants inclined to the side of the Judges in opposition to the Vice-king, positively refusing to commit their Wives and Daughters into the hands of Seamen and Souldiers. Hereupon the Vice-king arose from the conference he held with the Judges, without any determination. Howsoever, as to his own person, he resolved to embark himself, and to go by Sea, and that his Brother *Vela Nunez* should march away by Land; and in order thereunto he commanded *Diego Alvarez Chero*, as *Carate* reports in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Book, to guard the Children of *Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro* with a Party of Horse to the Sea-side, and there to put them on board a ship; together with *Vaca de Castro*, after which he was to remain Admiral of the Fleet, and to take charge of them as his Prisoners; for he was jealous that *Antonio de Rivera* and his Wife, who had the Guardian-ship of *Don Gonzalo* and his Brothers, would convey them away. But this matter created a new disturbance amongst the people, and the Judges much disliked it, especially *Doctor Carate*, who made it his particular request to the Vice-king in behalf of the Lady *Francisca*, that he would be pleased to cause her to be again returned ashore; for that being a young Maid marriageable, beautiful and rich; it was not decent and agreeable to her modesty to commit her into the hands of Seamen and Souldiers: but nothing could avail with the Vice-king to dissuade him from his purpose; for being ever obstinate in all his Resolutions, he declared his Intentions were to retire and begon, contrary to the opinion of all others. Thus far *Carate*.

And now to abbreviate and sum up all that hath been said by the aforesaid Authors; it is most certain, that the Judges gave command to *Martin de Robles*, though one of the Vice-king's Captains, to make the Vice-king a Prisoner: but he, desiring to be excused by reason of the ill consequences which might ensue; they assured him, that it was for the Service of his Majesty and quiet of that whole Empire; and a means to suppress all those Mutinies and Troubles which the ill Government of the Vice-king had caused. Hereupon *Martin de Robles* professed to do it, howsoever he required a Warrant under the hands and seals of

the Judges for his security and discharge, the which they readily granted, and gave order to have it drawn up and kept as a Secret, until the design was ready to be put in execution. And farther, they forbid the Citizens and Inhabitants to obey the Vice-king in any of his Commands, or to deliver up their Wives and Children to be transported, or to leave and abandon their Houses, requiring all persons of what quality or condition soever, to be aiding and assisting to *Martin de Robles* in seizing the person of the Vice-king, and detaining him prisoner; for so his Majesty's service required it, and the common good and welfare of the publick. But whilst these Matters were contriving, the people were distracted and in confusion, not knowing which side or what course to take; the duty and obedience which they owed to their Sovereign Lord the King inclined to take part with the Vice-king; but when they considered their Interests and Estates of which they should be deprived in case the Vice-king should prevail, they then resolved to adhere unto the Judges who opposed *Blasco Nunez* in execution of the new Laws. Thus did the people remain a whole day in suspense: and the Vice-king, to secure himself against the attempts which the Judges might make against him, ordered his Captains and Souldiers to put themselves in a posture of defence, in which they remained untill mid-night. The Judges, on the other side understanding that the Vice-king had ordered his Souldiers to stand to their Arms, and that he had above four hundred men with him; and fearing that it was with intention to seize and secure them, they called many of their particular friends to their assistance, but so few appeared, that they esteemed their force unable to avail against the Vice-king, and therefore they fortified themselves as well as they could in the House of Judge *Cepeda*, with intention to defend themselves if they were assaulted.

Amidst this fear and consternation, a certain person whom *Gomara* calls *Francisco de Escobar*, a Native of *Sabagum*, made a Speech to them, and said; *What make we here? Let us goe out in a body into the open Streets, where we may do fighting like men, and not cooped up like hens, &c.*

To this bold Proposal they all agreed, and the Judges in a desperate manner sallied forth into the Market-place, rather with design to deliver up themselves, than with hopes to prevail: howsoever matters succeeded much contrary to their expectation. For the Vice-king who had for a long time, untill the night came on, remained in the Market-place, was persecuted by his Friends and Captains to retire to his Lodgings: which he had no sooner done, but the Souldiers and Captains finding themselves freed from that awe and respect which his presence obliged them unto; revolted with their Companies to take part with the Judges, the first of which, who led the way were *Martin de Robles* and *Pedro de Vergara* who were followed by others, and so by others, untill there was not one person remaining to keep guard at the gate of the Vice-king; unless about a hundred Souldiers who remained within the house and of whom he had made choice for the Guard of his person.

CHAP. XV.

The Imprisonment of the Vice-king, and the various Successes which happened thereupon both by Sea and Land.

Though the Judges had the good fortune to have the people revolt to their side, and that every-hour more came in to join with them: yet howsoever they were somewhat wary how they made seizure of the person of the Vice-king; for it was told them, that he was actually in the Market-place, with a good force, and that he resolved to assail them. Notwithstanding which they sallied out into the Market-place, there to defend their cause, and the better to summon people to their assistance; they caused the Commission given to *Martin de Robles* to be proclaimed, though by reason of the noise and tumult of the people little was understood. *Carate* in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Book reports, that he

he was present when the Vice-king was made a prisoner; and that the Judges being in the Market-place, upon break of day some Musket-shot were made upon them from a Gallery of the Vice-king's house, at which the Souldiers who were with the Vice-king were so incensed, that they resolved to enter his house by force, and kill all those who opposed them: but the Judges pacified them with good words, and sent Father *Gaspard de Carvajal*, Superior of the Order of *S. Dominick*, and *Antonio de Robles*, Brother of *Martin de Robles*, to let the Vice-king know that they had no other intention than only to conserve themselves from Majesty. And that if he pleaded without farther contest to come into the great Church, they would there attend him; otherwise he would put himself into manifest danger, with all those who adhered to him. Whilst these Messengers were gone to the Vice-king, the hundred Souldiers who were of his Guard forsook him, and revolted also to the Judges; and then the Souldiers, finding the entrance open and easie, began to plunder the Servants Chambers which were in the Court-yard. About this time *Dr. Carate*, coming out of his Chamber to joyne with the Vice-king, met the Judges in the way, and seeing that he could not have entrance, he went into the Church with them. The Vice-king, having received his Message, and finding him abandoned by all those in whom he had placed the greatest confidence, he went voluntarily into the Church, and there delivered himself up into the hands of the Judges, who brought him to *Licenciado Cepeda's* House armed as he was with his Coat of Mail and Gantlet; and seeing *Carate* in company with the rest; *What*, said he, *Carate, are you also of this Party? ed, Whosoever hath told you, that I am of that number lies; for it is notoriously known that the Vice-king should speedily be embarked upon one of the Ships, and sent into Spain; lest Gonzalo Picarro, coming thither, and finding him in custody, should kill him, or that the Relations of Agent Suarez should design the like of that kind, the fault of all would be objected unto them: and farther they considered, that in case they should send him away without some force or restraint upon him, he might return ashore, and fall upon them again: what to doe therein they knew not, or what to resolve, so that they seemed to repent of what they had already done. Howsoever there was no other remedy now but they must proceed; and so they made *Licenciado Cepeda* their Captain General, who, with a strong Guard, conducted the King to the Sea-side, with intent to put him aboard a Ship; but herein they found some difficulty: for *Diego Alvarez Cuervo*, who was at that time Admiral of the Fleet, seeing great numbers of people on the shoar, and that they were bringing the Vice-king prisoner, sent Captain *Geronimo Cortezano* in his Long-boat armed with Small-shot, and some Petre-ros's in the head, to command all the Boats belonging to the Fleet to come aboard the Admiral; and with them he went to require the Judges to set the Vice-king at liberty: but this action produced little effect, onely some Shot were interchanged between the Sea and the Town, and so the Admiral returned again to his Ship. After which the Judges sent off a Boat to *Cuervo*, to require him to surrender the Fleet to them, with the Children of the Marquis, and that then they would deliver the Vice-king into his hands to be carried away with one of the Ships; and if not, that he must expect the sequel thereof. This Message was carried with consent of the Vice-king by *Friar Gaspard de Carvajal*, who at the Ship-side openly declared it, in the presence of *Yaca de Castro*, who was then a Prisoner on board; which when *Diego Alvarez Cuervo* heard; and considered the danger the Vice-king was in, he presently landed the Children of the Marquis in the Boats belonging to the Fleet together with *Don Antonio* and his Wife; which being done, the Judges farther required a surrender of the whole Fleet, or otherwise they threatened to cut off the Head of the Vice-king. During this Treaty, the Admiral and the Judges; and seeing that the Captains of the Ships resolved not to abandon their Charge, they returned with the Vice-king to the City under a very strong Guard. Two days after which, the Captains of the Fleet, under intelligence, that the Judges and Souldiers were contriving means how to surprise the Fleet by sending a strong Party of Musquetiers in Boats to attack them: for*

for in regard they found that they could not prevail on *Geronimo Curbano*, nor corrupt him by the great Offers they made to him; and that the Seamen and Souldiers being *Biscayners* were faithful to *Cuero* their Commander; the Judges then resolved to reduce them by force; which when the Captains understood, they resolved to make sail out of the Port, and pass their time upon the Coast, until his Majesty's Orders came to direct such course as might tend to a Settlement, of those disturbances. Farther they considered, that atwell in the City as over all the Kingdom there was a Party well affected to the Vice-king, who had not been concerned in his imprisonment: and that many of the true and loyal Subjects to his Majesty came daily in to their side, and flocked aboard the Ships. That the Fleet was indifferently well provided, having ten or twelve rounds of Iron Shot and four of Copper, and above forty quintals of Gun-powder: moreover they had four hundred quintals of Bisket, five hundred bushels of Mayz, and a good stock of salt Victuals, which Provision would serve for a long time; and then of Water they could not be hindered, that being to be had along the Coast in all parts and places: but then in regard their force was weak, not having above twenty five Souldiers on board, and that the number of their Mariners was not sufficient to manage ten sail of Ships, they set fire to four of the lesser Vessels, and also to two Fisher-boats which lay on the shoar, and so with the six remaining Ships they made sail into the Sea. The four Ships burned down to the Water, because there was no possibility of going out to quench them; but the two Boats were in a manner saved, for being taken in time, the Fire was put out, and they received no damage but what was easie to be repaired. The six Ships sailed away, and made for Port *Guanra*, about eighteen leagues to the lee-ward of *Los Reyes*, where they provided themselves with Wood and Water, as their necessities required; and with them they carried *Licenciado Vaca de Castro*; and being at *Guanra* they attended to hear the News of what had been the Issue of the Vice-king's imprisonment. The Judges having advice hereof; and considering that it was not probable the Ships should sail at a far distance whilst the Vice-king was in such danger of his Life; they resolved to send Forces both by Sea and by Land to surprize the Fleet by some way or other: in pursuance of which design they gave it in charge to *Diego Garcia de Alfaro*, an Inhabitant of that City, and who was well experienced in maritime Affairs, to repair the Boats which were saved on the shoar: which being accordingly fitted and lanchd into the Water, they armed them with thirty Musquetiers, and sailed with them along the Coast to lee-ward: and in the mean time *John de Mendoza* and *Ventura Veltran* were sent away by Land with another Detachment, and both these Parties having an eye to each other, they observed that the Fleet was at an Anchor in *Guanra*, which when *Diego Garcia* saw, he privately in the night conveyed himself behind a rock in the Port, not far distant from the Ships, where they could not be seen; in the mean time those who were ashoar began to fire some Guns; which they on board taking to be some Signal ashoar which those of the Vice-king's Party had made who were fled, and were desirous to embark with them; *Vela Nunez* was ordered in the Boat to go ashoar, to discover what the matter was; and being just at the shoar side, but not landed, he was pursued in the rere by *Diego Garcia* and his men; so that being cut off from the rest of the Fleet, *Vela Nunez* was forced to yield himself and Boat into the hands of the enemy; after which they sent to summon *Cuero*, telling him, that unless he yielded, the Fleet into their hands, they were resolved to kill both the Vice-king and *Vela Nunez*: which *Cuero* fearing, surrendered up his Ships against the consent and opinion of *Geronimo Curbano*, who, with the single Ship he had commanded, set sail and made towards the firm Land: for that two days before *Diego Garcia* came thither, *Cuero* had commanded him to fall down the Coast, and seize all the Ships they met, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Judges: who, from the very time that the Fleet departed from *Los Reyes*, resolved to transport the Vice-king to a certain Island about two Leagues distant from that Port, there to secure him from the violence of the Agent's kindred who had attempted to kill him; and therefore they sent him away with a Guard of twenty men upon a sort of Boats made of dry Ruthes, which the *Indians* call *Huaca*. And, having advices of taking the Fleet, they determined to send the Vice-king to his Majesty, in the condition of a Prisoner, with all the Informations and Depositions made against him which *Licenciado Alvarez*, one of the Judges, was to carry; and for his reward, and to bear his charges,

charges eight thousand Pieces of Eight were paid him; the which Depositions and Process against the Vice-king were signed by all the Judges, *Carate* onely excepted. The Ships being then at *Guanra* the Vice-king was carried thither by Boat, but *Alvarez* went by Land, where the Vice-king being committed to his charge, he sailed away with three of the Ships, and was so much in haste that he would not stay for the dispatches from the Judicature, but made Sail without them; and as to *Vaca de Castro* he was carried back to *Los Reyes* upon one of the Ships which were lately seized. Thus far are the words of *Carate* specified in the eleventh Chapter of the fifth Book, whose authority in this relation we shall more particularly follow, in regard he was present and a party concerned in all these transactions; so we shall omit the sayings of other Authours in this matter, unless something singular occurs on which *Carate* doth not touch.

C H A P. XVI.

The sad misfortunes of the Vice-king. A Conspiracy in Rimac against the Judges, and what was done thereupon. The Vice-king is set at liberty.

ALL that is before declared is confirmed by *Gomara*, though in a confused manner; who farther proceeds in this manner in the 160th Chapter of his Book, wherein he sets forth the sad misfortunes of the unhappy Vice-king. When the Admiral, says he, refused to surrender up the Ships to save the life of the Vice-king, they then treated him with opprobrious words, telling him, that a man who brought such Laws as those deserved the reward he now received; whereas if he had come without them he had been honoured and adored; but they returned him again into the hands of *Cepeda*, with such reproaches as these in custody of *Licenciado Nimmo*: howsoever he did always eat with *Cepeda*, and lodged in the same Bed with him: but *Blasco Nunez*, fearing at this time to be poisoned, asked *Cepeda* upon the word of a Gentleman, when they first did eat together, whether he might freely and without danger eat with him? the which question was put to him in presence of *Christopher de Barrientos*, *Martin de Robles*, *Nimmo* and other principal persons; to which *Cepeda* returned answer, am I, said he, without some secret treachery? Your Lordship, said he, may eat as freely as if you were at the Table of my Lady *Donna Brianda de Acumna*, meaning his Wife; and to free you from all jealousy I will be your Taster, the which he observed all the time that he remained in his House.

One day *Friar Gaspar de Carvajal* came to him and told him, that by order of the Judges he was come to confess him: the Vice-king asked whether *Cepeda* was there, and it being answered that he was not, and that there was no others than the three afore-mentioned, he caused him to be called, and complained to him of his hard fate; but *Cepeda* comforted him, and assured him that there was none had power to take away his life but himself onely, the which he spake on assurance of what had been agreed amongst them; and then *Blasco Nunez* embraced and kissed him on the Cheek in presence of the *Friar*. Thus far are the words of *Gomara*, which we have extracted verbatim: and indeed if we consider it, 'tis a sad passage. That one elected to be a Prince and Governour of an Empire so great as *Peru*, should be reduced to such miseries as he was by his own Creatures and Confidants.

This *Father Gaspar de Carvajal* was the *Friar* of whom we made mention formerly in the story of *Francisco Orellana*, in what manner he opposed him in his treacherous design against *Gonzalo Pizarro*, when they were upon the discovery of the Cinamon Countrey; and how he was left upon the *Trinity* Island, and returned

ned afterwards to *Peru*, where he declared the many hardships they had sustained in that discovery.

And upon this occasion I take leave to report a strange accident, which befell a certain Gentleman named *Don John de Mendoza*, of whom we made mention in a former Chapter, and whom I knew an Inhabitant in *Cusco*; which story, because it is curious, and perhaps not rarely happening in the world before, 'tis fit it should be known, and the memory thereof conferred. This Gentleman, I say, upon a solemn Festival, throwing the Dart on Horseback in the Market-place of *Mexico*, before he passed to *Peru*; for he was one of those Gallants who accompanied the famous *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and running with his Horse full speed, just as he was rising on his stirrups to throw his Dart with all his force, his Horse on a sudden made a full stop, and he being a tall and a flimm man, and weak in the knees, was cast over the Horse's head, with his feet hanging in the stirrups, and his hands on the ground to save his face; in which condition he had ran great hazard of his life, had not some Friends who were near him, (amongst which my Lord and Master *Gargilasso de la Vega* was one) come timely to his assistance. Pardon this short digression for the strangeness of the accident; and so we shall return again to our History.

During the time that the Vice-king remained a Prisoner at the Island, which is distant about two leagues from the Port, *Don Alonso de Monte-mayor* (as *Aguilino de Carate* reports in the twelfth Chapter of his fifth Book) together with those who were sent in pursuit of Father *Loaysa* returned, some of which the Judges seized upon and imprisoned, and others of them they disarmed, and imprisoned them with several others who came from *Cusco* in the Houses of Captain *Martin de Robles* and of other Citizens; and being thus ill-treated, they laid a Plot to kill the Judges and set the Vice-king at liberty, restoring him to his power and authority, which they contrived in this manner: It was ordered that in the night some Muskets should be fired in the House of *Martin de Robles*, which should be a signal to Serjeant, *Francis de Aguirre*, who then kept Guard in *Licenciado Cepeda's* House to kill him, and immediately to possess and keep the avenues and corners of every Street with Souldiers, and send a Party into the Market-place, which giving an alarm to Doctor *Texada* and *Licenciado Alvarez*, 'tis probable they would come forth to relieve *Cepeda*, when they would be ready to kill them, and then they would immediately raise the City and declare for the King; the which had certainly succeeded accordingly, had not one who was a Native of *Madrid*, and appointed to act in the Plot, discovered all to *Cepeda*, about an hour before the design was to be put in execution. Immediately hereupon *Cepeda* issued out Warrants to seize the chief of those who were concerned in the Plot, namely *Don Alonso de Monte-mayor*, *Paul de Meneses* a Citizen of *Talavera*, Captain *Caceres*, *Alonso de Barrionuevo*, with others, who were Servants to the Vice-king; and having examined the matter *Barrionuevo* was condemned to die, but upon farther consideration, his Sentence was to have his right Hand cut off, having been the first contriver in this Conspiracy; and thus this insurrection was suppressed. Thus far *Carate*.

To which we may farther add, That though the Judges found divers others guilty of that mutiny, whom they might justly have punished with death, yet not to appear bloody and tyrannical, which might be occasion of new Plots and Conspiracies, and also upon the intercession of divers principal Persons of the City of *Los Reyes*, they altered the Sentence against *Barrionuevo*, as we have before declared, and banished *Alonso de Monte-mayor* and others his Complices from the City into divers parts Northwards from thence. All which afterward joyned with the Vice-king, and accompanied him in all his misfortunes, which proved the ruine of many of them. After which *Carate* proceeds on with the History in this manner,

The news of these passages as they every day succeeded were carried to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, supposing that upon intelligence of these matters he would presently disband his Army: but he was far from that intention, because he imagined that the rumour of the Vice-king's imprisonment was divulged with design to disperse his People, that being abandoned and deserted by all, they might dispose of his own Person at their pleasure; which caused him to keep his Forces together, and to march more orderly and cautiously than before. But *Licenciado Alvarez*, who was embarked with the Vice-king, being conscious to himself that he had been a chief promoter and actor in the designs against him, and in the punishment of

Tirar canons is a sport in Spain much used on Horseback, and which the Spaniards learned from the Moors, used also by the Turks.

of those who had plotted to set him at liberty, and being desirous to reconcile himself to him, went the same day that he made Sail, and was at Sea, unto the Cabin of the Vice-king, and there, to excuse himself, told him, that the Office he had undertaken was with intent to doe him service, and to free him out of the hands of *Cepeda*, and from the danger of falling into the power of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, of his reality in this matter, he entirely resigned to him the command of the Ship, together with his liberty, and that he himself was at his disposal, and de- he confessed to have been great in his confederacy with others against him, and that the merit of restoring him to life and liberty might atone and satisfy for his former crimes; and accordingly he gave Orders to the ten men, whom he brought with him for Guards to the Vice-king, that they should henceforward observe and follow the commands of his Lordship. The Vice-king returned him thanks, and told him that he accepted the proffer, and accordingly took the command of the Ship and Arms, and carried himself fair towards him for a while; but this good humour lasted not long before he began to treat him with more rude terms, calling him Villain, Mutinier, and other opprobrious names, swearing that he would hang him, and though he reprieved him for the present, it was onely because he had occasion for his service. And this kind of deportment he used towards him, during the time they were in company together, sailing along the Coast to the City of *Truxillo*, where many things happened which we shall hereafter relate. Thus far *Carate*, whose words we have repeated *verbatim*, and who proceeds farther in this relation in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book:

C H A P. XVII.

The Summons which the Judges sent to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and the misfortunes which befell those who deserted his Cause.

Alvarez having set Sail and at Sea, it was reported at *Los Reyes* that he and the Vice-king were agreed, to which they gave the greater credit, by some circumstances in his behaviour before he departed; and more especially because he did not expect the dispatches which the Judges were preparing, and which *Carate* had purposely delayed with pretence that they should be forwarded the day following. This matter much troubled the Judges, for that this *Alvarez* had been the chief promoter and instrument of the Vice-king's imprisonment, and had been more concerned therein than any of the others: but whilst they were doubtful of the meaning and intention of *Alvarez*, it was thought fit to send a message to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, giving him information of what had succeeded, and to require him, by virtue of their Commission from the King, whereby they were authorized and empowered to administer Justice, and to order and command such things as tended to the peace and welfare of that Countrey, that he should immediately disband his Army and repair to the City, in regard they had already suspended the execution of the new Laws, which was the sum of the Petition for which they came, and had sent the Vice-king into *Spain*, which was a point of higher satisfaction than they had demanded or pretended unto before: wherefore in regard all matters were appeased, they required him to come in a peaceable manner without an Army; and in case he should desire to have a Guard for the security of his Person, he might, if he pleased, come attended with fifteen or twenty Horse. This command being dispatched away, the Judges would have seconded it by some Citizens for the better countenance of the matter, but there was none that would accept the Office, apprehending some danger might be in it; saying, that they might be blamed by *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Party for taking upon them such a message to them, who pretended to come for the security of their Estates against

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such as in general were enemies to them. Hereupon the Judges sent Instructions to *Augustine Carate*, Accountant General of the Kingdom, that he together in company with *Don Antonio de Ribera*, an inhabitant of that City, should go and signify these matters, for which he was authorized by the Credentials which were given him: and accordingly they departed, and travelled as far as the Valley of *Xauxa*, where *Gonzalo Pizarro* was encamped; who being already informed of the message which they brought, which he knew would be unwelcome to his People, for they apprehending that this message was brought with intention to disband them, and thereby defeat them of the hopes they had to sack and plunder the City of *Lima*; might probably thereupon fall into a mutiny; to prevent which *Jeronimo Pillegus*, Captain of *Pizarro's* own Company, was dispeised away with thirty *Mulqueters* mounted on Horseback to intercept the messengers in their way; and having met them coming, they suffered *Antonio de Ribera* to proceed to the Camp; but they stopped *Augustine de Carate*; and took his dispatches from him, and returned him back by the same way that he came, as far as the Province of *Pariacaca*, where they detained him Prisoner for the space of ten days, with terrors and threats, unless he desisted from farther prosecution of his Message; and in this condition he remained until such time as *Gonzalo Pizarro* arrived there with his Camp. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, who are again confirmed by other Authors, who proceed and say, That those of the Corporation of the City of *Los Reyes*, made choice of *Don Antonio de Ribera* and *Augustine de Carate* Accountant General, because they were both men acceptable to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and the least suspected by him; for that *Don Antonio* was as it were his Brother-in-law, having married the Widow of *Francisco Martin de Alcantara*, Brother to the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and *Carate* was a Person, who being a stranger in the Country, had no engagements or obligations in any part of the Country; for which cause, as we said, they suffered *Don Antonio* to pass, by reason of his alliance, but the Accountant *Carate* was stopped by them. Thus much is confirmed by *Diego Fernandez*, who adds farther in the twenty fourth Chapter of his Book. That at the Council held by *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Captains, to consider of the Answer which was to be returned to the Message sent by the Judges, they only touched upon one point thereof, to which *Francisco de Carvajal* like a great Officer and Soldier made this reply, That whereas the Judges did require that *Gonzalo Pizarro* should come to them with a Guard onely of fifteen or twenty Horse, they understood it to be so many in a Rank, to which interpretation all the Captains in the Council agreed, and concluded that it was necessary for the welfare of the Publick to create *Gonzalo Pizarro* chief Governour, and in all other things they would comply with the Judges, and that in case they should refuse to accept these Proposals, they were resolved to put the City to Fire and Sword, &c. Thus far *Diego Fernandez* *Palentino*.

But now to return to *Gravriel de Rojas*, and *Garcilasso de la Vega*, and other Inhabitants and Gentlemen of *Cusco*, who deserted *Gonzalo Pizarro* and were fled to *Arequipa*, whence not finding passage by Sea they travelled along by the Sea coast, and being at length arrived at *Los Reyes*, they found themselves much at a loss, for that the Vice-king, whose fortune they intended to follow, was already taken, and embarked by force for *Spain*; and whereas the Judges had a chief hand in this Conspiracy against the Vice-king, and thereby seemed rather to incline to the Faction of *Gonzalo Pizarro* than to *Blasco Nunez Vela*, they were resolved not to engage with them. Though if we impartially consider of these matters, we shall find that the intention of the Judges was not as ill-Tongues scandalously reported, but was to prevent worse and more dangerous consequences, proceeding from the Vice-king, who was abhorred and hated by all men of Estates and Interest in that Country, against whom he came chiefly to put the new Laws in execution. Howsoever these Gentlemen, looking with a prejudicial eye upon those things which the Judges had acted, refused to joyn with them whom they esteemed to be favourers of the cause of *Pizarro*. And whereas no Party appeared to set up the Royal interest, they knew not unto whom they might adhere; for they found themselves in the power of their enemies, not being able to escape from them either by Sea or Land: for after the Vice-king's imprisonment all the Country declared for *Pizarro*; but the greatest number of the contrary party remained in the City of *Los Reyes*, not having any other place whereunto to repair; others absconded themselves amongst their Friends and Relations; for having been all engaged

engaged in the conquest of that Kingdom, their mutual concernment for each other was such as to favour one the other to their utmost power; but others who would not trust themselves in the Town removed far from it, and lived amongst the Indians, the which proved the more secure course, for thereby they saved their lives, whilst many others were put to death by the cruelty of the adverse Party. And indeed this was the misfortune of *Lewis de Ribera*, and of *Antonio Alvarez*, and of twenty four or twenty five Gentlemen more, who were all Inhabitants of the City of *Plata*, which is about thirty Leagues distant from *Los Reyes*, who came with design to serve the King: and having passed and endured great hardships in their travails and difficulties to avoid falling into the hands of *Pizarro* and his people, they came at length near to *Los Reyes*, where they received the unwelcome News of the misfortunes of the Vice-king; how, and in what manner, he was imprisoned, embarked and sent to Sea; with this sad intelligence they gave themselves for lost; for neither durst they adventure into the City, because all the Country had declared for *Pizarro*, nor did they think it Prudence, voluntarily to trust themselves in the power of the enemy: Wherefore every one took his proper course and shifted for himself. The like many other Gentlemen did, who came to serve his Majesty under the Vice-king, so that they were scattered and dispersed over all the Country. And some not esteeming themselves safe in the Parts of *Peru*, fled to the Mountains of *Antis*, where they were famished or devoured by *Tigers*; others were taken by the salvage Indians, not as yet conquered and sacrificed to their Idols. Thus men out of fear of falling into the hands of their Enemies precipitated themselves into desperate Courses, esteeming *Barbarians* and wild Beasts to have more Bowels of compassion than Tyrants. This direfull effect had the immoderate and ungoverned Passion of the Vice-king, for had he been a man of any temper, he had surmounted all his difficulties, and had been defended by the powerfull succours of the Rich, Noble, and Persons of the greatest Interest, who were the Flower of *Cusco*, and the *Charcas*; when on the contrary, both he and his party were lost, being exposed to the Cruelties of War and to the mercy of their Enemies, who put many of them to death.

C H A P. XVIII.

Gonzalo Pizarro comes to the City of Los Reyes. Several Citizens of note are put to death, because the Judges delayed to proclaim Pizarro Governour.

AND now *Pizarro*, taking short marches towards the City of *Los Reyes*, by reason of the great Incumbrance of Cannon which he had with him, came at length to the Province called *Pariacaca*, where *Augustine Carate* was lately stopped and detained; and there called him before him to relate the Message which he brought to him; which *Carate*, in the thirteenth Chapter of his fifth Book, declares in these words, I said he, knowing the danger I was in of my life, did in the first place communicate the business I had in charge to *Pizarro* in private; who afterwards caused me to be introduced into the Tent, where all his Captains were assembled, and there commanded me to declare that which I had before imparted unto him. And *Carate* saith farther, that being informed of the mind of *Pizarro*, he made use of his Letters of Credence from the Judges, to declare in their behalf and in their names many things tending to his Majesty's Service and for the good and benefit of the Country: particularly, that since the Vice-king was embarked, and sent away, whereby their desires were allowed and granted, That they should make good unto his Majesty the Treasure which *Blasco Nunez Vela* had consumed and spent, as they had already made known by their Letters: that a Pardon should be granted to the Citizens of *Cusco*, who had revolted from his Camp to serve the Vice-king, which might easily be granted, considering the Justice of their Cause: And that Messengers should be sent to his Majesty, to inform

form him of the state of Affairs, and of all the passages which had occurred, and to excuse whatsoever had passed, with many other things of this nature. To which Particulars no other Answer was given, than that he should tell the Judges, that for the good of the Countrey, it was requisite to make *Pizarro* Governour thereof; and when that was done, they would then take such other Measures for the publick good, as should be proposed by them; and on the contrary, in case of refusal, they would give up the City of *Los Reyes* to be plundered and sacked by the Souldiery. With this Answer *Carate* returned to the Judges, who were troubled to receive a Message so contrary to their expectations, and so plain and publick a Declaration of the mind of *Pizarro*, whom they once believed to be better inclined, and to have no other designs and pretensions, than onely the expulsion of the Vice-king, and the suspension of the new Laws; wherefore in answer to this demand they returned a message to the Captains, giving them to understand, that having considered of their Proposals, they knew not how to grant or treat on them, unless they were delivered in writing according to the usual methods and way of proceedings in those matters. When this matter was known, all the Representatives of the several Cities which were going to the Camp returned back again, and joining with those of other Corporations, who were then assembled at *Los Reyes*, gave in a Petition to the Judges sitting on the Bench, desiring a concession of what was verbally required. The Judges considered hereof, as a matter of great concernment and dangerous, for they had no Commission to warrant them in this Declaration, nor had they liberty or power at that time to refuse it: for *Pizarro* had made by this time a very near approach to the City, and had possessed himself of all the ways and avenues thereunto: so that in this strait and difficulty they resolved to consult with the persons of greatest power and authority in the City, and to desire their opinion and concurrence with them, a memorial whereof they sent to *Friar Geronimo de Losa* Archbishop of *Los Reyes*, to *Friar John Salado* Archbishop of *Cusco*, to *Garcia Diaz* Bishop of *Quito*, to *Friar Thomas de San Martin* Provincial of the *Dominicans*, and to *Augustine Carate* Accountant, Treasurer and Comptroller of His Majesty's revenue, desiring their opinion and sense in this matter of high concernment; not that they were to seek or doubtful in what could legally be done or required, or that they were at liberty to grant or refuse what *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Captains required, but only that these persons might bear their part in the burthen, and become Witnesses that what they granted to *Pizarro* was extorted by force, and not yielded by a voluntary consent.

Whilst these matters were debating *Gonzalo Pizarro* advanced within a quarter of a League of the City, where he pitched his Camp and planted his Batteries of Cannon: and perceiving that they delayed to answer his Demands, he sent the night following thirty Musquetiers under the command of one of his chief Officers unto the City; who there seized upon twenty eight persons who came from *Cusco*, and others, against whom he had a quarrel for taking part with the Vice-king: amongst which were *Graviel de Rojas*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Melchior Verdugo*, *Dr. Carvajal* and *Peter del Barco*, *Martin de Florencia*, *Aloiso de Carceres*, *Peter de Manjares*, *Lewis de Leon*, *Anthony Rojas de Guevara*, with several other persons of quality in that Countrey, whom he committed to the common Prison; of which taking the keys and possession, they turned out the *Alcade*, and took the whole power out of the hands of the Judges, who were not able to contradict or withstand the Power which was against them; for in the whole City there were not fifty men of the Sword; for those Parties which once declared for the Vice-king and the Judges were now revolted to the Camp of *Pizarro*, with which, and with the men he brought with him, he made up twelve hundred men, all well equipped and armed; in confidence of which force, some of the Captains came to the City, and plainly told the Judges, that unless they speedily dispatched their business and proclaimed *Pizarro* Governour, they would put all the City to Fire and Sword, and that they should be the first with whom they would begin.

The Judges excused themselves as much as they were able, saying, That they had no power to do any such thing; whereupon *Carvajal*, the Officer that was sent, immediately took four persons of those who were committed to Prison; three of which, namely, *Peter de Barco*, *Martin de Florencia*, and *John de Saavedra*, and hanged them together on a Tree near to the City, reproaching them with opprobrious and bitter language at the time of their death, not giving to these three so much as half an hour's time to make their confession and prepare their souls for death;

death; telling *Peter del Barco* particularly, who was the last of the three which he hanged; That in regard he had been a Captain, and one of the Conquerours of that Countrey, and was a person of quality, and one of the richest in those parts, he would grant him this privilege at his death, to chuse which of the boughs he pleased for his gallows. But to *Lewis de Leon* his Life was granted at the Intercession of a brother of his, who was a Souldier in *Gonzalo Pizarro's* Army, and who begged it as a special grace and favour unto him.

The Judges being terrified with this piece of Cruelty, and fearing lest the like sentence should be executed on all the others who were then in prison, and that the City should be given up for a prey to the Souldiery, in case they deferred longer to perform their demands. They with all earnestness sent to the persons to whose Councils they had referred themselves in this matter, that they should immediately give in their opinions: whereupon every one, *nemine contradicente*, gave their Votes; that the Government should be conferred on *Gonzalo Pizarro*, which the Judges instantly made known to him; surrendering up to him all the Power of that Province: unill such time as his Majesty's pleasure should be known therein: And hereupon they renounced their Commissions of hearing and determining Causes, and resigned all into the Governours hands, giving security to reside in the City, and sit on the Bench; and hear all Causes and Actions of complaint which should be brought before them. Thus far *Augustine de Carate*.

And here we will cut short the Thread of this Discourse, lest we should seem over tedious in this Chapter.

C H A P. XIX.

Gonzalo Pizarro is proclaimed Governour of Peru, His Entry into the City of Los Reyes. The death of Captain Gumiel. The Citizens of Cusco are set at Liberty.

THE execution of *Pedro del Barco*, *Martin de Florencia*, and *John de Saavedra* made a great noise, and was occasion of much discontent and murmurings both in the City and in the Camp: for (as *Diego Fernandez de Carvajal* reports in the twenty fifth Chapter of his Book) the people apprehended, that as *Francisco de Carvajal* had been so bloody as to kill those three, he would farther proceed in his Tragedy to the death of all the others who were imprisoned for the like cause: for which reason many of the Citizens of *Rimao* and Captains and Souldiers of the Army made their Addresses to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, beseeching him not to suffer the effusion of so much Noble Blood, and of persons who had been Instruments and engaged in the Conquest of the Empire; for such an Act of Cruelty would render him odious to the whole World. Whereupon *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who was a person of a tender and flexible nature, gave immediately a very rich Medal and a Ring to be carried to *Francisco Carvajal* (who well knew that both of them belonging to *Pizarro*) to serve for a token and sign to him to desist from farther spilling of Blood.

But as to the particulars of what is related farther concerning the death of those men whom *Carvajal* put to death; I have learned from those who were then present, that those Citizens were put to death solely by the will and authority of *Carvajal*, without the order, privy or knowledge of *Gonzalo Pizarro*. For all the Commission which he had was this, that he should goe, and quiet the people; for understanding that all the City being in great contention, were ready to rejoice at his Arrival. *Carvajal*, who well enough understood his meaning replied to him, saying, I promise your Lordship, that I will so order Matters, that they shall be obliged to goe forth and meet you: to perform and make good his word, (according to the Martial way of expression) he hanged the three men in the way where *Pizarro* was to pass, which he called the meeting of him, and said, that this

was the only means to afflict the Judges and the whole City, and to hasten them in their Votes to proclaim *Pizarro* Governour, as all the Representatives of the Kingdom desired. But the truth is *Gonzalo Pizarro* was much troubled to understand of the death of these three persons, whom he caused to be taken from the Trees, before he passed that way; declaring that he had no hand in that execution, and that he neither commanded the same, nor knew thereof. And it is farther said by *Diego Fernandez* in the twenty fifth Chapter of his Book, that the Decree proclaiming *Gonzalo Pizarro* Governour was generally pleasing both to the City and to the Army; because it was the common opinion of all, that in that conjuncture, nothing could tend more to the settlement and quiet of the Kingdom than that: And moreover, it was believed that his Majesty would confirm him therein, in consideration of the great services which his brother, the Marquis had performed to the Crown; as also for other Causes which they alleged in favour and honour of *Gonzalo Pizarro* himself: For now fortune being of his side, the people began to speak favourably of him; and he, carrying himself with pretences of restoring to them their Liberty, was generally cryed up and beloved of all; and especially succeeding the Vice-king, who was hated and detested by all mankind. Thus far are the words of *Diego Fernandez*: After which *Carate*, in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book, proceeds, and says:

The Instrument for constituting *Pizarro* Governour being passed; he made his Entry into the City in State and triumph. In the first place, Captain *Bachicao* led the Van-guard with two and twenty Pieces of Cannon made for the field, which were carried on the Shoulders of six thousand *Indians* (as we have mentioned before) with all the other train of Artillery and Ammunition thereunto belonging, and as they marched they fired the Cannon in the Streets; and for Guard to the Artillery thirty Musketeers and fifty Gunners were appointed.

After which followed the Company under command of Captain *Diego Gumiell*, which consisted of two hundred Pique-men, after which followed Captain *Guevara* with a hundred and fifty Musketeers; and then came the Company of *Pedro Cermeno* consisting of two hundred Harquebusers, immediately after which followed *Gonzalo Pizarro* himself with three Companies of Foot, attending like Foot-men by his side; and he mounted on a very fine Horse, and clothed with a Coat of Mail, over which he wore a thin Coat of cloth of gold; after him marched three Captains with their Troops of Horse, in midst of which *Dos Pedro Porto Carrero* supported the Royal Standard; on his right hand *Antonio Almiran* carried the Ensign of *Cuzco*, and on the left *Pedro de Puellas* carried the Colours in which the Arms of *Pizarro* were painted; after which all the Cavalry followed armed in form and point of War. And in this order they marched to the house of *Licenciado Carate*, where the other Judges were assembled, (which was a default on *Carate's* side, for he ought rather to have received him in the place of publick Judicature) but here *Pizarro* leaving his Forces drawn up in the open Market-place, went up into the Chamber where the Judges attended, and received him with due order and respect, and having taken the Oath, and given the Security which is usual; he went to the Town-house, where the Mayor, Sheriffs and other Officers received him with the accustomed Solemnities; and thence he went to his own Lodgings; and in the mean time the Officers quartered the Soldiers both Horse and Foot in the private houses of the Citizens, giving order that they should entertain them upon Free-quarter.

This entry of *Pizarro* into the City, and his reception there, happened towards the end of the month of October 1544, being forty days after the imprisonment of the Vice-king; and from that time forward *Pizarro* attended wholly to the management of his martial Affairs, and to matters relating thereunto, leaving all civil Causes and proceedings in Law to the Judges, who held their Courts in the House of the Treasurer *Aloño Riquelme*. And then he sent to *Cuzco* for his Deputy *Aloño de Toro*, to *Arequipa* for *Pedro de Tuentes*, to the Villa de *Plata* for *Francisco de Almenaras*, and to other Cities for the principal Governours thereof. Thus far are the words of *Augustine Carate*. To which *Fernandez Palentino* in the sixteenth Chapter of his Book adds and says, That *Diego Centeno* having accompanied *Gonzalo Pizarro* in quality of Procurator for the Town of *Plata*, as far as *Los Reyes*, he there found that *Pizarro* had preferred his great Friend *Francisco de Almenaras* to be Captain and chief Justiciary of that Town; and therefore he desired him to move *Pizarro* that he might be dismissed and go along with him to the Villa de *la Plata*, because

because his House and Estate was in those parts; which license being obtained, they travelled together to the *Charcas*, where some time afterwards, when *Diego Centeno* declared for the King, he surprised and killed him: and though in excuse hereof it may be alleged that it was done for the King's service, yet he can never wipe off that blot of Ingratitude; for during the time of the Conquest, when *Diego Centeno* came very young into the Country, he was supported and provided for in all his necessities, and in the time of his sickness, by *Francisco de Almenaras*, who was a rich, and a principal person of quality in those days, and took the same care of him as if he had been his Son; the which benefits and kindnesses *Diego Centeno* publicly owned, and when they were in private he to be branded with Ingratitude, unless the publick concernment for his Prince be able to untie and abolish all other private obligations and endearments whatsoever.

Gonzalo Pizarro, finding himself now invested in his Power and Government, which he held both by virtue of the Royal Grant given to his Brother the Marquis, in whose right he pretended thereunto, and now by the consent and election of the Judges, began to give out his own Commission to Officers both Military and Civil, and to sit and hear Causes, which he dispatched with great readiness and satisfaction of the whole City; but these smooth and cheerful proceedings were mixed with their troubles and misfortunes. For Captain *Diego Gumiell*, who until this time had always shewed himself zealous and passionate in the cause of *Pizarro*, began to alter his humour, and speak against him, because he had refused to grant him a piece of Land with a Command over *Indians*, which he had asked of him in behalf of a certain Friend of his: and with that occasion he railed against the Judges, saying, that they had unjustly taken away the Government heritage descended from his Father, in virtue of a Grant from his Majesty, to confer it upon one who had no right nor title thereunto; and for that reason he declared, that he would use his utmost endeavours that the Son of the Marquis might recover his own Inheritance. *Gumiell* frankly discounting at this rate, with length the reports thereof coming to the ears of *Pizarro*, he vented his passion, at Orders to his Major-General that he should examine this matter, and take such course as might restrain the licentious Tongue of that Captain for the future. It is certain, that the meaning of *Pizarro* was not to put *Gumiell* to death, though *Carvajal* put that interpretation upon it; and having asked some questions about the matter, and hearing them confirmed, went directly to *Gumiell's* Lodgings, where without more to doe he strangled him, and drew his Body into the Market-place, saying, give way, Gentlemen, for Captain *Diego Gumiell*, who hath professed and sworn that he will never say the like things again. And thus poor *Gumiell* ended his days, having lost his life by the intemperance of his Tongue, which hath been the ruine of many a man, but good to none.

CHAP. XX.

The Festivals and Rejoycings which were made for *Gonzalo Pizarro*. A general Pardon given to all those who were fled away. The place where *Garçilasso de la Vega* was retired, and how he obtained his Pardon from *Gonzalo Pizarro*.

Pizarro and his Captains, being swelled with the vanity and ostentation of being Governours and supreme Lords of Peru, appointed days of Festival to celebrate their Triumphs, after the manner of Spain; as namely the sport of baiting

ting Bulls, throwing the Dart, and Lotteries; in which latter many drew ingenious Mottoes; or Sayings, and others scurrilous Sentences, like Libels, of which though I remember several, yet I think it not convenient to repeat any of them in this place.

Upon the day of this solemn rejoicing, orders were given to set those Gentlemen at liberty who were the Citizens of *Cusco*, committed to Prison by *Carvajal*, as we mentioned before. Moreover he granted a general Pardon to those who were not as yet come in, only *Licenciado Carvajal* was excepted, because he having been his intimate Friend, had deserted him, and also *Garcilasso de la Vega*, as *Diego Fernandez Palentino* reports in Chap. 27th of his first Book, as also *Agustine de Carate*, but we must take leave to contradict these Authours, who have failed in this particular passage, of which we are able to give a more certain relation. *Gonzalo Pizarro* gave especial order that no man should go out of the City without his license; which *Rodrigo Nunnez* and *Pedro de Prado* demanding they were both put to death, because they gave evil example, and seemed to put jealousies and fears into the minds of the people: and in this manner, we see; that there was no joy without a mixture of sorrow, nor slaughters, nor effusion of blood without rejoicings; which in Civil Wars take their turns and changes.

But to come to the particulars of what happened at that time in the City of *Los Reyes*; we are to take notice, how that at that time *Francisco de Carvajal* seized all the Citizens of *Cusco* who had deserted his cause, excepting only *Garcilasso de la Vega*, who escaped by a mere accident, as the Historians relate: For that very night when *Carvajal* knocked at the door to come in and take him, a certain Souldier went forth to open the door, whose name was *Hernando Perez Tablero*, a Native of the Town of *Alopendra* in the Dukedom of *Feria*, Foster-brother with *Dou Alonso de Vargas* my Uncle by the Father's side. This *Hernando Perez*, who as well for being of the same Countrey; being all of *Espremenas*, as also on score of Relation, for both he and his Father and Grandfather had been Servants unto mine, and he at that time actually in service of *Garcilasso de la Vega*, my Lord and Father; knowing *Francisco Carvajal* by his voice, without making any answer returned immediately to my Father, and told him that *Carvajal* was at the Gate knocking to come in: whereupon my Father made his escape out of the House as well as he could, and fled to the Convent of *St. Domingo*, where the Friars received and concealed him in a little private place, where he remained for the space of four months.

Carvajal having some intelligence that he was absconded in the Monastery, and the rather suspecting it, because it was near to his House, took some Souldiers with him, and searched every private place and corner, that no place seemed to be undiscovered, unless the whole House had been thrown down; and herein they used all the diligence imaginable; for *Gonzalo Pizarro* conceived all the malice and despatch against him that was possible, and therefore endeavoured to take him and put him to death: for he often complained of him, and said, that they had been Comrades together in the conquest of *Cuzco* and the *Chiracis*, had eaten at the same Table, and slept in the same Chamber together, and by reason of such obligations he should never have deserted and denied his cause, much less have been the Head of a Faction against him, and a means to persuade others to forsake his Party.

Moreover *Carvajal* made four other searches after *Garcilasso*, and at one time he lifted up the hanging on the side of the High Altar, where was a nick or corner where they lodged the most Holy Sacrament, and there was a poor Souldier hid, and crouched up in a dark hole; but *Carvajal* perceiving that it was not the person for whom he sought, let down the Hanging again, crying aloud, the person is not here for whom we seek. A while after came another of his Souldiers, called *Porras*, who being desirous to shew himself more diligent and officious than ordinary, lifted up the Hanging of the High Altar, and there discovered the poor Souldier whom *Carvajal* had purposely over-looked; but *Porras*, so soon as he espied him, cried out, here is the Traitor, here is the Traitor. *Carvajal* was troubled that he was found out, but in regard he was a principal Leader of the Faction against *Pizarro*, he could not do less than take notice of him; and so drawing him forth from his retirement, caused him to be confessed by the Friars of the Convent, and then hanged him up; but *Porras* did not escape the vengeance of Heaven for this Fact, as we shall understand by the sequel.

At

At another time it happened out, That *Carvajal* so unexpectedly came into the Monastery to make another search, That *Garcilasso de la Vega* was altogether surprized, not knowing where to retire; but hastily ran into an empty Cell, where was no Bed nor other furniture under which he might cover himself; only some Shelves of Books covered with a Curtain just fronting to the Door, and a that; and there my Father thrust and crouded himself. Two or three of those empty, and believing that the Shelves were fastned to the Wall, so that nothing could enter between, they went out again, saying, he is not here: Many of these hazardous Adventures my Father ran, whilst *Gonzalo Pizarro* was at *Los Reyes*, during which time his Friends, (of which he had many) interceded for him with *Gonzalo Pizarro* to obtain his pardon, and at length prevailed to have him pardoned as to his Life, upon condition that he should not see him nor come into his presence; saying, that he ought not to be admitted thereunto, who had violated all the Laws of Friendship, Society and relation of Countrey-men: but having thus far obtained his Pardon, he came out of the Monastery, and retired privately into a Chamber, where he remained several days, until the importunity of Friends so far prevailed, that *Pizarro* in his behalf to grant him a complete Pardon, and admittance to his presence; after which he kept him always in his company, under the notion of a Prisoner, not suffering him to go out of his House or eat from his Table, and when in the Field, not to lie out of his Tent; and in this condition he continued until the day when the Battel of *Sacabana* was fought. And for this cause, in regard he was always as a Prisoner with *Gonzalo Pizarro*, none of the three Authours make any mention of him in their Histories; but I who was so nearly concerned, fed of his Estate for the space of three years, both he, and I, and the rest of my of well-disposed persons. This nearness which caused *Gonzalo Pizarro* to keep my Father to him, was to secure him that he should not escape from him; and the reason why he entertained him at his Table, because he knew that he had not the wherewith to eat at any other place, and he was so generous as not to suffer him to have the obligation to any but himself. And such was the necessity and want which my Father laboured under at that time, that, after the death of the Vice-king, being in the City of *Peru*, he bought a Horse of a Souldier, who was called *Salinas*, and therefore they called the Horse *Salinillas*, which proved to be one of the finest Horses in all *Peru*, and cost eight hundred pieces of Eight, which makes nine hundred and sixty Ducats; and though he had not one farthing of his own to pay for him, yet, trusting to the kindness of his Friends, that they would either lend or give him so much money, he adventured to buy him; to which end a Friend of his, who had not more in the whole world, lent him three hundred pieces of Eight, but when *Gonzalo Pizarro* understood that he had bought this Horse, he immediately gave order to pay the same out of his own Estate, knowing that *Garcilasso* had not wherewith to make satisfaction.

C H A P. XXI.

How and in what manner an irreverent impiety against the most Holy Sacrament, and other blasphemous words were punished. *Pizarro* and his Party nominate Messengers to be sent into Spain.

IT remains now for us to relate the Judgment which befell *Porras*, which was this; Three months after the profanation he had made of the Holy Altar, he was sent by *Carvajal* to *Huamanga* upon some certain occasions, and passing a little Brook of Water not above two foot deep, he guided his Horse, being tired and

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thirty.

thirsty, to a place where he might drink, and having drank he laid himself down in the Water, having one Leg of his Master under him, and lay on that side where the Water was deepest; *Porras* endeavoured to clear himself of his Horse but could not, and so lay still a while, untill the Horse struggling to rise, and the stream running swift upon him, he was at length drowned; but the Horse keeping his head above Water, made a shift to keep himself from drowning, untill some Travellers passing that way helped him out; but for *Porras* they found him dead, and buried him on the Bank of the stream. The which was esteemed by all the Kingdom to have been a Judgment of Heaven for his irreverence towards the Holy Altar, as we have before mentioned.

We may here take notice of the Divine Judgments against such, who were common Swearers and Blasphemers of the Name of God in their usual Conversation; who not contented with little petty Oaths, as Godsbodykins, or the like, but would say, God Damn me, or, God renounce me: such men as these, I say, have been observed to die by wounds in their Mouths; and not only hath this happened in Battels in *Peru*, but in single Duels between Man and Man, in which such Blasphemers as these have been killed by shot of a Carbine in their Mouths, or the stroke of a Lance, or a stab of a Dagger in that part. There is one Instance of this very remarkable in my time, which happened a year before I came from *Cusco*, and it was this; A certain Souldier called *Aguirre*, an ill-conditioned fellow, had a quarrel with *John de Lira*, a person of a far different temper, being naturally of a peaceable and quiet disposition; this *Aguirre*, to fight with *de Lira*, armed himself with a Coat of Mail, Gantlet and Head-piece, and expected him near the Convent of *St. Dominick*, as he passed to his Lodging from the great Church, where, on a Friday in Lent, he went to hear a Sermon; *de Lira* coming was met and assaulted by *Aguirre*, and they both struggled together for the space of an hour by the Clock, none coming in to part them, at length *John de Lira*, closing in with *Aguirre*, stabbed him in the Mouth with his Dagger, which came out at the nape of his Neck, and *Aguirre*, with a slash of his Sword stroke *de Lira* upon the Cloak which was folded on his left Arm, and cut eleven folds of it, and glancing along cut off his middle Finger; the same night *Aguirre* died of his wound in the Prison, but *John de Lira* recovered and was cured, in the Monastery of *St. Dominick* where he was lodged; and there I visited him, and saw how his Finger was cut off, and eleven folds his Cloak cut thorough.

The like Judgment befell other notorious Blasphemers at the Battel of *Salinas*, where two or three were wounded in the Mouth, and dyed, as many in like manner at *Chupas*, as also four at *Huacina*, one of which was called *Merquina*, and all of them incurred the same fate; which was so apparent a Judgment upon common Swearers and Blasphemers, that many repented of that sin, and were converted, and so particularly did this Judgment operate on the minds of the Spaniards in *Peru*, that they generally acknowledge it to have been a mercy of God towards them, and so abstain from that sin, that it is a disparagement to any man to be guilty thereof. And so far hath this custome against Blasphemy prevailed, as to pass from *Peru* into the Jurisdiction of *Mexico*, where it is accounted an infamous crime for any man to swear, especially Souldiers; so that when any one unadvisedly swears, the Captains or Officers then present, cause him immediately to recall his Oath, and ask pardon for it, which indeed is a very laudable custome and much to be commended in those Officers who were the occasion that the same was practised amongst the Souldiers.

I cannot tax any of my own Relations by the Mother side with the sin of this nature; for to the contrary I have heard from one of my own Kindred, who (as I believe) spake impartially of them, That in the state of their very Gentilisme they knew not what an Oath meant, nor to take the Name of God in vain, but as a thing (as natural to them as their milk) they learned to pronounce the Name of God on no other occasion than of Prayers and Praises to him.

But whilst *Gonzalo Pizarro* was solemnizing the Festival appointed in honour to his new Title of Governour, he did not forget his dependence on *Spain*; and therefore proposed first to his Captains and Friends in private, and afterwards publicly to the Citizens of *Los Reyes*, that it was necessary to send Messengers to his Majesty to render an account of all that happened unto that time, beseeching his Majesty in behalf of that whole Empire to confer the Government thereof upon *Gonzalo Pizarro*, representing it as a matter much conducing to the service of his

his Majesty, and to the common peace and tranquillity both of *Indians* and *Spaniards*: And moreover, that *Pizarro* should dispatch a private Agent, as from himself, who should lay before his Majesty the many services and labours which he had sustained for the enlargement of the dominions of *Spain* in those parts: this Proposal was approved by the common consent of all, and generally the World was of opinion, that a Proposition of this nature, tending so much to the welfare of the people, to the increase of his Majesty's revenue and enrichment of his Subjects, would not be refused: onely *Francisco de Carvajal* (as *Diego Fernandez Palentino* relates in the twenty eighth Chapter of his Book) was of another opinion; and declared, that the best Agents to persuade in Affairs of this kind were a good body of Musquetiers, Horse and Arms: And though it was true that Subjects ought never to take up Arms against their King; yet when they had once drawn the Sword, they ought never to put it up again: and that for the present, if they would send Messengers, they should be the Judges themselves; who having been the persons that had imprisoned the Vice-king, they were the most able to render an account to his Majesty of the reasons and causes which moved them thereunto.

This opinion was seconded by *Hernando Bachicao*; but the votes of two men could not over-rule the sense of the whole Court, who decreed to send Doctour *Texada* and *Francisco Maldonado* (Ulster of the Hall to *Gonzalo Pizarro*) into *Spain*, with instructions to represent unto his Majesty the present state and condition of their Affairs. It was also ordered, that these persons should embark on a Ship then in Port, besides which there was no other at that time, and whereon *Licenciado Vaca de Castro* was a prisoner, and stood committed by order from the Vice-king; and now remained in expectation, how the present Governours would dispose of him; not judging it fit to sail for *Spain* without the Orders of some over-ruling power.

'Twas farther agreed, that *Hernando Bachicao* should have the Charge to provide the Ship with Men and Guns, and thereon to transport their Agents to *Panama*, of which *Vaca de Castro* being informed by a Friend and Kinsman of his called *Garcia de Mont-alvo*, he presently apprehended, that in case they brought him ashore from the Ship, some mischief might ensue to him, or at least some treatment not befitting his quality and condition, he resolved, with the assistance of his Kinsman *Mont-alvo*, and of the Servants then with him, to weigh Anchor, and set sail for *Panama*. The matter succeeded as was expected and desired; for there was not one person of *Pizarro's* faction then aboard; and the Mariners were all for *Vaca de Castro*, who was very well beloved and esteemed by the people of the Country: *Pizarro* was greatly troubled at this disappointment; for the sending of his Agents into *Spain* he esteemed to be the onely means to set matters right, and well understood at that Court.

C H A P. XXII.

How much Gonzalo Pizarro was troubled for the Escape of Vaca de Castro, and what disturbance it caused. Hernando Bachicao goes to Panama. The Vice-king sends abroad his Warrants to raise Men.

HEREUPON (as all the three Writers agree) it was conceived, that this Escape of *Vaca de Castro* could not be contrived without a Conspiracy of several persons concerned therein: so that immediately an Allarum was given over all the Town; the Souldiers were put in Arms, and all those Gentlemen whom they suspected, as well such as were Natives or Citizens of *Los Reyes*, as those who had fled from *Cusco*, and those who were of the Vice-king's party, were all seized and committed to the publick prison: and amongst them *Licenciado Carvajal* was

one; to whom Major General *Carvajal* sent order, that he should at that instant confess and make his last Will and Testament; for that it was decreed he should presently be put to death. *Carvajal* with all readiness submitted to the sentence; and began to prepare himself for the same; the Executioner stood by him with his Halber and Gibbet, and urged him to finish his Affairs, howsoever he continued something long in his confession: no question but he expected to dye without any reprieve: howsoever such as considered the quality of his person and condition were of opinion, that he ought not to have been brought under those circumstances; but since it had so fallen out; it would be dangerous to suffer him to live: but then it was considered, that in case *Carvajal* were put to death, many of those who were now in custody would follow the same fate, which would be a great loss to the Kingdom to be deprived of the most principal persons thereof who had always been faithful to the Interest of his Majesty.

Whilst *Licenciado Carvajal* remained under these sad apprehensions, certain sober persons went to *Gonzalo Pigarro*, and told him that it were well to consider in this case how great an Interest the *Licenciado Carvajal* had in his Countrey; and that the Agent *Carvajal*, who was his brother, was put to death by the Vice-king, for no other cause or reason, than because his man followed the party and side of *Pigarro*, and therefore, for the very merit of his brother, and for the services of this person, he should spare his life who was and might be of great use and benefit to him for the future. And as to the escape of *Vaca de Castro* all the World was well satisfied, That neither *Licenciado Carvajal* nor the others who were imprisoned upon suspicion were concerned therein; and that all this jealousy did arise from the vain censures of some people, for which there was no just cause or ground.

To all which Declaration *Gonzalo Pigarro* answered little, but seemed angry and disturbed, commanding that none should move him farther in that matter. Hereupon *Carvajal* and his Friends resolved to proceed another way; which was by means of the Major General, to whom they secretly presented a Wedge of gold to the value of two thousand pieces of Eight, and promised him much more; the which having accepted, he began to be a little backward and cold in the execution of the sentence; and went and came so often, untill at length, both *Carvajal* and all the others who were imprisoned were set at liberty: So this matter being over, they began to contrive the manner, how *Hernando Bachicao* might be dispatched away, as was agreed: for which there now happened an opportunity by the arrival of a *Bregantine* from *Arequena*, which being freighted for this purpose and armed with some of the Cannon which *Gonzalo Pigarro* brought from *Coco*; *Bachicao* embarked thereupon, and with him Doctor *Texada* and *Francisco Maldonado*, with about sixty Musketeers who offered themselves voluntarily on that voyage. And thus coasting along the shoar, upon information that the Vice-king was at *Tumbes*; he arrived early one morning in that Port; where being espied by some people belonging to the Vice-king an Allarum was presently given, that *Gonzalo Pigarro* with a strong force was coming by Sea; which put them all into that affrightment and consternation, that the Vice-king with all his force, consisting of about a hundred and fifty men fled away to *Quitu*; but some of them remained behind to receive *Bachicao*, who took two Ships which he found in the Port, and with them sailed to *Puerto Viejo*, where, and in other parts he raised about a hundred and fifty men whom he embarked aboard his Ships; but the Vice-king without other stop or stay hastened to *Quitu*. Thus far *Augustine Carate*, who hath made clear several Passages which were confused and obscure in other Writers.

But now to return to the Ingot of Gold which *Francisco Carvajal* received; It is certain that he made a Trade of such Bribes as these, where the Accusation was false, and then he would suspend the Execution of the Sentence, untill means were made with *Gonzalo Pigarro* for a Pardon, and in this manner he got great sums of money: but in case the crime objected were true, than nothing could prevail with him, neither Presents nor Intreaties, to delay the speedy execution of Justice: for he was zealous and faithful to his Party, both in punishment of Enemies, and in the good treatment and reward of Friends and Abettors of his Cause: but Historians give him the Character of a most covetous and cruel person: 'tis true, he had both one and the other in his nature, but not in so high degree as is reported; for though he was guilty of great effusions of blood, yet it was for the advancement and security of his own party, which he acted in pursuance

suance of his Office, being a Captain and a chief field Officer: of which hereafter in prosecution of this History we shall give some instances of my own knowledge, and shall make some remarks upon the behaviour of several Captains of *Pigarro's* party which I received from the report of those who were familiarly acquainted with their actions and persons.

We have mentioned before, how *Licenciado Alvarez* procured the Liberty of the Vice-king *Blasco Nunez Vela*, and how another Ship joined with them, whereon his brother *Vela Nunez Vela*, was embarked, and that they sailed together to the Port of *Timpiz*, where they landed, and erected a Court of Justice, for that as the Historians say, he had a clause in his Commission that he might hold a Court with assistance of one Judge or Co-assessor with him: by virtue whereof they dispatched several Warrants, Orders and Manifests into divers parts; setting forth in the Preamble thereof a relation of his imprisonment and of his escape, as likewise of the coming of *Gonzalo Pigarro* to *Los Reyes*, with all other particulars which had happened untill that time; and in fine concluded, that all his Majesty's loving and loyal Subjects should come in and partake in this cause. In pursuance hereof he sent divers Captains to *Puerto Viejo* to raise men, as also to *Saint Michael* and *Truxillo*; and upon the same errand Captain *Jerónimo de Preycera* was sent as far as *Pacamuru*, which the Spaniards call *Bracamoros*: And moreover he directed his Warrants over all the Countrey, to bring in Provisions, and all the Gold and Silver which was found in the Exchequer, for that his Majesty's service required to have it employed against so many Enemies who were in rebellion against him: but in regard that in all the Cities and places to which those Commands were sent, there were different parties, and men stood variously affected; some whereof went to *Pigarro*; others, to fly from him, and not to join with his faction, betook themselves to the mountains, and by secret and by-ways came at length to the Vice-king equipped with Arms, Horses and Provisions, according to every man's ability; which much rejoiced and comforted the Vice-king to see the affection of the people to him in the time of his distress: but this satisfaction continued not long, for, as ill fortune would have it, he was forced by *Hernando Bachicao* to retire into the In-land parts of the Countrey, by which means his Friends left him, and he himself sustained great inconveniences and hardships untill the time of his death; as we shall see in its due place.

Gonzalo Pigarro having intelligence that the Vice-king was in *Timpiz*, he thought it not convenient or safe to suffer him to rest there; and therefore sent some Captains with their forces to disturb him and cause him to remove his quarters from thence. The Orders and Warrants which the Vice-king issued forth were for the most part betrayed into the hands of *Pigarro*, being brought to him by those with whom they were intrusted; by means of which *Pigarro* received intelligence of all the designs of the Vice-king; which to prevent he dispatched his Captains *Jerónimo de Villegas*, *Gonzalo Diaz*, and *Hernando de Alvarado*, to scour the Coast along to the Northward, and intercept the people who were going to join themselves with the Vice-king: and thereby he suppressed the forces of the Vice-king before they could get head, and overcame them without a Battel.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Actions performed by Bachicao in Panama. Licenciado Vaca de Castro comes to Spain, where an end is put to all his negotiations. The Vice-king retires to Quitu.

Hernando Bachicao, as we have said, having surprized two Ships belonging to the Vice-king, and forced him to retire into the In-land parts of the Countrey, he pursued his Voyage to the Port of *Panamá*, and in his way he met with two or three other Ships, but whose they were, and with what they were laden, for

for brevity sake we shall omit to mention; and because *Fernandez Palentino*, in the twenty ninth Chapter of his Book, makes a long Discourse thereupon, we shall refer our selves to him; and onely say, that he took those Ships with him and sailed from Port to Port, of which there are many in those Seas, taking refreshments at his pleasure without fear or apprehension of any Enemies: when he arrived at the Islands of Pearles, which are about twenty Leagues distant from *Panama*, whereof so soon as the Inhabitants had notice (as *Augustine Carate* saith, in the sixteenth Chapter of his Book) they sent two of their Citizens to know of him with what intension and design he came thither, requiring him not to enter with his Souldiers within the precincts of their Jurisdiction. To which *Bachicao* made answer, That in case he came attended with his Souldiers, it was onely with intent to guard himself from the attempts of the Vice-king, without other design, to the damage or prejudice of their Countrey; for that his Commission was onely to transport Doctour *Texada*, one of his Majesty's Justices, into *Spain*, who by Instructions received from the Courts of Judicature was sent to render an account to his Majesty of all Matters which had passed of late in *Peru*; and that he would onely let him on shoar, there to refresh himself for a while, and make such Provisions as were necessary for his Voyage.

Upon this assurance admision was given him into the City: but so soon as he arrived, two Ships which were then in the Port, made sail into the Sea; but one of them was chased by the *Brigantine*, and being taken, was brought back, and both the Master and his Mate hanged at the Yard-arm; which much offended the Town, and put them into a great consternation, but it was now too late to defend themselves, or repent of their folly, in trusting their estates and lives to the mercy of *Bachicao*, who was now entered the City, and there being no hopes of timely relief from Captain *John Guzman*, who was raising men for assistance of the Vice-king; which men afterwards revolted to *Bachicao*, who also seized on the Cannon which *Vaca de Castro* had brought thither, with the Ship on which he made his escape. Thus did *Bachicao* tyrannize over the people, seizing their estates with an arbitrary power, for none durst to assert a right and title to what he possessed, in contradiction to his will and pleasure: and during the time of his abode here, he publicly put two of his Captains to death, who conspired against him: and moreover he acted other pieces of like severity by virtue of his own absolute authority, causing the Cryers to proclaim openly before those whom he put to death: So is the will and command of Captain *Fernando Bachicao*.

At this time *Vaca de Castro* was at *Panama*, where having intelligence that *Bachicao* was coming, he fled to *Nombre de Dios*, and embarked for *Spain* in the North-sea; as did also *Diego Alvarez Cueto*, and *Jerónimo Curbano*, who were Ambassadors from the Vice-king: likewise at the same Port Doctour *Texada*, and *Francisco Maldonado* took shipping for *Spain* and sailed friendly together, though of three several Factions. Doctour *Texada* dyed in the Voyage, in the Chanel of *Bahama*: but *Francisco Maldonado*, and *Diego Alvarez* arrived safe in *Spain*, and immediately took post for *Germany*, to render an account to his Majesty respectively of the Affairs committed to their charge. *Vaca de Castro* touched at the Isles of *Terceras*, and thence sailed to *Lisbon*, from whence he travailed to the Court; for he thought it not safe to goe by the way of *Seville*, where the Brothers and Relations of *John Tello de Guzman* lived, whom, as we said before, he had caused to be put to death after the overthrow of *Diego Almagro* the younger, being arrived at the Court, he was by Order of the Council of the *Indies* confined to his House, and an Accusation brought against him: after which he was imprisoned in the Fort of *Arenal* for the space of five years, during which time his cause was depending. After which they appointed him a House in *Simancas*, and thence, as the Court removed, they assigned him the Village of *Pinto* and the bounds thereof for his confinement, untill his business was fully determined. Thus far are the words of the Accountant General *Augustine de Carate*.

And here he breaks off, without telling us farther, what sentence was given in his case, because he had ended his History before that time: And indeed by reason of the malicious informations and calumnies of his Enemies, which were all false, the determination of his cause was protracted for a long time; at which he was not much troubled because he knew, that at length he should come off with the honour and reputation of a good Minister and Governour of that Empire which accordingly succeeded; for he was restored to his former place in the Royal

Royal Council of *Casile*, from which he was so long kept out, that when he came to be restored, he was then the most ancient Member of all that Council, and in this condition I found him when I was at the Court of *Madrid* in the year 1561. And besides this favour of his restoration, he had other rewards given him in recompence for his hard usages and services performed in *Peru* in conservation of the Imperial Authority; and to his Son *Don Antonio Vaca de Castro*, who also was a Knight of the Habit of St. *Jago* (as his Father was) there was a Rent given him of twenty thousand pieces of Eight, out of such Lots or Divisions as he should chuse and esteem of that value. I remember to have seen this Gentleman at *Nombre de Dios*, as he passed in the Retinue of the Count de *Nieva* (who was sent for Vice-king of that Kingdom in the year 1560.) and went then to take possession of that Estate, which was the reward of his Father, who, to speak without flattery or partiality, was generally reputed to have been the best Governour that ever had passed into those parts; as is agreed by all the three Historians in the characters which they give of him, there being not one ill action for which they blame him. And now let us return again to *Peru*, and relate what the Vice-king *Blasco Nuñez* was contriving all this time.

The Vice-king being retired (as *Carate* reports in the sixteenth Chapter of his Book) with about an hundred and fifty men, at the time that *Bachicao* surprised the Ships in *Tumbex*, he marched with them as far as the City of *Quinu*, where he was cheerfully received, and his Souldiers re-inforced to the number of about two hundred men, resolving to remain in that Countrey which yielded plenty of provisions for the subsistence of his men, untill such time as he received farther Orders and Instructions from his Majesty: And taking good information of all things that passed from *Diego Alvarez de Cuero*, he kept strong Guards, and Spies on all the high Roads to inform himself of all the actions that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was doing, though it is three hundred leagues distant from *Los Reyes* to *Quinu*; during which time four Souldiers, who were dissatisfied upon some occasion with *Pizarro*, stole a Boat, and coasted all along the shore from *Los Reyes*, by the help of their Oars, untill they came to a shore which was the nearest Sea to *Quinu*; where being arrived, they informed the Vice-king of all passages; how the People of *Los Reyes* and other places were discontented with the Government of *Pizarro*, and with the tyranny which he used towards them, ejecting some out of their Houses and Estates, imposing Souldiers on free-quarter upon them, and other burthens which they were not able to support; of which they were so weary that upon the least appearance of any person who carried an authority from his Majesty they would be ready to joyn with him, to cast off the yoke of that tyranny with which they were oppressed. By which intelligence, and many other things which the Souldiers said to him, the Vice-king being encouraged, resolved with the Forces he had with him, to march from *Quinu* by the way of St. *Michael's*, and made *Diego de Ocampo* chief Commander thereof, who had from the very time that the Vice-king came to *Tumbex* adhered to his Party, and assisted him with his Person and Estate, supplying him with all things convenient and necessary for his service, wherein he spent above forty thousand pieces of Eight. In all these Adventures *Licenciado Alvarez* accompanied the Vice-king, and held Courts with him by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, by which it was provided, that the Vice-king might hold Courts with the assistance of one Co-assessor untill such time as the other Judges should assemble and joyn with them; and it was thus provided by that clause in cases of mortality or other accidents: and in pursuance hereof he caused a new Seal to be delivered to *John Leon*, one of the Justices of *Los Reyes*, whom the Marquis of *Camarasa*, Lord High Chancellor of *Castile*, or of the *Indies*, had nominated and elected to be Chancellor of that Court wherein the Vice-king presided, he being revolted to him from *Pizarro*; so that all Commissions, Warrants and Orders issued out from thence under the Name and Title of *Don Carlos* the Emperour, with the Royal Seal affixed to them, and countersigned by *Alvarez*; so that now there being two Courts in *Peru*, one at *Los Reyes* and the other with the Vice-king, it frequently happened that two different Orders for the same business came to be served at the same time. Thus far is related by *Carate*.

C H A P. XXIV.

Two Captains of Pizarro's Army kill three of those belonging to the Vice-king; which is again revenged upon them. Gonzalo Pizarro embarks for the City of Truxillo.

A *Augustine Carate*, proceeding forward in the course of his History, saith, That when the Vice-king was ready to depart from *Quitu* he dispatched away his Son-in-law, *Diego Alvarez de Cuero* into Spain to inform his Majesty of all Affairs that had passed, desiring him to send him some Succours whereby he might be enabled to make War upon *Gonzalo Pizarro*; and accordingly *Cuero* embarked on the same Fleet with *Vaca de Castro* and *Doctour Texada*, as we have before declared. In the mean time the Vice-king came to the City of *St. Michael*, which is about an hundred and fifty leagues from *Quitu*, where he resolved to remain; untill such time as he received his Majesty's farther directions in these matters; making use of his Majesty's Name and Authority in the style of all Letters and Orders which he issued: and this place he judged most proper for his residence, being advantageously situated in the common Road, through which all people must go, who come from Spain or other parts into *Pern*, and is a Pass which cannot be avoided by such who travel with Horses or other Beasts of burthen; so that by this constant concurrence or confluence of people his numbers every day increased. The Inhabitants of this Town were all very loyal and well-affected to the Vice-king, by which means, and by their kind reception and entertainment, his Souldiers increased to the number of five hundred Horse and Foot, most of them indifferently well armed, and such as wanted defensive Arms made Corslets of Iron, and Coats of Bulls Skins well dried and pressed.

At the same time that *Gonzalo Pizarro* sent Captain *Bachicao* with his Brigantine to seize the Fleet of the Vice-king, he also dispatched two of his Captains by Land called *Gonzalo Diaz de Pinera* and *Jeronimo de Villegas* to raise Souldiers in the Cities of *Truxillo* and *St. Michael*, where they remained with a Body of eight hundred men, untill such time as being alarm'd with the approach of the Vice-king, they quitted their Posts and retreated within the Countrey, and quartered in a Province called *Collique*, which is about forty leagues distant from *St. Michael*, from whence they gave intelligence to *Pizarro* of the Vice-king's march, and the daily increase of his Army, to which a stop ought speedily to be given before it proved too late. And whilst these Captains resided at that place, they had advice that the Vice-king had sent a Captain called *John de Prereyra* to the Province of *Chachapoyas*, to raise what men that Countrey afforded; and by reason that few *Spaniards* inhabited in those parts, *Pizarro's* Captains did imagine that *Prereyra* and his men would remain secure, and not dream of any danger; in confidence of which they marched the very same way after them, and one night seized on their Sentinels, and falling on them as they were sleeping, killed *Prereyra* and two other principal Captains, whose Heads they cut off; and then all those who were with them, to the number of about sixty Horsemen, revolted for fear; and declaring for *Gonzalo Pizarro* returned with his Captains to their Quarters.

The Vice-king, greatly troubled for this disgrace and misfortune, resolved speedily to revenge it with the like return; and accordingly sallied privately out from *St. Michael's* with about an hundred and fifty Horsemen, and fell in upon the Quarters of the Captains *Gonzalo Diaz* and *Villegas* at *Collique*; who having some few days before performed that late exploit, rested secure from the apprehensions of any such return from their enemies. The assault which was made upon them was so sudden that they had no time to provide for their defence, or to put themselves in order to fight; but every one thrust for himself as well as he could; and so much were they scattered abroad, that *Gonzalo Diaz* fled with very few into a Province of the *Indians*, which was not conquered, where they arose up against him and killed him; *Hernando de Alvarado* incurred the like fate: but *Jeronimo de Villegas*, rallying his people, marched into the Countrey as far as *Truxillo*, whilst the Vice-king resided at *St. Michael*.

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Gonzalo Pizarro, having received advice of the defeat of his Captains, and that the Vice-king, daily increased in numbers of his men, and strengthened in Arms and Ammunition for War, concluded it necessary with all possible speed to destroy his Forces, before greater aid came to him from Spain and other parts of the *Indies*, which would be landed at *Tempe* or at the Ports thereabouts, towards which places the Vice-king was drawing his Forces; and in the mean time he endeavoured which would greatly discourage the minds of the enemy: with this resolution, he prepared all things for a Battle, on the success of which he intended to hazard his fortune in case the enemy would stand to it; and accordingly Orders were issued out to the Captains, the Souldiers received their pay, the Horse were commanded to march before to *Truxillo*, and *Pizarro* himself with the chief of his Commanders remained behind to bring up the Rere.

About this time a Brigantine from *Arequipa* arrived in the Port of *Lima*, which brought an hundred thousand pieces of Eight for account of *Pizarro*: at the same time also came in another Ship from the Continent, belonging to *Gonzalo Martel*, and which brought his Wife, Children and Family to be thence conveyed to *Cusco* Party, that they grew very high and insolent thereupon, and, as if fortune had been on their side, they believed the whole world was their own. Thus far *Augustine de Carate*, to which *Diego Fernandez* adds, that they became so proud, and made such vain boastings, that some talked as if *Gonzalo Pizarro* was to take upon him the Title and Crown of a King; arguing in his favour, that all Kings and Governours took their original and beginning by force; that the Nobility of the world descended from the haughty and unjust *Cain*, and the poor and meek from *Abel*: that it plainly appeared in Heraldry which blazes the Escutcheons of great men that their Arms contain nothing but Weapons of War and Tyranny. *Francisco de Carvajal* was much of this opinion, and in confirmation hereof, he desired that the Old Testament should be reviewed, and the last Will of *Adam* there consulted, whether therein he bequeathed the Kingdom of *Pern* to *Charles* the Emperour or to the Kings of *Castile*. All which *Gonzalo Pizarro* hearkened unto with much satisfaction, being pleased to hear the flatteries of his Abettors. These are the words of *Diego Fernandez*, which I have extracted verbatim out of the thirty fourth Chapter of his first Book.

On the Vessels which lately came into *Lima* *Gonzalo Pizarro* laded great quantities of Arms and Ammunition, and thereon shipped an hundred and fifty select Souldiers. And to give the better countenance and authority to his Affairs, he carried *Doctour Cepeda*, one of the Judges, with him, as also *John de Caceres* the Accountant General, so that by the departure of *Cepeda* the Court of Justice was dissolved, there remaining no other Judge at *Los Reyes* besides *Cepeda*; and farther to prevent the coming forth of other Orders or Warrants, *Pizarro* carried the Royal Seal with him. And because the City of *Los Reyes* was a place of great importance to him, he thought fit to confide it in the hands of some faithful person, whom he could trust, and accordingly made choice of one *Lorenzo de Aldana*, to whom he delegated the Government of the City, being a prudent, wife and discreet Gentleman, and one who was very rich, having a great Estate and interest in *Arequipa*, with whom he left eight hundred men for guard and safety of the City; and *Pizarro* went attended with all the Inhabitants of the City, and Gentlemen who had any command over the *Indians*, and took shipping in the month of *March* 1545, and sailed to Port *Santa*, which is about fifteen leagues from *Truxillo*, where he landed and remained some days untill his other Forces could come up, because it was a time of the year when the pasturage was green and well grown; but lest he should oppress and burthen the *Spaniards* by his long abode there, he removed his Camp to the Province of *Collique*, where he remained for some time, untill his Forces could come up to him; and then making a general Muster of his Men, it appeared on the Muster-rolls that his numbers amounted unto more than six hundred men, Horse and Foot: and though the Vice-king was equal in number, yet *Pizarro* had much the advantage both in his Arms and preparations for War, and in his Men, who were for the most part veterane Souldiers, trained up to War, had been in many Battels, and seen much of Action; and besides, they knew the Countrey and the difficult passages of it, and were accustomed to the dangers and labours of War, and had been practised therein

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ever since the *Spaniards* entred first upon the conquest of that Empire; and on the contrary, the Souldiers of the Vice-king were all new-raised men, lately come out of *Spain*, not trained to the War, poor, ill-habited and armed, and their powder bad, besides other wants which were amongst them.

CHAP. XXV.

The great preparations and provisions made by Gonçalo Piçarro to pass a Desert. He faces the Vice-king's Forces, who retreated to Quito. The good and prudent Conduct of Lorenzo de Aldana.

Gonçalo Piçarro, being in the Province of *Collique* and in the parts thereabouts, made all the provisions he could for the subsistence of his Army; for he was to travel over a hot, dry, sandy Desert of twenty leagues over, where was neither Water nor any other refreshment. And because Water was the most necessary of any thing in that hot and dry passage, he summoned in all the *Indians* of those parts round, to bring all their Pails, Buckets and Jars for Water, and commanded that the *Indians* who were appointed for the Carriages of the Army, should leave all the Souldiers Clothes and other Baggage behind, to carry Water and Provisions which were necessary for the support of Man and Beast. In this manner the *Indians* were laden without any other incumbrance than that of Water; and twenty five Horsemen were sent before by the common Road, who were to give out, in case they met with the Scouts of the Vice-king's Army, that *Gonçalo Piçarro* was coming in person through the Desert that way, but that the rest of his Army had taken the other Road. In this manner they travelled, every Horseman carrying the provision of his own Horse behind him. The Vice-king, who had his Spies upon both the Roads, received advice of the approach of the Enemy some time before they came; upon which an alarm was given, and it was said that they would go out and give them Battel: but so soon as his Forces were brought together, they marched out of the City to the side of a Hill called *Cassa*, from whence they hastened away with all the speed they were able; of which *Gonçalo Piçarro* receiving intelligence about four hours after, he made no stay at *St. Michael's*, nor so much as to enter the Town or recruit his Provisions, but without stop or delay pursued after the Enemy, and that night travelled eight leagues, where overtaking them he took many Prisoners, seized all the Baggage of the Camp, hanged several whom they thought fit; and passing over rocky and almost unaccessible ways without refreshments, they took Prisoners every day, who for want of strength lagged behind.

Then Letters were wrote and sent by *Indians* to several persons of Quality in the Vice-king's Camp, promising Pardon and great Rewards to any person who should kill him; the which served to create jealousies and suspicions amongst those who were joyned with the Vice-king, every one being afraid of each other; which suspicions proved of fatal consequence, and (as we have mentioned before) were the cause of many a man's death; for the Libels which were cast abroad, which none would own or justify, served howsoever to create jealousies in the mind of the Vice-king, and made him afraid of his own People, not knowing whom to trust of those who were about him. And though it is certain, that neither *Gonçalo Piçarro*, as all Authours agree, did ever give order to kill the Vice-king, or that the Vice-king did plot in the like nature against *Piçarro*; yet in all Civil Wars, jealousies and fears are natural to the minds of men. And thus *Gonçalo Piçarro* having pursued the Vice-king through Mountains, Deserts and uninhabited places without provisions or refreshments (for we may believe, that the Vice-king carried all away with him) he came at length to a Province called *Ayahuaça*, where he stay'd to refresh his men, who were much tired and harassed with their hard marches in want of all things necessary, so that here they gave

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over the pursuit of the Enemy, who were so far advanced before them, that it was impossible to overtake them. And having refreshed his men in *Ayahuaça* as well as he could, he marched away in good order by the same way that the Vice-king had passed; where in the way they picked up some of the Vice-king's people, who were tired, and not able, by weakness to follow his Camp, and others, who out of some discontent had deserted his Party: but as to the Vice-king, with such as were with him, he pursued his march towards the City of *Quito*, which is situated in a Countrey plentifull of all provisions for refreshment of his men, who were much tired and weakened for want of necessary Food. After some little repose and refreshment taken, *Piçarro* continued his pursuit, though by his long stay he was far cast behind: howsoever as he passed he took several of the Vice-king's men, who lagged in the rear, which he refused to entertain in his service, either because he was suspicious of them, or because he had more men than provisions, and needed no additional forces against the weakness of his Enemy: but such as he took of them he sent away either to *Truxillo*, *Los Reyes* or any other part, according to every man's choice; but men of note and quality he hanged up. The people who were thus permitted to return unto their homes, reported all things where they passed in favour of the Vice-king, and in disparagement of *Piçarro*, whom they represented as cruel and tyrannical; which most persons believed, because they esteemed the cause of the Vice-king to be just and loyal: And whereas the people who reside in that Province are more desirous of news and changes than in other places, because they are Souldiers, which are idle, and give themselves to no business or employment, and therefore entertain discourses of State Affairs with much variety and pleasure in their talk: And on the contrary, Citizens and men of business are averse from the War, because they are harassed therewith, and subjected to the insolence of Souldiers, and though they intermeddle not in Affairs, yet they are liable upon every little occasion to be questioned by him who Governs, and be put to death, that their Estates being confiscated he may gratifie his Followers and Faction with them; and therefore having these fears, every one talked and discoursed of news. These rumours were so common and loud that they came to the ears of *Piçarro* and his Rulers in their respective Jurisdictions; to suppress which reports in all places, and more especially at *Los Reyes*, where the greatest confluence of people was, many were hanged by Warrant from an ordinary Justice, called *Pedro Martin de Cicilia*, who was very zealous in the cause of *Gonçalo Piçarro* and for the success of his Affairs. For as to *Lorenzo de Aldana*, who was his chief Deputy there, he was cautious and wary how he intermeddled in matters, for which he might be called into question in case the tide of Affairs should turn; but behaved himself with that moderation as prevented the effusion of blood, and confiscation of Estates; and for the whole time of his Government he kept things in such order, that, though he acted by Commission under *Piçarro*, yet, he never did any thing partial or against Law in his favour, but rather protected those who were inclined to the Vice-king's Party; who being sensible of his favour, flocked from other Provinces to take refuge under him; of which the Zealots for *Piçarro* taking particular notice, especially the High Constable of the City called *Christopher de Burgos* testified great displeasure thereupon; for which *Lorenzo de Aldana* severely reproved him, and gave him very hard words publicly before the people, and on farther provocation clapt him into Prison. Of all which, though *Gonçalo Piçarro* received certain intelligence, he did dissemble the matter, judging that, being far distant, it would not be convenient to revoke his Commission, because he was strong in Souldiers, which were with him, and had gained the affections and good will of the people in that City. Thus far are the words of *Augustine Canute*.

C H A P. XXVI.

Gonçalo Piçarro still continuing to pursue the Vice-king, both Armies sustain great famine and hardship in their march. The violent death of the Vice-king's Major General and Captains.

Gonçalo Piçarro still continuing to pursue the Vice-king, resolved totally to defeat his whole Force; and accordingly, for better expedition, detached about fifty select Horsemen under the command of *Francisco de Carvajal*, to fall in upon the rear of the Enemy, whilst himself followed the main body of the Army. On the other side, he sent Orders to *Hernando Bachicao*, who was then on the Coast, to leave his Ships at *Tampic* under a good Guard, and to march with what Forces he had, to join with his at *Quitu*. And having given these Orders he continued the pursuit, giving courage and spirit to *Carvajal*; who knew that he should be well seconded in a very short time. In the mean time the Vice-king encouraged his people, and having marched eight Leagues in one day, they disposed themselves to rest; supposing that they were got far out of the reach of their Enemies; but *Francisco de Carvajal* who slept not, fell into their quarters about four hours in the night; and gave them the first allarm with his own Trumpet.

The Vice-king immediately arose, and rallying his people together as well as he could, drew them into a posture of defence, and so marched away: *Carvajal* following close upon their heels, took some of the Foot, who lagged in the rear; but so soon as it was day, that they could take a view of each other, the Vice-king perceiving the small number, drew out his men to give them battle, and divided his Body, consisting of a hundred and fifty men, into two divisions or squadrons: but *Carvajal*, not being willing to engage on such disadvantages, sounded a Retreat: upon which the Vice-king drew off his men, and proceeded on his march; but, alas! with little comfort, for his men were perishing with travail and famine, and their Horses so faint for want of grass and provender, that they were not fit for a march: wherefore the Vice-king, commiserating the condition of his men, told them, that if any one of them were desirous to remain behind, he freely gave them their discharge, but not a man of them accepted thereof, but said, that they would rather die with him, than desert him: so they marched day and night without sleep, or repose, or sustenance, or any refreshment. In the mean time intelligence was given to *Gonçalo Piçarro* of what had passed between the Vice-king and *Carvajal*; of which some who were Enemies to *Carvajal* made use, to disparage his Conduct, saying, that it was in his power to have defeated the whole force of the Enemy at that time, having surprized them as they were sleeping and at rest: and I find that some Historians object this matter against him as a point of neglect: but I, who knew the person of the man, am of another opinion, and have heard from many well experienced in the War, that since the time of *Julius Cæsar*, there hath not been a greater Soldier than he, the truth is, and so all Historians report, that the Vice-king being a hundred and fifty to fifty, that is, three to one, it was prudence in him not to adventure on such a disadvantageous undertaking, but rather to make a Bridge of Silver for desperate men to escape over. Moreover some say he had no Commission to engage, or to hazard his men; but in military matters it is hard to censure great Captains, who better understand the secret of their affairs than Strangers can do. Howsoever the matter was, *Gonçalo Piçarro* reinforced him with two hundred men more, which he sent under the command of *Licenciado Carvajal*, by which auxiliary force they allarm'd and pursued the Vice-king until he came to the Province, and people called *Ayahuaça*, seizing every day some of their Men, Horses and Baggage, so that by the time he came to *Ayahuaça*, he had scarce eighty Men remaining of all his number; howsoever he proceeded forward to *Quitu*, where he hoped to find Provision for his Men. In the like straits also was the Army of *Piçarro*, who

who being almost famished with hunger, were forced to kill and eat their Horses for want of sustenance, and indeed were in greater necessities than the Vice-king's Soldiers, because *Blasco Nunez*, wheresoever he came, destroyed every thing which he thought might be of benefit to the Enemy which followed him. In this pursuit, the principal that were taken, were put to death by *Carvajal*; namely, *Montoya* an Inhabitant of *Piura*, *Brizcano* of *Puerto Viejo*, *Raphael Vela*, and one *Baltazar*. And farther to re-inforce *Carvajal*, sixty Horses were sent under the command of Captain *John Acosta*, consisting of the most select and choice Soldiers that were in his Army, by which the Vice-king was straitened to the last extremity; which *Diego Fernandez*, in the forty first Chapter of his Book, expresses in these words.

Thus did the Vice-king, says he, march day and night with the small remainder of his Forces; and finding no other provisions in many places, than only a few Herbs and Roots, did often, in despair and fury, curse the Country and the day in which he entered into it; and the people who were sent to him from *Spain*, that had so basely deserted and betrayed him: but *John de Acosta*, who was lately come, and his Men fresh pressed him so hard, that he came close to him a little before his arrival at his quarters at *Calva*; where coming something late, and having *John de Acosta* beating up his quarters about break of day, fell upon the Front with such a surprize, that he took many of their Men and Baggage, only the Vice-king had time to make his escape with about seventy of his best Horses. After which *John de Acosta* made a retreat, and returned to the main Body, supposing that there was little more to be done upon the Enemy. By which means the poor Vice-king tyred and famished came to the Province and his quarters in *Calva*. And in regard two of his Captains, namely, *Jerónimo de la Serna* and *Gaspar Gil* advanced with their Companies and Colours before him, he fancied that they went with intention to possess a certain pass on the way, which when he was at *Piura*, he had sent before, and caused to be made of Timber with great labour, upon a thick rock hanging over a river near *Tambo Blanco* in the Province of *Amboca*; which being broken down would require some time to repair; and having a suspicion that these Men went before to possess this Pass, and by such a piece of service to reconcile themselves with *Piçarro*, he resolved to prevent them by taking away their lives, and accordingly he put it in execution, causing their throats to be cut during the little space of leisure which the Enemy had given him: so that now marching with a little more ease and security than before, he came at length to *Tombamba*; where having taken up his quarters, he executed another piece of cruelty on his Major General *Rodrigo de Ocampo*; for though until that time he had esteemed him to be his intimate and fast friend; yet the like melancholy fancy of suspicion and jealousy entering into his head, as did of the other two Captains, he incurred the same destiny as they did, though they had followed and attended him in all his misfortunes.

The death of these persons caused various Discourses and Judgements in *Peru*, some condemning, and others excusing the Vice-king therein. From *Tombamba* *Blasco Nunez* proceeded till he came to *Quitu*, without interruption, and without that want and scarcity under which he formerly laboured. And having in his way to *Quitu* received informations against *Francisco de Olmos*, that he and others who came from *Puerto Viejo* had been the Authours of false reports, to the disservice of his Majesty; he no sooner came to the City, but he examined the truth of those informations which were brought against those who came from *Puerto Viejo*; the which being proved, he consulted the matter with *Licenciado Alvarez*, and then immediately executed Justice upon them, cutting off the heads of some, and hanging others, under the Notion of Traytors to the King; amongst those who suffered were *Alvaro de Carvajal*, Captain *Hoyada* and *Gomez Estacio*: but upon farther proof of the innocence of *Francisco de Olmos*, he spared his life. Thus far is related by *Diego Fernandez Palentino*: but *Lopez de Gomarra*, in chap. 168, writing of the death of those Captains, gives us this account, which is extracted verbatim out of his Book in these words.

Piçarro sent *John de Acosta* with sixty light Horsemen in pursuit of *Blasco Nunez*, to engage him, or force him to a hasty retreat, accordingly he marched to *Tombamba* with fear and trouble, and in want of all things: and having a suspicion, that *Jerónimo de la Serna* and *Gaspar Gil*, who were two Captains of his, kept a private

private correspondence with *Pizarro*, he caused them to be run through with a Lance: though it is said for certain, that they were not guilty, at least *Pizarro* never received Letters from them: and about the same time also, and upon the like suspicion he caused *Rodrigo de Ocampo* to be stabbed with a Dagger; though he was innocent of that Treason of which he was suspected; and in reality delivered highly from him, having adhered faithfully to him in all his Troubles: And being come to *Quito*, he gave Orders to *Licenciado Alvarez* to hang up *Gomez Estacio* and *Alvaro de Carvajal*, who were Citizens of *Guayaquil*, pretending that they had a Conspiracy to take away his life, &c. Thus far *Gomara*.

This great effusion of Blood and Slaughter gave much cause of offence to the people of *Peru*, who every where spoke against the Vice-king and his Cause; saying, that he was not a man to be dealt with, who thus upon every light occasion, or the least suspicion could put men to death; and therefore many fell off from his party, and denied him the assistance they otherwise designed him, for fear of incurring the like fate with others.

But now, leaving the Vice-king in *Quito*, and *Gonzalo Pizarro* in pursuit of him, we shall relate the successes of those Affairs which passed in the Kingdom of *Quito*, with what happened in the Province of the *Charcas*, which are Countreys above seven hundred Leagues distant each from the other, and are the utmost confines of *Peru*: which is wonderful to consider that these quarrels should extend so far, as to influence Affairs at so far a distance.

CHAP. XXVII.

The death of Francisco de Almeydas. The Insurrection of Diego Centeno. The Opposition which Alonso de Toro made against it: and the defeat he gave him.

WE have already mentioned, how that many of the Inhabitants of the City of *Plate*, whom the Vice-king had summoned to come in to his assistance, were actually on their way to him, but hearing of his Imprisonment, they returned to their own homes. We have also said, That *Gonzalo Pizarro* had sent *Francisco de Almeydas* with Commission to be his Deputy; knowing him to be a person truly zealous and affectionate to his Cause; and indeed he shewed himself really so to be; for having information, that a principal Gentleman of that place called *Don Gomez de Luna*, should say in his house, that it was impossible, but that one day the Emperour would reign in *Peru*, he presently took him, and clapt him up in the common prison, with a strong Guard upon him: but the Corporation of the City made several Addresses in his behalf which were rejected by *Francisco de Almeydas*; with some kind of ill language, which a certain person taking notice of, boldly replied, that if he would not release him, they would: at which *Almeydas* though highly offended, concealed his displeasure for a while; and at midnight, went in person to the prison, and there strangled *Don Gomez*, and drawing his body to the Market-place, cut off his Head, and there left the Corpse: The Inhabitants were, so greatly offended hereat, as *Carate* in the 5th Chap. of his 20th Book relates, that the sence thereof was general, and esteemed to be a common concernment; and particularly one called *Diego Centeno*; who was a Native of the City. *Rodrigo* took it much to heart, having had a particular friendship for *Gomez*. And though this *Centeno* followed the party of *Pizarro* when he made his first Insurrection, and followed him from *Cozco* to *Los Reyes*, having great interest in the Army, and a Plenipotentiary for the Province of the *Charcas*: yet afterwards, discovering the evil designs and intentions of *Pizarro*, he obtained leave from him to return to his own estate, and his Command over *Indians*, where he quietly resided until such time as this unhappy death of *Gomez* fell out, which first moved him to use the best means he was able to free the Lives and Estates of that people from the oppression and tyranny of *Francisco de Almeydas*: in order whereunto he communicated his design to the principal Inhabitants of that Countrey, namely, *Lope*

de *Mendoza*, *Alonso Perez de Esquivel*, *Alonso de Camargo*, *Hernan Nunnez de Sagura*, *Lope de Mendiera*, *John Ortiz de Carate* his Brother, with other persons in whom he reposed a confidence; who being assembled together, they agreed that the only way was to kill *Francisco de Almeydas*, which accordingly they put in execution one Sunday morning at his own house, stabbing him in divers places just as he was going forth to hear Mass; and being not quite dead, they drew him out into the Market-place, and there cut off his Head. Nor was there much fear that any great tumult would follow hereupon amongst the people, because *Almeydas* was generally hated and ill spoken of in all parts. In his place *Diego Centeno* was named Captain General, who also gave Commissions to several other Captains both of Horse and Foot, and with great diligence raised Men, and provided Arms and other things necessary for War; and to hinder all intelligence from coming to the Enemy, he set Watches and Guards upon the ways. And moreover he sent *Lope de Mendoza Arequepa*, to seize, if possible, upon *Pedro de Fuentes*, who remained there with Character of Lieutenant Governour to *Gonzalo Pizarro*: but this matter was not carried so covertly, but *de Fuentes* received timely Advices thereof, by means of the *Indians* who were in the *Charcas*, upon which he abandoned the City, and *Lope de Mendoza* entered therein and possessed himself of the People, Arms, Horses, with what Money he could find; and so he returned to join with *Diego Centeno*, who was then at the *Villa de Plata*, and there they made up a Body of two hundred and fifty Men well armed and appointed in all respects. And being now assembled together, *Diego Centeno* made them a long Discourse of all matters which had passed from the beginning of the Troubles until that time; he condemned the proceedings of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, putting them in mind of the many Slaughters he was guilty, and of the Blood he spilt of those who pretended to do service to the King: and now by menaces and force of Arms he had caused himself to be styled Governour of that Empire, and that he had possessed himself not only of his Majesty's revenue, but of the Estates of particular Men, from whom he had taken away their *Indian* plantations, and appropriated them to himself; and that he had encouraged men to speak things in derogation of his Majesty's Authority; to which he added many other things, which he objected against *Pizarro*: and in the conclusion he put them in mind of the duty which good Subjects ought to bear towards their Prince, and the danger of denying their allegiance: the which reasons *Diego Centeno* urged so home that the people unanimously agreed thereunto, and frankly offered to follow his Commands in what enterprise soever he should employ them.

And to keep this matter the more secret, care was taken to intercept all correspondences and intelligence which might pass by the way to *Cozco*, until such time as he had made his full recruit of Men, Horses, Powder, and other ammunition for War; and yet notwithstanding all this care and caution, it was impossible to hinder or obstruct the intelligence which by means of the *Indian* Messengers was dispatched to *Cozco*; and a hundred Leagues farther to the Northward toward *Los Reyes*; though *Alonso de Toro* who was an Officer belonging to *Gonzalo Pizarro* did all that he was able to intercept Advices; and to that end had sent a hundred Men to possess the pass and obstruct all intelligence, and the passage of the Vice-king towards *Cozco*. And here it was that *Alonso de Toro* received the first news of the Insurrection of *Diego Centeno* and the death of *Francisco de Almeydas*; together with the number of Men, and Horses, and Ammunition; and all other matters which until that time had passed; which the *Indians* in a particular manner related to him. So soon as *Alonso de Toro* received these informations he immediately repaired to *Cozco*, where having levied Men, he persuaded the Citizens and Governours of the City to engage themselves in the Cause of *Pizarro* against *Diego Centeno*; telling them, that with the help and assistance of those Souldiers, Horse and Arms, which were then in the City, he intended to go forth and fight him: And moreover to justify the righteousness of his Cause, he told them that this *Diego Centeno* was a mere Impostor, who had no right, nor title, nor authority on his side; and that being moved only by his own interest and private advantage with colour and pretence of his Majesty's service, had inveigled many people to follow his Colours; whereas in reality *Gonzalo Pizarro* was the only true and lawfull Governour of those Kingdoms; intending to keep them in quietness, and peace, and safety, until such time only as that his Majesty should declare his sence and pleasure in these matters: and therefore that the Insurrection made

made by *Diego Centeno* was not to be justified, but rather opposed by all good men who wished well to the publick peace and security of the people. And moreover, to justify the Cause of *Pizarro*, he admonished them to call to mind the Merits of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and the good Services he had done for all the people and Souldiers of the Empire, by rescuing them from the execution of those new Laws and Regulations which would have proved their ruine; to perform which he had adventured and exposed his person to the greatest dangers, for no other reason, than for the publick benefit and welfare of the people. For it was manifest to all the World, that if the late new Statutes and Regulations had taken place, no Inhabitant could have enjoyed any Estate, and so have been disabled from quartering Souldiers, and consequently they could never have subsisted, so that both one and the other had obligations on them to favour the Cause and Interest of *Pizarro*: for as to what concerned himself, he had never opposed his Majesty's Laws and Commands; but in way of a Supplicant went with his Petition to the Vice-king; but before he could come to him, finding him to be imprisoned and banished by process from the Court of Judicature, he conceived he might justly set up his own title to be Governour during that vacancy. And in case he did at any time act against the Vice-king, it was by order and warrant from the Royal Court of Justice; an evidence whereof they might see before their eyes, if they were pleased to cast them on *Licenciado Cepeda* then present with *Pizarro*, and was the most ancient Judge of that Court. Nor ought there to be any question, whether the Judges, as the case then stood, were able to confer this Power upon him or not; and if the matter be doubtfull, men ought to expect his Majesty's determination therein; and in the mean time acquiesce in the Government of *Pizarro*, who hath given sufficient proofs of his great abilities to support the burthen of so important a Charge, which he may justly challenge upon the score and merit of his brothers and himself, who have gained the Empire with great labours and hazards of their lives; and indeed none seems more fit and proper for that employment than himself who is acquainted with the Merits of all the Adventurers with him in the Conquest; and accordingly knows in what manner to reward and gratifie every man according to his deserts; which is impossible for others to doe, who are Strangers, and newly come from *Spain*.

With this and such kind of reasoning, delivered in his fierce and angry manner of expression, he caused himself to be obeyed; for none daring to oppose or contradict him, they all inclined to join with him against *Diego Centeno*. Thus did *Alonso de Toro* raise Forces and appoint Captains over them, and to mount his Men he took all the Horses in the City which belonged to persons that were aged and infirm; so that in a short time he had gathered almost three hundred Men indifferently well armed; and with them marched about six Leagues from *Cusco* towards the Southward: where he remained for the space of twenty days for want of Intelligence of the Enemy's motion; at length, being impatient, and fearing that he lost his time, he marched forwards, and came within twelve leagues of the place, where *Diego Centeno* was quartered, who having divided his Forces into two parts, made a retreat; howsoever Messengers with Propositions and Articles of peace passed between both Parties with intention if possible to bring matters to an accommodation, but it soon appeared how great the difference was, and what little hopes of composition by the peaceable way of Treaty.

Wherefore *Alonso de Toro* proceeded with intent to give battel to the Enemy: but *Diego Centeno* and his Officers thought it not prudence to adventure so considerable a stake, and a matter of that high moment, wherein his Majesty's service was concerned to be decided by such a doubtfull event; for if they were worsted, they should be irrecoverably lost; wherefore making a retreat, and marching away, they laded whole droves of Sheep with provisions of the Countrey, and taking with them the *Characas*, or Lords, of the Countrey, they left all parts behind them desolate, and without provisions or inhabitants, for the distance of above forty leagues round. Howsoever *Alonso de Toro* pursued after them, as far as to the City of *Plate*, which is distant at least a hundred and eighty leagues from *Cusco*: but finding the Countries entirely dispeopled, without sustenance or food, by reason that the *Characas* had caused all their Subjects to attend them on the part of *Centeno*, and not being able to sustain themselves longer, they resolved to return back again to *Cusco*; in which march *Alonso de Toro* was to lead the Van with

with fifty Horses, and *Alonso de Mendoza* was to bring up the Rere, and to cover the main Body in case they should be attacked by *Diego Centeno*, and in this order they marched to *Cusco*, where they all met.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Diego Centeno pursues after Alonso de Toro: great Jealousies and Fears arise in the City of Los Reyes. Lorenzo de Aldana pacifies and suppresses them. Gonzalo Pizarro sends his Major General Francisco de Carvajal into the Charcas; with what happened in his way thither.

THE return of *Alonso de Toro* towards *Cusco* was speedily made known to *Diego Centeno* by the intelligence which the *Indians* brought him; at which he much admired; and conceived that this sudden turn from his late pursuit and diversion of his Forces into three parts must necessarily be caused by some extreme want, defect or inability amongst his people, in confidence whereof he detached fifty of his best and lightest Horses under the command of Captain *Lope de Mendoza*, to pursue the Enemy, and take up the stragglers, and such as remained in the Rere. And accordingly *Mendoza* had the fortune to overtake about fifty Horses of them who were in the second detachment, all which he dismounted, and gain, upon promise to take their side and join with them; which good success was obtained during the time that *Alonso de Mendoza* continued in the City of *Plate*. Some Historians who favoured the Cause of *Alonso de Toro*, say that he hanged several of them, though the number is not specified. After which *Lope de Mendoza* returned again, to set upon *Alonso de Mendoza*, for as yet he had not quitted the City of *Plate*; but he having received advice of the late success, took another way, and so avoided him: in the mean time *Diego Centeno* coming to the City of *Plate*; it was agreed to continue there for some time, that the people might have an opportunity to come in to them, and make provision of Arms and necessities of which they stood in need. The unexpected return of *Alonso de Toro* to *Cusco* surprized all the City with great amazement; and the rather, because no just cause or reason appeared for such a disorderly retreat, which had given courage to the Enemy, that was low, and a little before weak and affrighted, to become bold and daring, and to make an attack upon them. All these successes were particularly known and discoursed at *Los Reyes*; and in regard there were people of both parties in that place, and such as favoured the side of the Vice-king talked publickly, that they would goe forth and join with *Diego Centeno*: to all which *Lorenzo de Aldana* (seeming to give little regard, or to punish or suppress such who gave out these Discourses, *Gonzalo Pizarro* concluded that he was one of that Plot, and a Ringleader of that Faction.

With these apprehensions several persons went to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and gave him an account how freely people discoursed of his Affairs: but when News came of the defeat of the Vice-king, and his straitened and unhappy condition, the hearts of that Party who declared for him began to sink, and the Faction of *Pizarro* to rise and take courage; so that the principal Inhabitants of that City thought they might not safely make their Complaints to *Lorenzo de Aldana* against certain ill-affected persons who daily uttered seditious words and reports, to the disturbance of the City; whom they offered particularly to name, and bring their informations against them; to the end that they might be punished by death or banishment, as their Crimes deserved; to which *Lorenzo de Aldana* gave for answer, that he was not informed of those matters before, but that now he would severely punish them, as the Law did direct.

The Informers, encouraged with this Answer, seized upon fifteen persons, and brought them before the Chief Justice *Peter Martin de Cecilia*, otherwise called *Don Benito*, for he was called by both those names, who would have put them on the wrack, and passed sentence of condemnation on the least word of confession, so passionately zealous he was for the Cause of *Pizarro*, but *Lorenzo de Aldana*, who was a Man of much more moderation, freed them from his hands, and sent them to his own Lodgings, on pretence of safer custody, where having allowed them all things necessary, he afterwards, under pretence of banishment, conveyed them away upon a Ship which he had provided for them; and under the Seal of secrecy gave them assurances of his good intentions, to which they formerly had not been strangers. But the Party of *Pizarro* was not contented with this easy way of punishment, but rather highly offended thereat; and therefore represented *Lorenzo de Aldana* unto *Pizarro*, as a person inclined to the contrary Party; but *Pizarro* seemed not willing to give ear thereunto, either because he would not believe him to be other than his friend; or that being so far distant from him as *Quito*, thought it imprudent to manifest his displeasure and resentments against a person so well beloved and generally esteemed by the people. By this time the News of the Insurrection of *Diego Centeno*, with what had succeeded in the *Charcas* was come to the knowledge of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who conceived it a matter of high importance, and of a more dangerous consequence than the troubles at *Los Reyes*, and therefore after consultation held with his Officers, he gave an immediate Commission to *Francisco Carvajal* to go and suppress those commotions; in which resolution the generality of all the Officers concurred, as being the most brave and most experienced Captain of the Army; though in reality, being weary of his uneasie temper they were desirous to be rid of him, that they might have the greater hand in the rule of affairs. Thus *Carvajal* with a select number onely of twenty Horse in whom he reposed the greatest confidence departed from the Confines of *Quito*, and came to *St. Michael's*, where outwardly he was received with high demonstrations of honour and respect from the People. Howsoever he took fix of the Chief Governours, and having severely reprov'd them for their perfidy and falleness to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and for their affection and zeal to the Vice-king; he told them that he resolved once to put all their City to fire, and sword, and not to leave one Man, Woman or Child alive therein: but considering that this was not an act of the generality or of the common people, but onely of those who were their Heads and Rulers; he therefore resolved to punish the fault and crime in them, whom he esteemed to be the principal Instruments; and having ordered them to make their Confession to the Priest, he caused one of them, who was a Clerk, and had sealed the Warrants and Orders which the Vice-king had sent abroad to be executed, but the others, by the earnest Addresses and Solicitations of their Wives and other Relations escaped, and by the Prayers of Friars and Priests who earnestly interceded in their favour, obtained their pardon: howsoever he banished them from the Province, confiscated their *Indians*, and fined them in four thousand pieces of Eight a piece; thence he marched to *Truxillo* gathering in his way all the Men and Money he was able: he laid Taxes on the people, and gathered them in haste, and then he passed to *Los Reyes*, where he formed a Body of above two hundred Men, and took the road to *Cusco* by way of the desert, and being come to *Huamanga*, as some Authours say, he brought that place under Tribute, and made them pay the Impositions which he laid upon them.

Whilst these Matters were in agitation, there were designs plotting in *Los Reyes* to take away the Life of *Lorenzo de Aldana*: for at that time people were so uneasy and unquiet, that upon every small occasion they were ready to fly into a mutiny, and conspire against their Governours, for which the principal Authours were put to death. And this was the third Plot which was contrived in *Los Reyes*, which ended with the death of three or four of the chief Conspirators, and of five or six more than in *Huamanga*, with *Francisco de Carvajal*, who being accused by those in *Los Reyes*, were upon their confession put to death. It was in *Huamanga* also where *Carvajal* received the News of the retreat of *Diego Centeno*, and the Attacks which *Alonso de Toro* had made upon him, and that he was returned victorious to *Cusco*: upon which intelligence *Carvajal* thought it not necessary to proceed farther; considering that *Diego Centeno* was retired: for which cause, and because he was not willing to meet with *Alonso de Toro*, he resolved to return to *Los*
Reyes,

Reyes, and the rather, because these two great men were at odds, on occasion that *Gonzalo Pizarro* had taken from *Alonso de Toro* his Office of Major-General, and conferred it on *Francisco de Carvajal*, on pretence that the other was tickly and infirm which rendered him incapable of that Charge; but *Carvajal* was scarce come to *Los Reyes* before the news overtook him that *Diego Centeno* had passed the Mountains in pursuit of *Alonso de Toro*, and that he had taken fifty of his men Prisoners, and that they had revolted and taken up Arms on the Enemy's side, and that *Alonso de Mendoza* was retreated another way: upon this intelligence he resolved to turn against *Diego Centeno*, as he accordingly did, and took his way by *Arequipa* to avoid meeting with *Alonso de Toro*: notwithstanding which both *Alonso de Toro* and the Government of *Cusco* receiving advices thereof, wrote a joint Letter to *Carvajal*, desiring him to take *Cusco* in his way, for that it would seem a disparagement to that City, (which was the Head of that Empire) to be neglected, and that his Forces designed against *Diego Centeno* should seem to issue out of *Arequipa* and augmenting his Forces in that City than a desire of compliance with their request; and so hastning to *Cusco*, he, and *Alonso de Toro* had a meeting with unkind looks and jealousies each of other, though outwardly and in publick their enmities were not manifested: howsoever the day following *Carvajal* took four of the Citizens of *Cusco*, and without any intimation thereof to *Alonso de Toro*, hanged them up, which served to foment the quarrel and differences which were between them. And now *Carvajal* having increased his numbers to three hundred men, all well armed and appointed, one hundred of which were Horse, and the rest Foot, he marched with them to *Collao*, where *Diego Centeno* was quartered, and being come within ten leagues thereof, *Centeno* grounding an opinion on a revolt to his side; took an assurance one night with a Party of eighty men to beat up the quarters of *Carvajal*, and accordingly came so near that they could hear one another speak: but he soon found himself deceived, for *Carvajal* put himself in so good a posture to receive him, that every person was in order of Battel, nor were the discontents amongst the Souldiers so great as were reported; for otherwise it had been impossible for one single Man to have contained three hundred in due obedience to him.

Howsoever it is most certain, as all Authours agree, that *Carvajal* was ill beloved by the generality, for he was very ill-natured and severe towards his Souldiers, paid them ill, and perhaps with nothing but bad words, and worse performances; but howsoever the story goes, it is strange that he should perform such great actions with men so much discontented, and who had evil wills and inclinations towards him. It is certain that he was very cruel in his own nature, but not to those of his own Party; but to such as were Traitors, and revolted from his to the contrary Party, like the Weaver's Shuttle from one side to the other; for which reason they were called Weavers: but we shall speak more at large hereafter of *Carvajal*, who most certainly was a very brave Souldier, having been bred up under that great Captain *Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova*, Duke of *Sessa*, and other renowned Commanders of those times: but as to *Diego Centeno*, he perceiving that matters did not succeed according to his expectation, made his retreat in good order, and still defended himself with some loss, until by degrees his Forces being diminished, he was totally defeated.

C H A P. XXIX.

Carvajal continues his pursuit after Diego Centeno. A strange piece of Cruelty committed by him upon a Souldier, and a trick which another plaid upon him.

SO soon as it was day *Carvajal* pursued the Enemy with his Foot drawn up in form of Battel, the Horse advancing before to fall on them in the Rere: but *Diego Centeno* made his retreat good, and the night following, and for three or four nights following he continually alarm'd *Carvajal*, in expectation that some parties would fall off from the Enemy and revolt unto him; but finding his hopes deceived in that point, he got his Forces into fast places, and acted on the defensive part; and at length began to march away with all speed, twelve, thirteen and sometimes fifteen leagues a-day: and as some Authours report, he sent away his Baggage before, and what else was cumbersome, whilst he with a select number of men well armed marched in the Rere. Howsoever the Enemy pursued so close after them, that notwithstanding the long marches which *Diego Centeno* took, they scarce lost sight of them; for about two dozen of Pikes which marched always in the Front, did continually gall them, untill at length they were utterly destroyed: whensoever *Diego Centeno* came to any narrow Pass, he then made a stop and faced the Enemy, and maintained it for three or four days, untill the Baggage and whatsoever was cumbersome had advanced twenty leagues before, and then he would follow with all haste to overtake them, and when he was come up to his Companions; they would all say, We wish to God that he would give a stop to the proceedings of this Tyrant; that we might take a little repose for two or three days; that in the mean time we might advance twenty leagues before him: but for not a pursuit did they make after them (as I have heard from several of *Diego Centeno's* own people) that they had scarce taken five or six hours of repose and rest, before they espied a stand of Pikes still following with such diligence as if not men but the Devil had driven them; upon appearance of which they instantly put themselves upon the march, whilst *Diego Centeno* himself faced the Enemy and covered the Rere. It happened one day that *Diego Centeno* and his Companions maintained a narrow Pass, which was something rocky, for the space of above half a day together, untill such time as night caused both parties to retire: during which time one of that Company, who was mounted on a Mare, whose name I have forgotten, alighted from his Beast, and with his Gun went to a Rock, on the side of which taking a stay for the better assurance of his shot, he fired at the Enemy, and did the execution to kill a Horse by the side of *Carvajal's*, which being done, the poor man returned to take his Mare, trusting to her Leggs, that with her swiftness he should both escape the Enemy and overtake his own Party; but when he came to seek his Mare, where he had tyed her, she had broke her Bridle and was gone, having been affrighted with the report of the Gun and the noise of the Horses which passed by her, so that the poor man falling into the hands of *Carvajal's* Souldiers, they took him and presented him to their Commander, who being wearied with the pursuit, and angry at the resistance which was made, and more incensed at the particular action of this Souldier, he resolved to put him to a lingering death, and in order thereunto he stripped him naked, and tied his Arms and Feet and threw him into a hollow Pit to die with cold; for the colds in that Country are so extreme, that the Indians take care to carry their Pots and Jars under covert and within the Walls of their Houses by night, for otherwise they would crack and burst with the intenseness of the Frosts. To this miserable torture was this poor Wretch exposed, crying out all night, lamenting and saying, is there no good Christian who hath so much mercy and compassion for me as to kill me, and rid me out of this miserable world, which will be such a piece of charity as will be recompensed by blessings from God.

Having passed the whole night with these sad lamentations, so soon as it was day, he was told, that *Carvajal* intended him that nights lodging for his punishment,

ment, and then, extending his mercy to him, he caused him to be hanged; which I believe was the greatest piece of cruelty that he ever committed: after which he proceeded forward in his march. The Party of *Diego Centeno*, not being able to sustain such perpetual labours and tedious travels, began to faint and fail, as well Horse as Foot, so that several of them fell into the hands of *Carvajal's*, such as were principal men of note he put to death, without pardon or mercy to any one of them, but as to the meaner sort, he spared them at the intercession of his own Souldiers. But here we must not omit the relation of a trick or jest, which, at this time, and in the midst of this pursuit, a certain Souldier put upon *Carvajal*, as many had already done during this War. It happened that many poor Souldiers went to *Carvajal* and complained, that during all the time that they had served in service of their Lord the Governour, he had never taken care to provide them with things necessary and convenient for them; upon which *Carvajal* supplied many of them with Horses, Arms, Clothes, and Money so far as he was able. The which gave encouragement to many of the Souldiers to be faithfull, and serve him to the end of the Wars; but others of looser principles made use of the Horses and Arms which he had given them to revolt to the other Party. Amongst the rest there was a certain Souldier whom *Carvajal* had mounted on a Mare, and having an intention to revolt, he always came up in the Rere with his Mare, still making his boasts and bravadoes, what he would do, and how forward he would be, if he were well mounted. *Carvajal* being troubled to hear these constant vapours and sayings of the Souldier, changed his Mare, and in place thereof gave him an excellent Mule, and told him, look to it now, Gentleman Souldier, for I have mounted you the best of any man in this Troop; here, Sir, said he, take her and complain no more of me, for I swear by the Life of our Governour, I will pay you off according to your deserts. The Souldier received the Mule, and heard the threats, but to avoid the effects of them, he took another time meeting with a Souldier of his acquaintance, who went to seek for *Carvajal*, he said to him, pray recommend me to my Colonel, and tell him, that though I have not been able this night to travel twelve leagues, yet I have travelled eleven of them, and hope before noon to reach the full twelve, and four more. The Souldier not knowing that the other was fled, but supposing he was sent by him upon some Message with haste and diligence, told *Carvajal* what the Souldier had said to him; but *Carvajal* was more alhamed of this second cheat that was put upon him than angry at the unfaithfulness and treachery of the fellow; and in a passion said, These Weavers (for so he called all those who revolted from his to the King's Party) had need to live in a state of Confession, and always prepared to die, and to pardon me in case I make bold to hang as many of them as I can meet with; for I have no need of such Customers, who come and cheat me of my Horses and Arms, and when they are well provided and equipped, then to run from me and revolt to the Enemy. And as to the Priests and Friars, they are but so many Spies, and such as come with a like design. It is fit for Priests and religious men to remain in their Churches and Cells, and like good men to pray for the peace of Christians, rather than under the sanctity of their Habits to cloak treacherous designs: Let them look to it, for if they understand not the duty of their Profession, let them not think it much, if I strip them of their Habits, and make bold to hang them: of which I have reserved several examples in the Wars where I have been a Souldier.

This did *Carvajal* utter with much passion and vehemence, and was as good as his word, as well to Friars as others, according to the report of all Historians; for such as he took who had revolted from him, he punished with the utmost cruelty and torment; but those who were only Prisoners of War, and had kept to his own Party. And now we shall leave *Carvajal* in his pursuit of *Diego Centeno*, and return to *Gonzalo Pizarro* who was also in the pursuit of the Vice-king at the same time, and almost in the same days.

C H A P. XXX.

Gonzalo Pizarro pursues the Vice-king so close that at length he drove him out of Peru. Pedro de Hinojosa sails to Panama, with a Fleet of Ships belonging to Pizarro.

WE have before mentioned how that the Vice-king marched into *Quin*, and that *Pizarro* pursued him at the heels, though his Souldiers were not less weary, nor wanting of provisions than the others, but rather more, because the Vice-king marching before, carried away all the provisions of the Countrey wheresoever they came; howsoever so eager was *Pizarro*, and so much concerned to put an end to these labours, that he continued his pursuit day and night, as *Carate* reports in the twenty ninth Chapter of his fifth Book in these words;

Gonzalo Pizarro pursued the Vice-king from the City of *St. Michael's* (which was the place from whence he made his retreat,) as far as the City of *Quin*, which are an hundred and fifty leagues distant from each other; and so hotly did he carry on this work, that there was scarce a day but they saw each other, and the Scouts often discoursed together; and to be in greater readines, their Horses remained always saddled: but if either Party was more vigilant than the other, it was the Vice-king's; for his men slept always in their Clothes, holding their Horses by the Halter, without Tents or Horse-clothes to cover them; but necessity made them ingenious, and taught them a remedy, in that sandy Countrey where were no Trees to shelter them, which was this; So soon as they came to the place where they intended to quarter that night, they filled certain Bags or Sacks, which they carried with them, with Sand, and having made a great hole they threw them in, and covered them with Sand, which they trod and trampled on and made it very firm, so that the Horses could lie thereupon with much ease. But besides all this, both Armies suffered much for want of provisions, and especially *Pizarro's* men who came in the pursuit, for the Vice-king wheresoever he passed raised all the *Indians* of the Countrey, and the *Caciques* or Governours, and took them with him, that so the Enemy coming after, might find all places dispeopled and unprovided: and such was the great haste which the Vice-king made that he took with him eight or ten of the best Horses which could be procured in that Countrey, which were led by *Wakans*; and in case any of his Horses happened to be tired on the way he maimed or disabled him in such manner that the Enemy could make no use of him. And now in the way Captain *Bachicao* returned from the Voyage which we formerly mentioned, and joined with *Gonzalo Pizarro*, bringing a recruit of three hundred and fifty Men, twenty Ships and good store of Cannon, and sailing along the coast which is nearest to *Quin*, he landed his Men in a place not far from the Forces of *Pizarro*; with which additional auxiliaries *Pizarro's* Army amounted to eight hundred men, of which many were principal persons of quality and note, as well Inhabitants as Souldiers, who came in with such frankness as no story can parallel under the Government of a Tyrant and an Usurper. In that Province all Provisions were very plentiful, and therein not long before they had discovered several rich Veins of Gold, out of which the *Spaniards* whose lots fell there, raised vast sums, which they refused to yield to *Pizarro*, and also denied the fifths to his Majesty, or to be accountable for the Treasures of dead persons. And here it was that *Pizarro* received intelligence that the Vice-king was advanced forty leagues from *Quin*, and was entered into a certain Town called *Pasfo*, within the Government of *Belaalcazar*: And here he resolved to pursue him to that place, which he accordingly did without delay or interruption; for *Gonzalo Pizarro* staid but very little in *Quin*, and having overtaken the Enemy, several skirmishes happened between parties on each side in that place, which is called the *Hot River*. And the Vice-king having advice that *Pizarro* was near at hand, he quitted *Pasfo* in great haste, and marched up into the Countrey untill he came to the City of *Papayan*, and *Pizarro* having still pursued him for twenty eight leagues farther, where finding

finding a desert and desolate Countrey, and want of all provisions, he resolved to return again to *Quin*; which he accordingly did, after he had pursued the Vice-king for so long a time, and through such a vast tract of Land, as is before mentioned: and we may confidently avvert that from the City of *Plata* (from which he first began his March) to the City of *Pasfo* are seven hundred leagues, so long as may be computed to make a thousand of our ordinary leagues of *Casile*, &c. Thus far are the words of *Carate*, to which other Historians add, That the Vice-king having passed the River of *Hot Waters*, did imagine that his Enemies would that they had driven him out of *Peru*, and from the confines of their Jurisdiction, and that now he should remain in peace and quiet, untill some good opportunity should offer for his better advantage; but he had not long pleased himself with these thoughts, and scarce ended his discourse with his Captains concerning them, before some Parties of *Pizarro's* Army appeared to them, defending a Hill towards the River, with the same haste and fury that they had formerly practised: and said, *Is it possible, or will it ever be believed in Ages to come, That men pretending to be Spaniards should pursue the Royal Standard of their King (as they have done) for the space of four hundred leagues, as it is from the City of Los Reyes to this place?* and then raising his Camp with speed, he proceeded forward that his Enemies might have no time to repose: but *Pizarro* proceeded no farther, but, as we have said, returned to *Quin*, where, as *Carate* reports, he became so elated with pride by reason of his many prosperous successes, that his insolence became insupportable, and then out of the fulness of his heart, he would vent many bold sayings derogatory to the honour and Majesty of his King: *The King*, said he, *will be obliged whether he will or not to grant me the Government of Peru, for he is sensible of the obligations he hath to me for this Conquest*: and though oftentimes he would pretend to great obedience and resignation to his Majesty's pleasure, yet at other times, he would let fall words seditious and rebellious; and at the instigation of his Captains, he published his reasons, setting forth his right and title to that Government. And being now settled in the City of *Quin*, he passed his time in Festivals, Sports and Banquets, without minding the actions or proceedings of the Vice-king; only the discourses amongst themselves were that he would go to *Spain* by way of *Cartagena*, others that he would pass up farther towards the Continent to raise Men and Arms, and there expect his Majesty's further Instructions; others were of opinion, that he would remain in the Countrey of *Popeya* untill he received new Orders; but it was generally believed that he would not stay long there, or attempt any thing in those parts; but be his design what it would, it was concluded necessary to obstruct his passage to the Continent; to which end *Hernando Bacheico* was remanded back again with his Fleet, of which *Pedro de Hinojosa*, Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, was made Admiral, with two hundred and fifty men under his command, who departed with all expedition. Moreover *Rodrigo de Carvajal* was dispatched with his Ship to *Panama*, with a Packet of Letters from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, desiring the Inhabitants of that City to favour his cause and design, assuring them, that whatever Spoils and Insolencies *Bachicao* had committed on them were contrary to his will and pleasure, and against his express command. *Rodrigo de Carvajal* arrived accordingly within three leagues of *Panama*, where he received intelligence that two Captains sent from the Vice-king were there, the one called *John de Guzman*, and the other *John de Tlancez*, who were raising Forces to carry to the Province of *Belaalcazar* to recruit the Vice-king's Army therewith, and that they had already lifted about an hundred men, and had prepared good quantities of Arms, with five or six pieces of Cannon. And though these men had been for some time in a readines, they were not sent away; by reason that apprehending some attempts from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, they thought fit to keep their people in reserve till they saw the danger over. Howsoever *Rodrigo de Carvajal* adventured to send a Souldier privately into the City with Letters to certain Citizens; who upon receipt thereof communicated them to the Officers of the Town, who seized on the Souldier, and by him understanding the design of *Hinojosa*, put the City into Arms, and sent two Brigantines to seize the Ship of *Carvajal*; but he suspecting some ill intention against him by reason of the long absence of his Messenger, set sail from thence, and so the two Brigantines missing him returned back without success.

C H A P. XXXI.

Pedro de Hinojosa takes Vela Nunnez in his voyage. The great Preparations which were made in Panama. And how those Troubles were appeased.

THE Governour of Panama, called *Pedro de Casas*, born at *Seville*, went in haste to *Nombre de Dios*, where he raised all the Men he was able; with what Arms he could find both offensive and defensive, which he carried with him to Panama to oppose *Pedro de Hinojosa*: the like diligence was used by the two Captains of *Pizarro*, between whom and *Pedro de Casas*, though there had formerly risen some Disputes and Contentions about place or preference, yet all agreed to chuse *Casas* for Commander in chief. *Pedro de Hinojosa* having dispatched *Rodrigo de Carvajal*, proceeded on his Voyage to Panama, enquiring along the Coast concerning the Vice-king: and in the River and Port of *St. John* he put some Men aboard, to receive what Intelligence and News was there stirring, who took ten Spaniards, and brought them on board; by one of whom they were given to understand, that the Vice-king by reason of the long stay of two of his Captains, *John de Guzman* and *John de Yllanes*, in Panama, had sent also his Brother *Vela Nunnez* thither to hasten the Recruits, and to increase the numbers, he sent great sums of Money out of the King's Treasury, and delivered to him also the ballad Son of *Gonzalo Pizarro*; and that *Vela Nunnez* had sent a Souldier before to discover what danger there was on the Coast, whilst he remained a day's journey behind, upon which Intelligence, *Hinojosa* sent two Captains with different Parties by several ways; both which had good success; the first had the fortune to take *Vela Nunnez*; and the other *Rodrigo Alexia*, who was born in the City of *Caslin*, and with whom was *Gonzalo Pizarro's* Son; and both of them got great booty and riches; all which came very acceptable to *Hinojosa*, who was much pleased with the taking of *Vela Nunnez*, who might oppose and prevent his design in Panama: and with the rescue of the Son of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whose freedom would be joyfull to his Father. And encouraged with this happy success they sailed toward Panama, and being near the Place, *Rodrigo de Carvajal* came forth to meet them, and gave them Intelligence of all Matters at Panama, and how the City was prepared to oppose them. *Hinojosa* was rather pleased than discouraged with this News; and putting himself into a posture of War, sailed forward untill on a day in the month of *October*, which was in the year 1545. he came within sight of the City of Panama with a Fleet of eleven sail of Ships and a hundred and fifty Men aboard: upon this appearance the City was in great consternation; all Souldiers repaired to their Colours, and *Pedro de Casas* who was chief Officer, had above five hundred Men under his command; but the most of them were Merchants, and the Officers such unexperienced Men in the War, that few of them knew how to fire a Musquet, and all of them unwilling to engage in fight, especially against Men coming from *Pern*, with whom having formerly been accustomed to deal in Traffick and Merchandize, it seemed strange to contend with them at any other Weapon. And moreover they considered, that a great part of their Estates, and effects were in *Pern*, which would all be confiscated by *Gonzalo Pizarro*, in case they should appear in Arms, against his Forces. Howsoever they formed and joined in several Bodies commanded by their respective Officers, the chief of which were first *Pedro de Casas*, General; then *Arias de Acebedo*, who came afterwards over, and lived at *Cordoba*, where at this time some of his Grandchildren inhabit: Other Captains and Officers were *John Fernandez de Robledo*, *Andrew de Araya*, with the Vice King's two Captains, *John de Guzman* and *John de Yllanes*, with several other Noble Persons then present, who resolved to defend the City for the service of his Majesty; and others being affrighted with the late Outrages and Insults of *Bachicao* were inclined to preserve themselves from the like Tyrannies, which they feared from *Hinojosa*: but he, considering what sort of people he had to deal with, landed two hundred Men, all old and veterane

rane Souldiers well appointed and armed, and fifty were left aboard, for defence of their Ships. And so he marched along the Coast, being flanked with his Cannon, carrying aboard the Boats belonging to the Ships, much to the annoyance of the Enemy, in case they should make an assault upon them. He gave farther order aboard Ship, that so soon as they should come to an Engagement, that they should presently hang up *Vela Nunnez* and the other Prisoners which they had taken. *Pedro de Casas* seeing the resolution of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, came out to meet him, with intention either to overcome or dye: and both Parties being come within Musquet shot each of other; all the Clergy-men and Friars came out of the City carrying a Wood of Crosses before them, which served for Banners and Colours, and being all clad in mourning with sadness in their countenances, cried out with loud voices to Heaven and to the People for Peace and Concord amongst them; saying, Is it not a great shame and pity, that you who are Christians, and are come to preach the Gospel to Infidels, should imbrue your hands in the blood of each other, to the common ruine and calamity of all. These words being uttered with great outcries and exclamations, put both sides to a stand, and to look each on the other; untill the religious Troops interposed themselves: Accordingly *Hinojosa* sent in his behalf *Don Baltazar de Castilia*, Son of Count de *Gomera*, and the People of Panama employed *Don Pedro de Cabrera* for their Agent, both Natives of *Seville*. It was pleaded in behalf of *Hinojosa*, that no reason could be given, why they should oppose his landing, or free admittance into the City: for that his message and business thither was to give satisfaction to the Inhabitants for the Tyrannies and Outrages which *Bachicao* had committed on them, and to buy Cloths and Provisions of them for their Money, and supply themselves with other necessaries for their Voyage. That they had received strict Commands and Orders from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, not to give them the least cause of offence, nor to fight, unless they were compelled thereunto: And that so soon as they had made their provisions, and re-fitted their Ships, they would speedily depart in quest of the Vice-king, and cause him to embark for *Spain*, according to the Sentence which the Judges had given concerning him: and thereby free the Countries from those fears and molestations which he had caused by rowling up and down in all quarters. And in regard he was not in Panama, they had no business which could detain them long there, and therefore they entreated them not to force them to an engagement with them; which according to the Command of *Pizarro* they would avoid by all means possible; but in case they were forced to fight, they would then doe their best not to be overcome.

On the other side it was alledged in behalf of the Governour *Pedro de Casas*, that his entry into their Countrey in that hostile manner could not be justified, though it were given for granted that *Gonzalo Pizarro* had a right to the Government. That *Bachicao* had given the same promises, and made as fair pretences as he did, and yet so soon as he had gotten possession, he then committed all those spoils and murders for which they pretend now to give satisfaction. The Commissioners on both sides hearing these Allegations, and being desirous to make an accommodation, did agree that *Hinojosa* should be received aboard, and have free guard of fifty Men for security of his person; that his Fleet, with the rest of his Souldiers should in the mean time sail to the Isles of *Pearls*, and take with them Ship-carpenters, and cut such Timber as should be usefull for repair of their Vessels; and that at the end of thirty days they should return to *Pern*. These Articles being agreed unto by both Parties, they were confirmed by Oath, and Hostages given.

Pedro de Hinojosa accordingly came to the City with his fifty Men; where he took a house, and gave publick entertainment to all comers and goers; and his People sported and treated friendly and familiarly with all the Inhabitants. *Augustine de Carate*, in the thirty second Chapter of his fifth Book, saith; for what we have farther to add in this matter is upon his Authority; That three days had scarce passed before all those Souldiers who had been raised by the Captains, *John Guzman* and *John de Yllanes*, revolted for the most part to *Hinojosa*; according to whose example the idle and vagrant persons of the City, who were not Merchants, and such as had no employment, lifted themselves Souldiers with *Hinojosa*, intending for *Pern*: so that the Captains of the Vice-king finding themselves forsaken

faken by their men, privately embarked with fourteen or fifteen men, and failed away. In the mean time *Hinojosa* passed very peaceably, without intermeddling in the Government or matters of Justice, or suffering his People to commit the least offence, or give occasion of complaint to the People: with these men he sent *Don Pedro de Cabrera*, and *Hernando Mexia de Guzman* his Son-in-law to *Nombre de Dios*, with Orders to keep that Port, and intercept all Advices which should come as well from *Spain* as from other parts.

C H A P. XXXII.

Of the Actions of Melchior Verdugo in Truxillo, Nicaragua and in Nombre de Dios, and how he was forced to leave that City.

ABOUT the same time there happened an odd Accident in the City of *Truxillo*, which gave great offence, and raised the enmity and hatred of the People against the person who occasioned the same, whose name was *Melchior Verdugo*, to whom the Province of *Cassamarca* was appointed by lot, a place famous for the imprisonment of the King *Atahualpa* and other remarkable Successes which have been mentioned before.

This person having been born in the City of *Avila*, and Country-man to the Vice-king, was desirous to signalize himself in doing something remarkable for his service; the Vice-king, before his imprisonment knowing of his Intentions, gave him a large Commission to do many things of high importance, and particularly to destroy or displease the City of *Los Reyes*, for which reason *Melchior Verdugo*, and his adherents fell under the hatred and displeasure of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and of such as were of his Party. *Verdugo*, being informed hereof, resolved to escape out of the Kingdom, fearing to fall into the hands of *Pizarro*. Howsoever, being desirous to perform some Act extraordinary, he engaged some Souldiers to him, bought Arms secretly, and made Musquet-shot, Mannacles and Chains in his own house, and so bold he was in his matters, that his Neighbours and Companions were greatly offended thereat: but fortune favoured his design, for at that time, a Ship arriving in the Port of *Truxillo* from *Los Reyes*, he sent for the Master and the Mate of the Vessel, pretending that he had a parcel of *Mays* and other Goods to ship upon him for *Panama*, which he desired them to come and see; so soon as the Master and the Mate were within his house, he put them into a low cellar or dungeon, which he had made: then he pretended to be lame of the Gout, and sitting in that manner at his Window, he espied one of the Governours with his Clerk passing by, and calling to them, he desired them to come, to draw some authentic Writings, which he had occasion for; and desired their excuse for not coming to them by reason of the Indisposition which was upon him: when they were come in, he fairly led them to the place where the Master and Pilot were lodged, and there he took away their white Staves, and clapt them in Chains; setting a guard of six Musquetiers upon them. And returning again to his Window, he espied another Citizen passing by, to whom he called in the same manner as before, pretending some business with him; and him also he put into his prison, and in this manner he decoyed in at least twenty persons of the principal Citizens, which were all that remained at home, the others being gone in Service of *Pizarro*. Then he sallied out into the Marketplace with twenty Souldiers whom he judged to be faithful to him; he summoned all people in the King's name to come in, and seized on those who did not readily obey; and then in hearing of all his prisoners, he told them plainly, that his business was to carry men and arms to the Vice-king, for which service he had an occasion for money, which they must speedily pay him, in case they expected their liberty; and that every one should pay his proportion according to his ability; and if not, he was resolved to carry them away with him to the Vice-king.

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The prisoners paid down their ready money, as was agreed; and taking what was in the King's Treasury with his own Estate; for he was a very rich-man, he amassed great quantities of Gold and Silver, all which he carried with him, and so embarked for *Panama*; and that his passage might not be interrupted, he brought all his prisoners in their chains to the Sea-side, and freed them as he was going off. In his voyage he met with a Ship laden with goods, and spoils, which *Bachicao* had robbed at *Panama*, the which he took, and divided to himself and amongst his Souldiers, and hearing that *Gonzalo Pizarro* had a Fleet of Ships at that place, he feared to go thither, and so failed to *Nicaragua*. *Pedro de Hinojosa* having intelligence of his going, sent two Ships in chase of him, under the command of Captain *John Alonso Palomino* with a hundred and twenty Musquetiers: at his arrival there he found that *Verdugo* was landed; howsoever he took his Ship, but durst not adventure ahoar; because the Inhabitants of *Granada* and *Leon* denied him admittance; whereupon *Palomino* returned to *Panama* with the Ships which he had taken on the coast of *Nicaragua*, of which he reserved such as were serviceable, and burnt the rest, and being arrived at *Panama*, he gave to *Hinojosa* an account of all that had passed. This was *Melchior Verdugo* put out of all possibility of doing any farther feats against *Pizarro* in the Sea of *Zur*, for he had lost his Ship, and could not buy another, for *Bachicao*, and his men, had taken them all. Wherefore considering with himself what to do, he imagined, that in case he went by way of the North Sea to *Nombre de Dios*, he might be able to compass some exploit in that City; for he conceived that *Pedro de Hinojosa* had few people in that City, and those all secure, and in no apprehension of surprize by an enemy: with this fancy he built four Frigates, and shipped a hundred stout Souldiers upon them in the Lake of *Nicaragua*, and passed through that channel which runs into the North Sea. In the River which is called *Chagre*, it was his fortune to take a Boat with certain Negroes who spake good Spanish, and by them he was informed of all matters that had passed in *Nombre de Dios*, both as to the Souldiers and Officers which were quartered there. And taking those Negroes for their Guides, they came about midnight to the City, where being landed, they immediately set upon the House where *Don Pedro de Cabre* and *Hernan Mexia*; with some Souldiers were lodged, who being allarm'd with the noise of the people, put themselves into a posture to defend themselves. Whereupon *Verdugo's* men set fire to the House, so that the Defendants perceiving the flame about their Ears, were forced to go forth and combat with their Enemies by the light thereof: but they being Robbers, and more desirous of plunder and booty than of blood, took their heels and fled, and by help of a dark night secured themselves within the high Mountains which are near to the City: of all which particulars Advices being carried to *Pedro de Hinojosa* then residing at *Panama*, he shewed high resentments, and complained thereof to Doctour *Ribera*, who was Governour of *Nombre de Dios*, at that time residing at *Panama*, before whom he accused *Verdugo* for having entred into his Government and Jurisdiction without Title or Commission from his Superior; but had by authority onely from himself presumed to imprison several Justices of the Peace, and forced them and others to pay for their ransomes; that he had committed many Piracies in the South and North Seas, and at length in a hostile manner had entred into *Nombre de Dios*: all which being highly aggravated before Doctour *Ribera*, *Pedro de Hinojosa* offered him assistance both in person and with his forces; the which Doctour *Ribera* accepted, administered an Oath of fidelity to *Pedro Hinojosa* and his Captains to obey him as their Captain General during the time of this action, and not to do any thing contrary to his Command; which being agreed, they forthwith marched from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*. *Melchior Verdugo* having notice hereof, drew out his men into the field, with such others of the City as had joined with him. *Hinojosa* immediately attacked them, and at the first charge several fell both on one side and the other. But when the Inhabitants of *Nombre de Dios* saw their own Governour *Verdugo's* men would have given a stop to the flight of the Inhabitants; but their disorder being such that they could not withstand the shock of their Enemies, they betook themselves to their Frigates, with which they surprized a Ship in Port; and arming her with their Cannon, they made many shot to the Town, but with little or no damage, by reason that the Vessel rose at a distance for want of Water near the shoar. *Verdugo* finding himself thus disappointed, and in no con-

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dition to deal with the Enemy, several of his men being killed and left ashore, he failed to *Cartagena* with his Ship and Frigates, attending an opportunity to incommode the Enemy; but Doctor *Ribera* and *Pedro de Hinojosa* appeased the people the best they could; and leaving some force and Captains for security and defence of the City, they returned to *Panama*.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Blasco Nunnez Vela recruits himself in Popayan. Gonzalo Pizarro pretends to goe for Quito, hoping by that means to cause his removal from thence. The Vice-king goes in quest of Pedro Puelles.

WE before mentioned that the Vice-king was in *Popayan*, where, to keep himself in action, he engrossed all the Iron of that Province; to work which he compelled the Smiths to come in and set up Forges, and in a short time made above two hundred Fire-arms, with Crosetts and Armour proportionable to them, and then he wrote a Letter to *Sebastian*, Governour of *Belalcazar*, and to a certain Captain of his called *John Cabrera*, who was then by order of the said Governour employed in a new Conquest of the *Indians*; wherein he gave them a particular intelligence of all matters which had happened to him since the time of his first entrance into *Peru*, in which was comprised the History of the Insurrection of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who had forced him to abandon the Countrey; and that now he resolved to return again upon him; to which end, that he might have a competent Army, he desired them to come and join with him, in which they would do most signal service to his Majesty; and that having overcome and killed that Tyrant, they might largely share in the possessions of *Peru*, which would be much better than all the Conquests they were now employed in. Besides which promises, the better to encourage them, he told them that *Diego Centeno* was actually on the Confines of *Peru* in his Majesty's service; that every day his forces increased; so that now, in case the Tyrant were but attacked on the other side, it would be impossible for him to hold out. He also sent them Warrants to take out of his Majesty's Exchequer in several Towns and Villages near them the sum of thirty thousand *Pesos* of Gold, for payment of the Souldiers. The Captains having received these Orders, obeyed them with all readines; and with a hundred Souldiers well armed, came, and kissed the Vice-king's hand; the which encouraged him to send the like Orders to the new Kingdom of *Granada*, *Cartagena* and other parts, demanding succour and assistance from them; so that in a short time he had got a Body of four hundred men, all reasonable well armed; but this success was again tempered with the ill News of the loss of his Brother and of his two Captains, *John de Guzman* and *John de Ibañez*; at which he was much troubled, because he had great expectations from them. On the other side, *Gonzalo Pizarro* had nothing to trouble him, but only the thoughts of the Vice-king, for he could not think himself secure, whilst he lived, and was at the head of an Army: And because he could not come at the Vice-king, or march into the Countrey where he was for want of Provisions, which were very scarce in those parts; he gave out, that he would march into the *Charcas* to suppress the Insurrection of *Diego Centeno*; and to leave Captain *Pedro de Puelles* with three hundred men to guard that frontier against the Vice-king, in case he should make an attempt thereupon. And to put a better colour on this feigned design, and make it more publick, he named his Captains and Souldiers who were to goe with him, and those who were to remain behind; and made provisions for maintenance of one and the other. Accordingly he marched out of *Quito*, and took care that information hereof should be dispatched to the Vice-king; to perform which, an ill-man, whom the Vice-king had sent for his Spy into those parts, was very instrumental: for this Rogue had, in hopes of some great reward from *Pizarro*, discovered

vered the design he was upon, and betrayed to him the Cypher which the Vice-king had given him, by the help of which *Gonzalo Pizarro* caused him to write all that had passed, and caused the Letter to be delivered to an *Indian* wholly ignorant of this treachery. On the other side, he caused *Pedro de Puelles* to write to several of his Friends then in *Popayan*, that he was quartered in *Quito* with three hundred men; so that if they thought fit to come thither and divertise themselves with him for some time, they should find safety and a hearty welcome, in regard that the Countrey was quiet by the absence and retirement of *Gonzalo Pizarro* from thence: and he delivered these Letters to certain *Indians* who were then present at the departure of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, that they might thereby confirm the contents of the intelligence which was sent; and farther, he ordered *Pedro de Puelles* to seem as if he sent these *Indians* in a secret manner, but yet so as a discovery might be made, and that the Out-guards of the Vice-king might intercept the Letters and carry them to him: the Plot being thus laid, *Gonzalo Pizarro* (as hath been said) departed from *Quito*, and having marched three or four days, he feigned himself sick in excuse of his delay. The Vice-king having received the Letter from *Pedro de Puelles*, to both which he gave undoubted belief; he imagined that with four hundred men, he might easily deal with *Pedro de Puelles*, and after such a Victory he might pursue *Gonzalo Pizarro* and overthrow him: And on this confidence and belief building his design (for he could receive no other intelligence, the Roads being obstructed) he resolved to march to *Quito*: but on the contrary, *Gonzalo Pizarro* was better informed, by way of the *Indians* of *Camaris*, of all the proceedings of the Vice-king, and of every days march which he made; and when he understood that he was come within twelve days march of *Quito*, he then returned with all speed to the City to join with *Pedro de Puelles*, from whence both the Camps proceeded with great joy, thinking that now they had entrapped the Vice-king and should be able to engage him in a Battel; and though they heard that he was eight hundred men strong, yet *Pizarro* confided in the valour and experience of his *Veterane* Souldiers, and contemned the rawness and unskillfulness of the adverse party: For when he came to muster and survey his men, he found that he had two hundred Fire-locks, three hundred and fifty Pike-men, and an hundred and fifty Horsemen, all dexterous and able Souldiers, well provided and armed, with quantity of powder of the best and finest sort. The Captains of the Fire-locks were *John de Acosta* and *John Velez de Guevara*, the Captain of the Pike-men was *Hernando de Bachicao*, and the Captains of Horse were *Pedro de Puelles* and *Gomez de Alvarado*, and the Standard was carried by *Francis de Ampuero*, and supported by seventy Horse. *Benito Suarez de Carvajal*, Brother of the Agitant *Yllan Suarez*, took the side of *Pizarro*, and was there present with thirty men under his command, all of his own Kindred and Relations; In this posture was the Army of *Pizarro* when news came that the Enemy was come within two leagues of the Camp; whereupon they marched and took possession of a Pass on the River where the Vice-king was to go over, for there was no other way; and being there *Pizarro* posted and fortified himself very advantageously; which happened, as *Augustine Carate* reports, on Saturday the fifteenth day of January, 1546.

The Vice-king charged *Pedro de Puelles* with great courage, in hopes speedily to rout him, and afterwards to deal in like manner with *Pizarro*; for he always entertained an opinion of the loyalty of the people, that they only expected an opportunity to revolt and return to obedience and service of his Majesty. In confidence whereof he approached so near to the Forces of *Pedro de Puelles*, that the Van-guards could speak and call each other Traitors and Rebels, for both Parties pretended loyalty and duty to his Majesty, and yet all this time, the Vice-king was not informed that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was so near; but believed all the time that he had to deal with none but *Pedro de Puelles*.

The night following, about the glimpse of the Evening, *Carate* reports in the thirty fifth Chapter of his fifth Book, That the Vice-king holding a Council of War with his Commanders, it was there agreed, as most advantageous, and of less danger to get possession of the Town than to adventure a Battel in the open Field; and accordingly before mid-night quietly and without noise they marched away, leaving their Camp and Tents with the *Indians* who carried them; and taking the way on the left hand, they marched over a great Desert: and *Fernando*

Palentino says, that it rained all night, that they passed many rocky places and great Rivers, so that many times their Horses were forced to take a rounding way by the side of steep Mountains, and coming to the bottom they plunged into Rivers, in which manner having marched all the night, they lost several Men and Horses, who were so disabled and left behind that they could not come time enough to the Battel, and so soon as it was day they found themselves within a league of *Quitu*. Thus far are the words of *Palentino*.

The reason which moved the Vice-king to take this troublesome march, was in design to charge the Enemy in the Rere; but, as *Carate* saith, he did not believe that either the way was so bad nor so long; for when he moved his Camp, he was not then above three leagues from *Quitu*, and yet with the compass they took it proved at least eight leagues: this error was fatal to the Vice-king; for whereas he should rather have kept his Men and Horse fresh and fit for engagement, they were instead thereof so harassed and tired with their long march of eight leagues over Deserts and unpassable places, that they had need of long rest and repose to recover them; but where a misfortune and destiny is intended, the Counsels which are designed for good are converted to ruine and destruction.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Battel of Quitu, wherein the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez was defeated and slain.

THE Vice-king enting into the City of *Quitu* found no resistance, and there it was told him by a certain Woman that *Pizarro* was marching against him, at which he wondered much, but was soon made to understand the fraud and stratagem by which he was decoyed into that snare. On the other side *Gonzalo Pizarro* knew nothing of the march of the Vice-king to *Quitu*, but believed all the time that he had remained in his Camp; but when in the morning the Scouts came near the Tents, and hearing little or no noise, they adventured in, and understood from the *Indians* of all matters which had passed, and accordingly gave information thereof to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who was not wanting to send the news to his Captains, who immediately raised their Camp, and marched in an orderly posture to *Quitu*, with intention to give Battel to the Vice-king, in what place soever they should meet him. The Vice-king was not ignorant of all these matters, and considering the great advantage which his Enemies had over him, and that there was no security but in his Arms, he resolved to hazard all upon the fortune of a Battel, hoping that such as were true Servants and faithfull Subjects to his Majesty would revolt over to his side; and so animating his people with these expectations, he marched with his Forces out of the City, and both sides were full of courage as if they had been secure of Victory; and though *Gonzalo Pizarro* had the greater advantage in his numbers, yet the Vice-king was equal to him in the Valour and Conduct of his Captains, all men of great spirit and renown: those who commanded the Infantry were *Sancho Sanchez d'Avila*, his Cousin *John Cabrera*, and *Francis Sanchez*; his Captains of Horse were Admiral *Sebastian de Belalcagar Cepeda*, and *Pedro de Bessan*, and so both Armies marched to meet each other: At the first a skirmish was begun by two parties of Musketeers detached from each Army; in which the people of *Pizarro* had the advantage by the strength and goodness of their Powder, and by the use of their Fire-arms, being the better Marks-men: by this time both Armies were come so near to each other, that the detached Parties were forced to retreat to their respective Colours; to make which good on *Pizarro's* side, *John de Acosta* with another able Souldier called *Perez de Sotomayor* came in to bring their Party off. Then *Gonzalo Pizarro* commanded *Licenciado Carvajal* to charge the right Wing of the Enemy, and he himself designed to lead and bring up the Horse in the Front; but his Captains dissuaded him from it, and rather desired him to place himself within a Squadron of Foot, where,

where, with seven or eight other Commanders, he might better oversee and govern the battel. The Vice-king's Troops of Horse consisting of about a hundred and forty men, observing that the Troops of *Carvajal* were coming up to charge them, they put themselves on a Trot to meet them, but so without rank or order, that they seemed (as *Carate* says of them) to be half routed before they came to engage; and a file of Musketeers so galled them in the flank, that though *Carvajal's* party was less in number, yet the Vice-king's Horse were so harassed and tyred, and the Enemy on the contrary fresh and in courage, that *Carvajal* had great advantage over them. Howsoever engaging first with their Lances, Daggers, Pole-axes and Hooks, the battel grew hot and bloody: but then *Pizarro's* Standard supported with about a hundred men coming in quite turned the fight between the Foot, was very sore and bloody, with such noise, and outcries, that the numbers seemed much greater than they were: In the first charge before he fell, he did great execution with his Sword, having cut down whole files and ranks of the Enemy; but being overwhelmed with numbers and advantages ranging victoriously on all sides, the chief Commanders of the Enemy, most of the Souldiery. The Vice-king fought very stoutly with his Horse, and in the first Charge had the fortune to dismount *Alonso de Montalvo*, besides other exploits which he performed with great resolution and courage: he was disguised in his habit, for over his Arms he wore an Indian Coat, which was the cause of his death: for when he saw his Forces totally defeated, he would then have fled, but his escape was prevented by an Inhabitant of *Arequipa* called *Hernando de Torblow* with a Battle-ax on the head, with both his hands; that he knocked him to the ground. And here *Carate*, in the thirty fifth Chapter of his fifth Book, gives relation of this passage in these words; The Vice-king and his Horse was so tired with the last night's march, having neither rested, nor slept, nor eaten, that to overthrow him and his horse was not very difficult: howsoever the battle was obstinately disputed between the Foot; but seeing the Vice-king fall, their courages failed, and submitted to the Conquerour, most of them being slain upon the place. Thus far *Carate*.

If *Hernando de Torres* had known the person of the Vice-king, which he might have done, had he discovered who he was by the mark of his Order of St. James, he would certainly have spared his life, and taken him prisoner: but supposing him to be a common man, clothed in an Indian habit, he killed him with disguise, but his intention was not to be spared, but to fall amongst the rest, in case he were overcome, and not to outlive his honour and power. So soon as *Carvajal* saw that the field was their own, and that they were secure of victory, he with great diligence fought out for the Vice-king, that he might wreak his revenge upon him for the death of his Brother; and found that *Pedro de Puelles* was giving him another mortal wound, though with his fall, and a shot through his body, he was then expiring his last breath: a common Souldier was the first who discovered the body of the Vice-king to *Pedro de Puelles*, otherwise it had remained unknown under the disguise. *Licenciado Carvajal* had a mind to have alive: he told him, that it was too mean an action for him to lay his hands on a dying man: howsoever he commanded his Negro to cut off his head, as he did, and it was made known to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who in anger caused it to be taken away and buried together with the body. A certain Author gives a relation hereof in this manner: The head of the Vice-king was carried to *Quitu*, and there for some time exposed on the common gallows; but this giving offence to some people, it was taken down and joined with the body, and entered together with it. And here it is remarkable with what niceness this Author touches this point; for not to say that *Pizarro* gave order to have the Head removed from the gallows, he says, that some taking offence thereat, caused the Head to be removed, so that he seems tacitly to accuse *Gonzalo Pizarro*, as if by his order the Head

Head was exposed, or at least that he consented thereunto: but the truth is, he was troubled at the action, and that so soon as he was informed thereof he gave immediate order to have it removed; the which is confirmed by the testimony of *Gomara*: but flattery and partiality to a side is always prevalent with Writers, who by adding or diminishing can make a story turn which way soever they please. *Gomara*, speaking of the death of the Vice-king, saith; That when *Hernando de Torres* had with a blow stunned *Blasco Nunnez*, and knocked him from his Horse, and (as many believe) unknown to him, by reason that he was under the disguise of an *Indian* habit, *Herrera* the Confessor to *Pizarro*, came to confess him; and first asked, who he was, to which *Blasco Nunnez* replied, that that question was not material; for he was to do his Office, which he desired him without farther queries to perform; for he was afraid of some torments and cruelties would be committed on his person. Thus far *Gomara*. Then came the Executioners and cuff off his head and exposed it on the gallows; and some rude and insolent Souldiers drew out some hairs from his beard; and in disdain and triumph said, Your cruel and passionate temper hath brought you to this: a certain Captain of my acquaintance carried some hairs of his beard about him for several days, until they were taken from him by order. Thus did this unfortunate Gentleman end his days, for inflicting too earnestly on those methods, which were neither agreeable to the constitution of the Kingdom, nor yet to the service of the King, whence that effusion of blood ensued and those many commotions as have been related in the preceding History: and which proved fatal as well to *Indians* as to *Spaniards*, as will also farther appear in the sequel of that Relation which still remains. And though his obstinacy in this point is much blamed by many, yet certainly he is in part to be excused on account of those precise and severe commands he brought from Court, and which he was by the supreme power enjoined to execute; as will be proved by the testimony of those Authours whom we shall hereafter have occasion to name; and as he himself did often say, as before mentioned.

C. H. A. P. XXXV.

The Funeral of the Vice-king. The Actions of Gonçalo Pizarro after the Battel. The Pardon he gave to Vela Nunnez, and of the good Laws he enacted for the better Government of that Kingdom.

GONÇALO PIZARRO seeing that he had gained a clear Victory, caused the Trumpets to sound a retreat: for he perceived that his people were greatly dispersed in the pursuit, whereby much blood was unnecessarily spilt: on the side of the Vice-king two hundred men were slain, and not above seven of the Souldiers of *Pizarro*, as *Carate* reports: because the people of the Vice-king were so tired and weary with their long march the night before, that they seemed rather to suffer themselves to be killed than to fight; and herein they shewed their great zeal to his Majesty, and their readiness to die in his service. The bodies of the slain were buried promiscuously together in the field where they died, six or seven Corpses being laid together in the Grave: but the bodies of the Vice-king, of *Sancho Sanchez d'Avila*, of *Licenciado Gallego*, and of Captain *Cepeda*, a Native of *Plasencia*, were brought to the City, and there solemnly interred; and *Gonçalo Pizarro*, and the other chief Commanders attended the Corpses, clothed in mourning, and carrying sadness in their countenances. The persons wounded were *Don Alonso de Monte Mayor*, *Sebastian* Governour of *Belalcazar*, *Hernandez Giron*: but of *Cacete*, *Carate* makes no mention, though *Diego Fernandez* speaks of him in these words;

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GONÇALO PIZARRO had an intention to have put Captain *Hernandez Giron* to death, and accordingly gave order for his execution (which would have spared him much trouble, and prevented the many Commotions which he caused afterwards in *Peru*) but by the intercession of friends, and because he fought with much bravery, and was the Kinsman of *Lorenzo Aldana*, *Pizarro* was persuaded to grant him his life, &c. Thus far *Fernandez*, &c. *Alvarez* the Judge, whom the Vice-king did always carry along with him, received many wounds, of which he died in a few days afterwards. Some maliciously report, that by default of the Chirurgeon, whom *Pizarro* had directed so to do, he was suffered to perish: but this report hath gained no credit, being, as believed, maliciously charged by the contrary faction, who in such occasions do always cast aspersions on their Adversaries. *Pizarro* did not only pardon *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, but sent him away to his Government with the Souldiers he brought to fight against him, first taking Oath of fidelity to concern himself for ever afterwards in his service. But as to Persons of quality, he banished them into *Chili*; though meeting with a Ship in their way, they took her, and sailed into new *Spain*. All the prisoners that were taken he assembled together, and having considered their several circumstances, he hanged *Pedro Relis* and *Pedro Anton*, by reason that they had in a Boat made Crimes before them, that without any reason or cause they had laid their arms against him, or rather against their own interest; for that he was no otherwise concerned than for their good, and for the maintenance of their liberties and privileges; howsoever he frankly pardoned them all, in consideration that many of them he promised such as would return to their duty, not only pardon, but to receive them into his Camp, and into such places and offices as they exercised under the contrary party, and that he would esteem and treat them with the same terms and conditions as he did his own Souldiers; giving express orders, that no man should revile them; or provoke them either by words or actions. He also dispatched Messengers with News of the Victory into all parts and places of the Kingdom, whereby his Friends might be encouraged and his Enemies dismayed, *Pedro de Alarcon* was dispatched with his Ship to *Panama*, to carry the News of this Victory to *Pedro de Hinojosa*; and ordered at his return to bring *Vela Nunnez* and the other prisoners. As to other matters great consideration was had touching the methods, how things were to be carried on for the future: and it was agreed, that the Fleet should be sent along the Coast of New *Spain* and *Nicaragua*, to take and burn all the Ships they should meet in those Seas, whereby all designs might be prevented, which might probably produce farther mischief: after which the Fleet was to repair to *Los Reyes*; that in case his Majesty should send any Dispatches by that way, there being no conveyance for them nor means to dispense them to *Peru*; it might occasion great delays and disappointments, which gave great advantage towards the settlement of affairs, as will hereafter appear. *Gonçalo Pizarro* confiding much in the faithfulness of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, and in those who were with him; for that being persons truly noble both by birth and virtue, and raised by him from poverty and a mean degree to riches and honour, he conceived an opinion that by all the obligations of gratitude they would adhere with all sincerity to his interest; and therefore rejected the Council given him by his Friends; esteeming such cautions too mean for his great soul and spirit, who was used to surmount all difficulties with open force and a high hand. Captain *Alarcon* made his voyage according to his Instructions, and returned with *Pizarro's* Son, and some opprobrious words against him, he designed also to have hanged the third, but that his Son interceded for him, alleging that he had many obligations to him on the score of the civilities and good offices he had done him during the time of his imprisonment. *Vela Nunnez* was sent to *Quito*, where *Pizarro* granted him his pardon, on condition that he should live quietly, and without causing any Commotions, or Plots against him, for that in case any contrivances of that nature were discovered, he was to expect no pardon, of which he fairly admonished him: and, for better security, he took him with him to the City of *Los Reyes*, and treated him with much frankness all the way, and perhaps with more freedom than in prudence he ought to have shown to a declared Enemy: but *Pizarro* believed

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ved of him, as he did of others, that he was a person noble and sincere. *Licenciado Cepeda* the Judge, of whom we have been too silent, accompanied *Pizarro* in all this expedition, and was present at the Battel, and fought more like a Souldier than a Lawyer. Whilst these matters were in agitation, *Pizarro* held his Court at *Quito*, from whence he dispatched all Orders and Decrees which he had made for the quiet and peaceable Government of the Empire; for having desolved the Court of Judicature, he acted singly, and by his own authority: Judge *Cepeda* was with him, *Licenciado Alvarez* was dead, Doctour *Tenada* was gone into Spain; in quality of Ambassadour, *Carate* was the onely Judge remaining at *Los Reyes*, but he was infirm, and sickly, and unable to act any thing in the matters of Justice: wherefore *Gonzalo Pizarro*, being the sole Administratour of the Laws, took upon him to acquit himself in the dispensation of Justice, for the quiet and peace of the Land, to the benefit of *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and propagation of the Christian Faith. As *Francisco Lopez de Gomara* affirms in the 133th Chapter of his History, the Title of which is this:

Of the good Government of Gonzalo Pizarro during the absence of Francisco de Carvajal; and how afterwards, at the Instigation of several persons, he would take upon him the Title of King.

All the time that *Carvajal* was absent from him *Pizarro* put no *Spaniard* to death without the consent and concurrence of his Council, nor then neither without due Process of Law and Confession of the Party. He enacted, that no man should oppress an *Indian*; which was one of the new Ordinances, nor take his goods from him without money, upon pain of death. He ordered and appointed that Priests and Scholars should be entertained in all inhabited places for to preach and instruct the *Indians*, at the charge of men who had Estates in the respective Districts, and ordered the payment thereof upon penalty of forfeiture of their Estates. He was very careful and industrious to gather in the King's fifth, according (as he said) to the example of his Brother *Francisco Pizarro*. He ordained, that Tithes should be one out of Ten: and that now, since *Blasco Nunez* was subdued and slain in the War, he commanded, that every one should industriously apply himself to the service of the King, that so his Majesty might gratefully be pleased to repeal the late Statutes, confirm to them their Estates, and grant them pardon for what was past. Thus all people praised his prudence, and remained contented and satisfied under his Government; so that *Gasca* himself, after he had made experience, and seen the good and wholesome Laws which he established, gave this character of him, that, for a Tyrant, he governed very well. The which happy Government, (as we have said before) continued untill such time as that the Fleet was resigned to the command of *Gasca*. Thus far *Gomara*,

And as to what he farther adds in that Chapter, we shall leave untill a more proper place; and in the mean time treat of several remarkable passages and famous exploits which passed; and leaving *Gonzalo Pizarro* in *Quito*, we shall make a transition of about seven hundred Leagues, to find out *Francisco de Carvajal* and *Diego Centeno*, whom we left disputing their Matters; and doing all the hurt and damage they could to each other, as will farther appear in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Of a brave Stratagem of War which Diego Centeno performed against Francisco Carvajal. Several other Successes and Passages are related, untill the end of that pursuit.

WE have formerly mentioned in what manner *Francisco de Carvajal* pursued *Diego Centeno*, without losing one moment of time; and keeping him in continual Allarums, he ever marched with a Squadron of Foot, in a posture to fight; and following them just at the heels, he daily fell in with their Baggage, or some other part of *Centeno's* Forces. In this hot pursuit, it happened one day, that they were to pass a deep hole or valley between two hills (as is usual in that Country) the descent whereunto was about a League to the bottom, where was a small stream of Water, and the rising again about the same distance; and yet from the top of one Hill to the other, it was not farther than a Mulquet-shot; *Francisco de Carvajal* being well acquainted with this place, was confident that he should here take his Enemy in a Trap; believing that whilst *Centeno* was descending to the bottom, he should be able to gain the Top of the Hill, and possess himself of that advantageous place; from whence he might much annoy him and his men; for they ascending the Hill, and he remaining on the top with steady footing and rests for their Arms, they could scare mis do some execution with every shot. And as *Carvajal* and his Souldiers contrived this design, and were confident of the success of it; so *Centeno* was no less careful to prevent the mischief and secure his men in the passage, being well adverted of the danger they were to pass: in order whereunto, about a League before he came to the bottom, where the stream of Water ran, he assembled his chief Commanders, and told them that they were now to pass a most dangerous place; for whilst we are mounting the Hill on the other side, the Enemy will possess themselves of the eminency on this part, from whence they may with much advantage fire upon us, so as scarce a shot can miss of doing execution. To prevent which, I would propose, as the onely means of security to us, that six of you, who are the best mounted, should secretly retire behind this Mountain, on the right hand; and that when *Carvajal* and his Vanguard are past, that then you fall forth and fall upon the Rere; killing all the *Negroes*, *Indians*, *Spaniards*, *Horses*, *Mules*, and what else is in your way, making what noise and out-cry that is possible, so that *Carvajal*, being allarm'd therewith, a Diversion may be made, and *Carvajal* may be forced to return back to succour his own People, and in the mean time we may make our escape over this dangerous passage. To perform this exploit he nominated six persons, to avoid all contention amongst them, for every one out of gallantry, was forward and ready to offer himself; there being fifteen or sixteen whom he had called to this conference. Accordingly *Diego Centeno* marched forward, charging his people to make all the haste they were able, whilst he brought up the Rere. The six Cavaliers also turned off to the side of the Mountain, where they remained concealed, untill *Carvajal* with the Van, (which consisted of his best and select Souldiers) was past, and then they sallied forth, and with great fury fell in upon the Rere; killing with their Lances all the *Indians*, *Negroes*, *Spaniards*, *Horses*, *Mules*, and whatsoever stood in their way; so that an out-cry was made for help and succour. *Carvajal* though he heard the noise, yet he still kept on his march, judging that the allarm was false; and that if it should prove so, upon his return he should lose the opportunity of a Victory, which he believed to be now secure and in his own power; in the mean time the six Cavaliers carried all before them; and amongst the rest overthrew a Mule which carried some quintals of powder, to which they gave fire, and blew it up, which made such a terrible noise that the Woods and Mountains resounded with the Echo; and that was sufficient to convince *Carvajal*, that the allarm was not false; and thereupon he gave order to his Souldiers to face

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about and succour the Rere: and then the six Cavaliers gave over the Charge, and fled, taking their way by guidance of some Indians over crofs and by-paths, and taking a large compas came at last after six or seven days travel to join with their other Companions. *Francisco de Carvajal* having in this manner relieved his Rere, was forced to continue all that day and the night following in the same place, and give over the pursuit of the Enemy; for the six Horsemen upon their first Charge having found no opposition, killed and lanced all that stood in their way; by which means a stop being put to the proceedings of *Carvajal*; *Centeno* found an opportunity to escape that dangerous Pass, which he greatly feared would be destructive to him. *Carvajal* was so angry and disturbed at this affront, and so ashamed to see himself disappointed of his expectation by the Strategeme of Officers much inferior to him in the Art of War, that he uttered not one word all that day, unless it were to repair the losses and damage he had sustained; nor would he eat any thing at supper that night, saying, that the affront he had received would serve him for many meals to come: but after some hours in the night that his choler began to abate, he opened his mind to his Officers in this manner, *Sirs, said he, I don't think the course of my military employment in Italy, which continued for the space of forty years; I have seen many Retreats made by the King of France and another great Captain, by Antonio de Leyna, by Count Pedro Navarro, by Mark Antonio Colona, by Fabrizio Colona, and by many other famous Captains of my time, as well Spaniards as Italians; but in all my life I never saw such a Retreat made by this young Captain.* Which were the very words of *Carvajal*, without adding thereunto or diminishing therefrom; and were repeated to me by one who heard them. The day following he pursued the Enemy with more vigour and courage than before, so that in a short time overtaking him, he every day fell in with him, and seized some part of his Men, Horses or Baggage, so that after a pursuit of two hundred Leagues, sometimes out of the common road, and sometimes in, he reduced *Centeno* to that low condition, that he had not above eighty men remaining of all his numbers, and those also harassed and tired with long Marches, and discouraged by reason that they knew not when, nor where to find a place of refuge or repose: wherefore it was agreed to march along the Coast to *Arequipa*, and there if possible to embark and find a security on the Seas for those who had no shelter on the Land: in order hereunto a Captain was sent before, called *Ribadeneyra*, to hire a Vessel for money or by surprize, and bring her to *Arequipa*, that thereon they might embark their Men and Baggage, and so escape the danger which pursued them: by good fortune *Ribadeneyra* met a Vessel bound for *Chili*, which he and his companions with help of a Float silently surprized in the night without much difficulty; and being well provided with Sea-men and all other necessities, brought her about to *Arequipa*, there to take in *Diego Centeno* and his Souldiers, as it was before agreed: but it happened that *Carvajal* pressed so hard upon *Centeno*, that he came to the Port sooner than the Vessel arrived there; and now finding an Enemy just at his heels, and no farther place of Retreat; he resolved to disband all his people, telling them that in regard *Ribadeneyra* did not appear, nor that any Vessel did present in that Port, whereon to make their escape, he advised every man to shift for himself, and to escape away by three or four or five or six in a company; and being so dispersed, it would be impossible so to pursue them, but that most would escape their hands. As to *Centeno* himself, he abandoned all his companions, and with one single person, called *Lewis de Ribera*, and one servant, he betook himself to the Rocks and high Mountains, and remained in a Cave for the space of almost eight months, until the President *Gasca* arrived in *Peru*; during all which time he was maintained by a *Curaca* who lived in the Plantation of *Michael Cornejo*, into whose Country it was his fortune to come; where we shall leave him until that time comes to pass. Onely we must not omit to declare, That from the time that *Centeno* did first set up a Standard for his Majesty, *Gonzalo Silvestre*, a Native of *Ferrera de Alcantara*, of whom we have made mention in our History of *Florida*, was always present with him, and was an Actor in his exploits, and a Sufferer in his perils. *Carvajal*, coming to *Arequipa* in pursuit of *Centeno*, had there lost the track of his Enemies, and so gave over the chase, upon intelligence given, that they were all dispersed, and that every man shifted for himself; the next morning, by break of day *Ribadeneyra* appeared with his Vessel in the Port, of which *Carvajal* being informed by one of those persons whom he had taken, endeavoured to seize both him and his Ship: but *Ribadeneyra* was so cautious that,

that desiring to speak with some one or other whom he knew, and seeing none come out or answer him, he set Sail and left the Port. *Carvajal* was further advised, that *Lope de Mendoza* with seven or eight others were fled up into the Countrey, after whom he sent a Captain with twenty Musketers, who pursued them Country which was conquered by Captain *Rojas*; from whence they returned again to render an account to *Carvajal* of all that had happened. And after this defeat of *Diego Centeno*, and that none of his men appeared, he then marched to the City of *Plate*, to collect such Moneys as belonged to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and to those who had denied a contribution. But to return to *Lope de Mendoza*, he escaped whom *Vaca de Castro*, late Governour of *Peru*, had given a Commission to make new Conquests, after he had composed and pacified the many disturbances and commotions in *Peru* by the death of *Don Diego de Almagro, Junior*. And now in the following Chapter we shall shew what ensued hereupon.

C H A P. XXXVII.

The successes of Lope de Mendoza. Of the manner how the Indians infuse poison into their Arrows; and how Lope de Mendoza returned to Peru.

THE design of *Lope de Mendoza* and his Companions was onely to conceal themselves within those high and rugged Mountains (which are situated towards the Eastern part of *Peru*) until such time as the loud voice of the Kingtrey, they unexpectedly fell into the company of *Graviel Bermudez*, who was one of those who followed *Diego de Rojas*, who with his fellow Souldiers had performed great exploits against the Indians in that Conquest, and having sustained hunger, tedious marches and many other hardships, had proceeded in their discovery as far as to the River of *Plate*, and to the Fortresses which *Sebastian Gaboto* had built in that Countrey: but *Diego de Rojas*, who was their chief Commander, being dead, dissensions arising amongst them who should be the person to govern that little but victorious Army, the discord was so highly carried on by the ambition of Pretenders, that they killed each other, and divided themselves into divers Parties, as if they had no Enemy, and could not better employ their Arms than against themselves.

The death of *Diego de Rojas* was caused by a poisoned Arrow, which the Indians empoison with a sort of Herb which begins to operate within three days after the wound is given, and performs its effect in seven days afterwards; in which time the Patient raves, eats and gnaws his own flesh, and beats his brains against the Wall and so dies. The Spaniards were desirous to know a Remedy or Antidote against this Poison, and persuaded the Indians both by promises and threats to give them the Receipt of it, but could not prevail, until such time as they wounded one of those whom they had taken in the Thigh with this sort of poisoned Arrow, and then giving him liberty to go abroad and seek his remedy, they observed that he gathered two sorts of Herbs, the which he stamped and pounded severally, and then drank the juice of one of them, and the other he injected into his Wound; but first he opened the Wound with a Knife, and drew out the Barbs of the Arrow, which are very fine and thin, and are left within the flesh after the Shaft is taken out; for unless the wound be first cleared thereof, the Herb can have no effect; and in this manner the Indian cured himself. The Spaniards having made this discovery cured themselves by application of the same of the Barb which remained therein. In the Islands of *Barlovento*, and in all the Countrey of *Brasil*, in *Santa Martha*, and in the New Kingdom, and in other Countries,

tries, where a cruel sort of *Indians* inhabited, they used another sort of poison, and of a different nature to what we have before mentioned; for they would take the Leg of an *Indian*, whom they had killed, and hang it up in the Air against the Sun, and fill it with many Barbs of poisoned Arrows, which were taken out of the flesh of an *Indian*, which after some days they took out, and without cleansing of them they dried them in the Air where the Sun did not come, and then they headed their Arrows with them; and that became the most malevolent poison, and the most hard to be cured in the world; I have seen the experiment thereof, and as an eye-witness will relate the effect in its due place. After the *Spaniards* came into that Country, and waged War upon the *Indians*, they then changed the nature of their poison: for whereas before they compounded their poison with the flesh of *Indians*, they then made it with the flesh of *Spaniards*, whom they killed or took; but more particularly they desired the flesh of some red-headed *Spaniard*, whose hairs were of a deep Saffron colour; for they were of opinion that there was more heat in that flesh, and consequently more virulence in the poison which it produced: but perhaps they may have heard it often said amongst the *Spaniards* themselves, that red-headed men are fit to make a composition of poison.

But to return to those who had made their entrance into this Country, they observed such animosities and quarrels which they maintained one against another, that it was impossible to reconcile them; so that many of them resolved to leave that Country and go into *Peru*; for that whilst they were so divided there was no hopes to subdue those *Indians*, who were as rugged and a martial sort of people. But of the nature of this poison, and of what else happened in this adventure, and the great discords and differences amongst the *Spaniards*, *Diego Fernandez Palenzino* recounts a long story, with many strange and various accidents, which for brevity sake we omit, and refer the Reader to his relation. But besides these differences amongst themselves, the *Spaniards* were inclined to travel into *Peru* upon the news which an *Indian* brought of commotions there; without any other particulars, than only that the *Spaniards* waged Civil Wars amongst themselves.

Upon this news *Graviel Bermudez* was dispatched to the confines of *Peru* to inform himself of the state of matters, and to certify to them the truth of things; after which they would resolve to take that side to which they were most inclined, *Graviel* travelling on the way with this design happily met with *Lope de Mendoza*, who gave him a relation at large of all that had passed in *Peru*, since the time that *Diego de Rojas* departed thence; and joining his men with the party of *Graviel Bermudez*, they by mutual consent dispatched Messengers to *Nicholas de Bredia*, who was chief of another Band of Men; and he immediately came to them with his Associates. *Lope de Mendoza* reconciled them and made them Friends, and all by common consent made him their Captain-General, promising to obey and follow him. They were in all about an hundred and fifty men in number, almost all Horse; men of great bravery and inured to Sufferings, having for the space of three years together undergone incredible hardships both by Famine and long Travels; during which time they made a discovery of six hundred leagues of Land, scarce enjoying one day of repose; the relation of which is not to be expressed by the Pen of Writers. With this stout and brave Cavalry *Lope de Mendoza* descended from the Mountains, either with intent to give a stop to the proceedings of *Francisco de Carvajal*, or to join with some other Party which owned and declared for obedience and loyalty to the King. Accordingly he marched as far as the Province and People called *Pucuna*, where he rested one day for the refreshment of his Men and Horses, being much harassed with long marches and want of Provisions. *Francisco de Carvajal* who omitted no point that concerned a good Commander, received intelligence how that *Lope de Mendoza*, with his Souldiers of the Invasion, (for they gave the name of Invaders to that Party) were descended from the Mountains, and that they were not well at unity and in friendship one with the other, and therefore not to lose that advantage he resolved to engage them before they were better reconciled. *Lope de Mendoza*, having news of his coming, fortified himself within Trenches, but when he heard that *Carvajal* approached nearer he then changed his mind, fearing a Siege; for which having made no provision, he concluded that he could not long hold out before he should be forced to a surrender: besides he considered, that his force consisting for the most part of Horse, they would fight with more advantage in the open Field than

within

within Trenches; As to the opinion that *Carvajal* conceived of his People, that they were discontented and would leave their Colours with the first occasion that presented; it was believed that he would be as much mistaken in his imagination concerning *Lope de Mendoza* as he had oft-times been of *Diego Centeno*: for on the contrary *Mendoza* boldly sallied forth to meet *Carvajal*, who also marched againsted that *Lope de Mendoza* had abandoned the Fortification, he then made, as if he perceived directly to give him Battel, but his design was only to entice them out of all the rest; and seeing their confidence and boldness, he drew near to them, off in good order and entered into the Village, which *Mendoza* was not able to hinder; for the Enemy was double their number, and their Musketeers expert, and into the Fortification, and *Lope de Mendoza* remained in the open Field. *Carvajal's* Souldiers had now time to plunder the Village where the Enemy had left their Riches; and where, besides their Clothes and Garments, they took fifty thousand pieces of Eight in Bars of Silver, which *Lope de Mendoza*, when first he descended from the Mountains, had caused to be brought from several parts; where he and *Diego Centeno* had hid them, when they fled from *Francisco de Carvajal*: with this very few or none would accept thereof; that so for the future, when they should come to receive the reward of their services and sufferings for their loyalty to the King, they might then have to alledge, that they had received no pay nor subsidy; as they accordingly made known afterwards in their petitions. And this became a common custom among the Souldiers, not only of those (who were called of the Invasion) but of other noble and brave Souldiers of *Peru*, who scorned to receive any pay, and were angry when it was offered, standing much upon the honour of serving without present interest, but only in hopes and expectation of a future reward: but if the necessities of any particular person were so great as to enforce him to receive subsistence money, he would not accept it by way of pay, but as money lent, giving his obligation to repay it again to his Majesty's Exchequer, when they were enabled so to do; which engagement they performed with much punctuality, standing greatly on the honour of a Souldier's promise.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

The Adventures of Francisco de Carvajal, he overcomes and kills Lope de Mendoza, and enters into the Charcas.

Whilst the Souldiers of *Carvajal* were dispersed and plundering the Village, it seems as if *Lope de Mendoza* had lost an opportunity and the right time of falling upon his Enemies; but *Mendoza* apprehended that *Carvajal* was so vigilant as to leave him no such advantage; which indeed so appeared accordingly, for no sooner did *Carvajal* observe his men to be dispersed, but he immediately sounded an alarm, with which his men immediately repaired to their Colours, and remained all night drawn up in posture of Battel. And now to deceive the Enemy, he feigned a Letter from one of his Souldiers, which he delivered to be carried by an *Indian*, who spake very good *Spanish*, instructing him what to say to gain a belief: in that Letter he was advised to fall in upon *Carvajal* that night, and to charge him in two several places, and that he would then find many that would revolt over to his side, for most were discontented, the which divers would have done the day before, but that they feared the shot in their passage over unto him.

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Thus did *Carvajal* avail himself of the opinion which *Mendoza* falsely conceived of the discontent of his men, and of their usage which inclined them to revolt when an opportunity should offer. So soon as *Mendoza* had read the Letter, he gave full credence to it, though it had no hand or firm thereunto, because it agreed with the opinion he conceived of the inclinations of *Carvajal's* men; and with these expectations having drawn out his men, he attacked the Enemy in two places according to the advices which were given him; but he was beaten off in both, because they were provided to receive him; and finding that no man joined or came over to his side, with much discouragement he drew off, having lost seven or eight of his men killed, and as many wounded. And having understood from the *Indians* that about six or seven leagues from that place *Francisco de Carvajal* had lodged all the Riches belonging to himself and to his Souldiers, he resolved to play him the same game, and to pay him in the same coin; accordingly matters succeeded, for marching thither he seized on all the Spoils which *Carvajal* had made, with which he rewarded his men to their great satisfaction; for besides clothing of all sorts, they seized quantities of Gold, Arms and Powder.

The three Historians report that *Carvajal* was wounded that night by a Musket-shot in his Thigh; howsoever he would not own it, for, being privately dressed, he went abroad and gave such Orders as were necessary; but if that were, it was but a slight wound, considering that he went the Rounds, and was on the Guard and Watch all that night, and the next day pursuing them to their Quarters, beat them up, and fell upon them in the night; and they being weary, and tired, and asleep, were totally routed and defeated; many of them were taken, but such of them as escaped by the darkness of the night, (amongst which *Lope de Mendoza* was one) were dispersed into divers parts. So soon as it was day, *Carvajal* perceived that *Mendoza* was gone, but howsoever he followed him upon the track; and then it was that he first understood in what manner he and his Companions had been plundered of their Riches and Spoils by *Mendoza*. Upon which news, turning to his Souldiers, *Lope de Mendoza*, said he, hath been ill-advised to carry with him the instrument of his death; whereby he would give them to understand that he would pursue them to the last extremity, and untill such time as they had retrieved their estates. And according to this saying, he hotly pursued *Lope de Mendoza*, who having travelled about eight or nine leagues, imagined that *Carvajal* had so much to do that it was impossible for him to make pursuit after him either that day, or the day following; and in confidence hereof, he passed a River, and laid himself down to repose, and refresh himself after the watchings of several nights: but whilst some were sleeping, and others eating, *Carvajal* unexpectedly appeared descending from the top of a Mountain directly to the River; upon which an alarm being given, every one shifted for himself, and though *Carvajal* had no more than sixty Horse with him, of the choicest of his Troops, which he supposed sufficient to pursue a flying Enemy, yet they believed him to come with all his Force. In this place *Carvajal* took many Prisoners, and amongst them two or three Files of Souldiers who were playing for the pieces of Gold which they had robbed: upon which occasion *Carvajal* uttered some very remarkable Sayings, which *Diego Hernandez* mentions. And at this place taking one day's rest for his necessary refreshment, *Lope de Mendoza*, with five or six of his Comrades, had the opportunity of flight, and to disperse themselves into divers places, not knowing where to go, or where to take refuge and onely to fly from the face of the Enemy.

Carvajal having recovered the greatest part of what he had lost, though not all, followed the pursuit of his game, and it was his fortune to take the track which was made by *Mendoza*, not that he had any certainty thereof, but onely seeing the way to be larger and wider than the others, he followed that track so closely that though the Enemy was gone five or six hours before them, yet after the second night, by break of day, he arrived at the very place where *Mendoza* was lodged, in a little *Indian* Village, having in less than thirty hours, from the time when he was last disturbed in his Quarters, marched twenty two leagues; and indeed had he not been forced thereunto for want of sleep and repose, he had yet proceeded farther; but he and his people were so overcome with long journeys, and faint for want of food and sustenance that they laid themselves to sleep like so many logs of wood; and without sense like inanimate Creatures. In the mean time came *Carvajal* to the Village with eight men onely, leaving the rest behind, that he might

might give an alarm that night to *Lope Mendoza* in what place soever he found him, being resolved so to hunt and pursue him, that having no time given him either for sleep or refreshment, he should perish in the chase. The *Indians* gave notice of the House where *Mendoza* and his Comrades were lodged, to which he went with greater assurance and seized on both the doors of the room, which was a great Hall belonging to the Cacique or Lord of that Village; and then to make them believe that all his Captains and Forces were with him, he would call out to them by their names, saying, You, such a one, go thither, and such a one keep this door, and you this; and then he called, to another by his name to set fire to the Hall: with this noise *Carvajal*, calling out in this manner, had charmed all within the House to a kind of astonishment, so that he entred into it with three persons onely, and disarmed, and bound them all, excepting *Lope de Mendoza*, to whom, in consideration of his Office and Title of Captain-General, they shewed a greater respect; and then they brought them out of the House, that they might see the small number to which they were become Prisoners. In this manner *Lope de Mendoza* was taken; the which Historians relate in general without the circumstances of the several stratagems used by *Carvajal*. *Lope de Mendoza* was immediately strangled and his Head cut off, as also *Nicholas de Eredia* and three others; but the rest were all pardoned, as were all others (of the *Invasion* as they called them) to whom he restored their Horses and Arms and whatsoever was taken from them; and gave Money and Horses to such as wanted them, endeavouring by all fair means to gain them to his Party. In like manner he pardoned *Lewis Pardo* and *Alonso Camargo*, who had joined with *Mendoza* after they left *Diego Centeno*: the which Pardon was granted in consideration of a discovery they made of fifty thousand pieces of Eight in Silver, which were buried by him in a certain place. After this Victory, no other action remaining to be performed, he marched into the *Charcas* with intention to reside some days in the City of *Plata*, and to amass what Silver he could from the Mines of *Potosi*, which were discovered that year. And then he confiscated all the *Indians*, and Plantations of those who were dead, and of those who stood out and were fled, unto the use for maintenance of the War. When he was come near to the City of *Plata*, all the Inhabitants thereof came forth to meet him, in hopes with that complement to appease and soften his angry and fierce humour: amongst the rest came *Alonso Ramirez* with his white Rod in his hand, having been made chief Governour of that Town by *Diego Centeno*. *Carvajal* at sight hereof grew angry, and said to him, Mr. *Ramirez*, Take off the Cross from the top of that white Staff, and then sharpen it at the point, and dart it at a Dog, and I protest that if you do not hit him in the right eye I will hang you for it; meaning thereby to declare his folly and indiscretion in coming to meet him with that signal of Authority in his hand, which he had received from a Party which stood in defiance of him, and whose Power he would not own. Hereupon *Ramirez* threw away his Staff, not reflecting in due time on the indiscretion and imprudence of this Act.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Carvajal sends the Head of Lope de Mendoza to Arequipa, and what was the saying of a Woman thereupon. Of a Mutiny which was made against Carvajal, and how the Authors thereof were punished.

THE next day after *Carvajal* entred into the City of *Plata*, he sent the Head of *Lope de Mendoza* to the City of *Arequipa* by *Donjoso de Bobadilla*, afterwards made Serjeant-Major to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and with whom I was; and his instructions were to set it up upon the common Gallows of the City, that the Inhabitants might take notice and example thereby; for in that

Diego Centeno had first set up his Standard. *Bobadilla* was the Messenger hereof, and upon this occasion it may be pertinent to omit a particular passage which happened hereupon, that a matter so remarkable may not be forgotten. There lived in *Arequena* a virtuous and charitable Woman, called *Joanna de Leyton*, who had been a Servant to the Lady *Catalina Leyton*, a Woman of as noble a Family as any is of that name in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and was the Wife of *Francisco de Carvajal*, though some, to render her odious, will have her to have been his Whore; but certainly she was his Wife, and greatly esteemed by her Husband, and all the Nobility of *Peru*, and indeed her Person, and Vertues and noble Birth did deserve no less.

This Lady bred up and maintained this *Joanna Leyton* for so long a time, that at length she took that name, and called herself *Leyton*; and then afterwards married her to a person of honour called *Francisco Vaso*, and she was a Person of so great honour that *Francisco Carvajal* loved her as his own Daughter. During these troubles and revolutions caused by *Gonzalo Pizarro* she always favoured the King's side, and often interceded for some of them with her Master *Carvajal*; others she assisted with her Money, and some she concealed in her House, and particularly she hid three at that time when *Gonzalo Pizarro* first entered into *Rimac* with that slaughter and imprisonment of people which we have before related. *Francisco de Carvajal*, whose knowledge nothing escaped, took her aside, and asked her where those three men were which she had hidden; she denied to know of any, but he confidently charging her with it, and naming one of them, whom he suspected, she was so confounded, that she could not longer persist in the denial; and therefore, taking a manly courage, it is true, said she, they are in such a Chamber, and I will bring them to you with a Knife, that you may cut their Throats and drink their Blood; and eat their Flesh, that so you may be glutted and satiated with humane Blood after which you are so thirsty: and so being just going away, *Carvajal* called her, and said, let them alone, let them alone, and let me alone also, and the Devil take thee: and thus *Joanna Leyton* gained her point and victory over him. This relation I received from one of the greatest enemies that *Carvajal* had, but a person of great probity, called *Gonzalo Silvestre*, of whom we have formerly made mention.

Some short time after this *Joanna de Leyton* went to live at *Arequena*, where *Dionisio de Bobadilla* brought the Heads of *Lope de Mendoza*, *Nicholas de Eredia*, and of three or four others; and before he went to pay his respects to *Pedro de Fuentes*, who was Governour of that City under *Gonzalo Pizarro*, he made a visit to this *Joanna Leyton*, believing that she would gladly hear of the health of her Master *Francisco de Carvajal*. The Lady received him with a good welcome, and having first passed the usual complements at meeting, and made enquiry after the welfare of her Lord, she earnestly entreated *Bobadilla* to deliver the Head of *Lope de Mendoza* into her hands, that she might have the satisfaction to bury it in such manner as became a person of his merit and loyalty to his King; but *Bobadilla* excused himself, saying, that he durst not doe it; for that the well knew the severe humour of *Carvajal* his Lord, who would for such an offence hang him and quarter him; but she still continued her importunity, and desired him for God's sake to let her have it, and that she would give him two hundred pieces of Eight, wherewith he might oblige and help one of his indigent Souldiers, for what good, said she, can it doe you, since the Head is dismembered from the Body, to drag it through the Streets, and fix it on the Gallows? But *Bobadilla* still desired her excuse three or four times with the same words, and she continued to press him with the greatest earnestness in the world; but at length, seeing that she could not prevail with all her intreaties and promises, she grew angry, and then said, Well, set it up then in the name of God, but know that you had better have let it alone; and that the two hundred pieces of Eight which I offered for it, I will employ in Masses to be said for his Soul; and I tell thee farther, that he, whosoever he is, that is not contented to have that Head honourably buried, will not live long, and I hope shortly to see thy Head in the place of it.

This discourse passing thus, *Bobadilla* (as the Historians say) was ready to die with laughter, admitting much at the Dialogue he had with *Joanna Leyton*, and from her went directly to present the Heads to *Pedro de Fuentes*. And commanding the executioners to unfold the Clothes wherein they were enwrapped, they did it so awfully, and were so puzzled at it, that he was forced to come himself and lay them out. Some of the Spaniards standing by, said that the Heads stank, but *Bobadilla* made

made answer, No, Gentlemen, said he; the Heads of our Enemies cut off with our own hands do never stink, but rather smell sweet, by which he shewed fame stamper.

Francisco de Carvajal having thus defeated Captain *Diego Centeno*, and killed *Lope de Mendoza*, *Nicholas de Eredia*, and others; and having refreshed his Souldiers and gratified those who revolted to him at the River of *Plate*, with Horses, Arms and Money; the better to oblige them to him, he kept his head-quarters at the City of *Plate*, making what Money he was able to send to *Pizarro*.

About this time the Souldiers (of the Invasion) who were many of them noble by birth, being ashamed to have been so easily overcome, and angry at the death of *Nicholas de Eredia* their chief Commander, and other their Companions, entered into a Conspiracy to revenge the same with the blood of *Carvajal*; and that truly in pure revenge, and not out of covetousness, as some report; but that is not probable, because not long before they were so generous as to refuse money which was offered them for their Pay. The principal Conspirators were *Lewis Paredes*, *Alonso Camargo*, and others who had formerly been pardoned by *Carvajal*, as we have mentioned before; and with these thirty others were engaged in the Plot took an Oath of Secrecy, laying their hands on a Crucifix. But *Carvajal*, who was a suspicious man, and careful of his own person, and had many friends who were very true to him came to a discovery of the whole Conspiracy, to prevent which, he seized upon the principal Actors therein, and with great fury and madness uttered in a raving manner these words, as *Diego Fernandez* reports; Senior *Balmaceda*; and other Cavaliers of the Invasion have conspired to kill me, notwithstanding my kind treatment of them, and the respect I shewed them above the true and loyal Servants of my Governour and Lord *Pizarro*, &c.

And thus having put six or seven of the principal Plotters to death, he pardoned all the rest; but to secure himself from them, knowing them to be desperate men; he sent them in the nature of banishment to *Gonzalo Pizarro* by different ways, to whom he had lately wrote a relation of all passages, and how his Enemies were totally routed and defeated; and about the same time *Francisco de Carvajal* received in exchange of his relation an account of the Battel at *Quitun*, wherein the Vice-king was slain, with what else he had done after this success; and how he intended to goe to the City of *Los Reyes*, where he desired to meet *Carvajal*, that they might there consult, and agree upon such measures and methods as were to be taken for the future.

C H A P. XL.

The Substance of *Francisco de Carvajal's* Letter to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and of his Discourse by word of mouth, persuading him to proclaim himself King of *Peru*. And how others encouraged him thereunto.

THIS fortunate News put *Carvajal* into a thousand thoughts concerning the state of *Pizarro's* affairs, contriving how it might be possible for him to perpetuate his power and rule; not meaning under the Emperor, but by virtue of his own absolute and independent authority, having with assistance of his own Brother and his own Arms, won and gained that Empire. *Diego Fernandez* in the forty ninth Chapter of his Book recites the whole Letter, wherein he advises him to take on himself the Title of King: And when afterwards he and *Pizarro* met at *Rimac*, he then made this Discourse to him, which we think fit to anticipate and repeat out of its due place.

Cccccc 2

Sir,

Sir, said he, A Vice-king hath been killed in battel, and his Head cut off by us, and publicly placed on the common Gibbet. After we have waged War against the Royal Standard of his Majesty, and have been the cause of the effusion of so much blood, and committed so many spoils, and robberies, and outrages upon the people, what place can we expect for mercy and pardon from the King? Nay, if we should come off upon Articles of agreement, and that you could justify your self, and shew as clear an innocence as the child which sucks at the breast, yet what security can there be to rely on the most solemn vows and promises that can be made you? Wherefore, I conclude, that you have no safety but by taking upon you the authority of a King, by which you will better secure your government than by expectations to receive it from another hand. Plant the Crown upon your own head, and divide the Lands among your own friends and creatures: that which the King hath granted for two lives only, do you give them the fee-simple and inheritance of, with Titles of Dukes, Marquesses, and Barons, as is usual in all the Kingdoms of the world, who will be thereby engaged to defend you, whilst they fight in defence of their own Estates and Fortunes. You may also create new Orders of Knighthood, calling them with the same names as are used in Spain, or by the denomination of other Saints to whom you are more particularly devoted, and you may frame other Badges as are most agreeable to your fancy, and specify as you shall make Knights of the Habit, you may assign them Rents and Pensions to live upon and enjoy for a term of life, as is common every where to the Military Orders. In this manner you will engage all the Gentry and Nobility of the Spaniards, who reside in this Empire, to your Party, and draw those in who are worse. And to bring the Indians in likewise to your service and devotion, and to dye for you, as they do for their own natural Prince. I would persuade you to marry that Prince, which is nearest of blood to the Royal Family: in order whereunto, I would have you send Ambassadors to the Mountains, where the Inca, who is Heir to this Empire, doth now reside, desiring him to quit his solitary habitation; that so you may restore him to the Majesty and Grandeur of his Empire; and that he would with his own hand give his Sister or Daughter in marriage to you. It is not to be doubted but that he will be infinitely proud and overjoyed with this Alliance: and such will be the universal satisfaction and contentment of his Subjects in restoring their Inca to his power and dominion, that they will cheerfully obey what servile Offices sever their Inca shall command them for your service; as the carriage of your provisions, depopulating Towns where your Enemies are to pass, making ways and roads where you shall direct. And, in fine, you will hereby engage all the Indians to be of your side: for it would be a great inconvenience to an Enemy to want people to carry their baggage, without which they can scarce pass in the Country. And as to the Inca, he will content himself with the bare name and title of a King; and you may suffer his Subjects to obey him in the times of peace, as they did his Ancestors in former ages. And as to your self, You and your Ministers and Captains may rule and govern the Spaniards, and require the Inca, when occasion serves, to command his Indians to perform such and such services as you shall appoint; and by these means you will secure them to be faithful to you, and engage them to be true, and not false, and Spies, as they have been to both sides.

Moreover, you will by this friendship of the Inca amass all the Gold and Silver that the Indians dig throughout the Empire, and seeing they esteem not of it as riches or treasure, they will, in reward of the restoration of their Prince and on the score of your alliance with them, be easily induced to discover to you all the treasure which hath been hidden by their Ancestors: which will amount to that vast riches, that (as the saying is) you may thereby purchase the whole World, in case you are ambitious to be the sole Monarch of it. And let not that be any scruple to you; that you hereby usurp on the dominion of the King of Spain; for when you are a King (as the saying is) you can do no wrong. This Country did once belong to the Inca's, who were the natural Princes thereof; so that it properly belongs to them; and if any right may be claimed on the score of Conquest, it belongs not to the King of Castile, but to you and your Brothers, who gained it at your own expense, and with hardships and hazards of your Lives.

And now therefore to restore again the Government to the Inca, the natural Lord thereof, is a piece of generosity founded on the Law of Nature; and thereby also you will do right to your self, for it is not reason that you who are the Conquerour of an Empire should be a Slave and Subject in it; or that he, who by the valour of his Arms hath made himself a King, should out of a meanness and pusillanimity of spirit render himself a Vassal or a Subject in it. The success of all these Actions consists in making good the first steps and gradations to it. And therefore I beseech you seriously to consider of what I have proposed, which, if well pursued, will certainly tend to your establishment in this Empire, and make

make all people in this and in the ages to come acknowledge you and yours for their lawful Sovereign.

And, to conclude all, be the event what it will, let me advise you to take the Crown and Title of King; it is but what you have gained by your Arms and Valour; and no less than that can become you; and therefore I cannot but repeat it again and again to you, *Be a King, and not a Subject*. He that is contented in an ill condition, deserves a worse.

And in this Discourse of *Gonzalo's* omitted several particulars which will found ill in the ears of Loyal Persons, and gratify the honour of ill-affected persons. These Discourses were not unpleasing to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who heard them self for his establishment in grandeur; that he afterwards called him Father; the same Advices were in like manner confirmed by *Pedro de Puelles*, *Licenciado Cepeda*, and *Hernando Bachicao*, with the concurrence of his intimate Friends, who as *Gonzalo* saith in Chap. 173. were very many; and gives an account of that passage in these words.

Francisco de Carvajal and *Pedro de Puelles* wrote a Letter to *Pizarro* to give himself the Title of King; and by that means to excuse the sending of Ambassadors to the Emperour; and in lieu thereof to provide good Horses, Armour, Shot, and Arms, which were the best Advocates for justification of his Cause; and that he should apply those gifts, and rents and duties which *Cobos*, without decision not to yield the Country unto the King, but upon terms that he should likewise into them the inheritance of their Lands; others said that they would make a King, as they thought fit, as had been practised in Spain, when *Pizarro* and *Garcia Jimenez* were set up. Others said, that unless the Government of Peru were given to *Pizarro*, and his Brother *Hernando Pizarro* set at liberty, they would call in the very Turks to their assistance. And all of them concurred in that general opinion, that the Country was their own, and that they might make a Division thereof amongst themselves, in regard they had won it by conquest and confirm in the thirteenth Chapter of his second Book, in these words which I have extracted from thence.

These Actions being ended, they marched to the City of *Los Reyes*, discoursing on the way of the methods which were now to be pursued. Some were of opinion that the King would overlook all things that were past; and confirm *Gonzalo Pizarro* in the Government: others, more impudently said, that it was no matter whether the King did approve of things or not, for that his Commands would find little effect or compliance in those parts. *Licenciado Cepeda*, who was desirous to flatter and please *Pizarro* in all things, approved of the saying of *Hernando Bachicao* and others, that all the Kingdom and Dominion of Peru did by right and by just it appeared that many Kingdoms, Provinces and Countreys which at first were gained by force of Arms, were afterward conserved, and after a long tract of time were esteemed the hereditary Possessions, and devolved to posterity by an undeniable Title: witness the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and the reason, form and manner how these Kings were anointed, which he compared with the circumstances of *Pizarro*, who at the beginning had ever a more fair and clear Title to a Kingdom, than *Gonzalo Pizarro* had unto his: all which *Pizarro* heard with great attention and delight; for besides that humane nature is naturally ambitious of power and government; his affections were also for want of due consideration let loose to the unknown how to write or read; and therefore made not those reflexions on the consequences of things as thinking-men usually do. And in regard that *Cepeda* was a learned and a well read man, and esteemed for his judgment and knowledge, every one approved his sayings, and none did contradict or question anything that was said by him; for this matter was the whole subject of their discourse at all times when they were in conversation together. Thus far *Pizarro*.

We have formerly mentioned what is reported by *Gomara* concerning the duties which *Cobos* took without deserving or doing any thing for them: the truth of which

which matter stands thus: His Imperial Majesty was pleased to grant unto his Secretary *Francisco de Cobos* one and a half per Centum upon all the Gold and Silver which was brought to the Mint and Treasury of his Majesty: where the Fifths were deducted for the use and benefit of the King: but then *Cobos* was to be at the whole charge to find Coals for melting, and to provide Say-masters to refine and assay the Gold and Silver, to pay the Minters; and in fine, that the Secretary would rather have been a Loser than a Gainer thereby: but in regard that every one who went to pay his Fifths might the better make up his accounts, and know how much he was to pay and how much remained to him, the manner was to bring the Gold and Silver ready melted, refined and assayed by the King's Assay-master, at the proper cost and expence of the person to whom it belonged: by which means *Cobos* did not perform his obligation which he had given; and for that reason *Gonzalo* saith that he took duties which he had not deserved.

CHAP. XII.

Gonzalo Pizarro declares his duty and allegiance to the King, he departs from Quitu, and goes to Truxillo and Los Reyes, and the great joy was made at his coming.

BUT notwithstanding all this discourse and persuasion, *Gonzalo Pizarro* from a principle of Loyalty to his Sovereign, could not resolve to take upon himself the Title of King; and more especially, because he could not but believe that his Majesty would confirm him in the Government of *Pern*, in consideration that he and his Brothers had done great Services, having by the Conquest of that Kingdom annexed it to the Imperial Crown, and by virtue of the Commission given to his Brother the Marquis he was to hold that Government during his life; with liberty to name a Successor after his death; and that his Brother had accordingly nominated him. Then as to his proceedings and successes against the Vice-king, he supposed that his vigorous and unreasonable proceedings in execution of the new Laws might easily justify his Actions. For that the Vice-king refused to hear the Addresses and Petitions which were made to him by the whole Kingdom, and for that reason he was chosen and elected by the unanimous consent of all the People to represent their complaints and grievances, which he had rejected and absolutely refused to receive. Then, as to the imprisonment of the Vice-king, and designing to embark and send him away for Spain; it was not done by him, but by the Judges upon their considerations which he meditated within himself; *Pizarro* flattered himself with high expectations that he should not only obtain pardon from the King, but a new confirmation and settlement of the Kingdom of *Pern* upon him: thus men of Arms and great Souldiers take false measures of their merits and the rewards which they expect for them. But in regard *Gonzalo Pizarro* did not accept of the offer, which his friends made him; his refusal was interpreted as the effect of a weak understanding, and not proceeding from a principle of loyalty towards his Prince; and perhaps upon this ground it was, that all Historians in the character they give of him, represent him as a person of a weak understanding; though in reality those who have been familiarly acquainted with him have reported him to have been endued with a sufficient Talent of knowledge, to have been of a good nature, sincere and open, firm to his promises, without fraud and tricks; but of a true, honest and noble spirit, reposing too much confidence in his friends, who afterwards betrayed and destroyed him, as all Historians relate. Nor can we much blame the Writers for giving a character of *Pizarro* so different to truth; because they compiled their Histories out of those notes and particulars which were given them by persons who were directed to temporize and comply with the humour of those times; as *Palentino* complains

complains in his dedicatory Epistle in these words: Being resolved to proceed, says he, my pen started with fear, and a stop was given to the course of my story, upon consideration of some inconveniences which might happen unto me thereby. And remaining in this suspense, I came to the Court of your Majesty where I presented before your Royal Council of the *Indies* the first part of the History which I had finished. And in regard they conceived a good opinion of the truth of what I had delivered therein; they were pleased to judge it not only beneficial and usefull, but likewise necessary for me to compleat the History which I had begun: and being so commanded to doe with promises of a reward for my labour; I took new spirit and courage again, and banished all that fear and apprehensions which formerly gave a stop to the course of my Pen, &c. And in this manner I little regarded the testimony of Enemies, or what men said, who reported matters with a prejudice, knowing it to be the custom of mankind to say things by halves where they have no kindness for the Party. And now *Gonzalo Pizarro* resolved to leave *Quitu*, and goe to the City of *Los Reyes*, and to make his residence there, because it was in the middle of the Empire, and the most advantageous situation to seat himself for suppression of disturbances and stirrs which might arise in any parts of *Pern*, as also to administer justice in the times of peace. In *Quitu* he constituted *Pedro de Puelles* to be his Captain General and Deputy with three hundred Souldiers; for he reposed great trust in him upon the experience he had of his faithfulness to him, and succour which he gave him at a time when he looked on himself as ruined and sinking: and being come to the City of *St. Michael*, he received intelligence that a great number of *Indian* Souldiers he sent Captain *Mercadillo* with about a hundred and thirty men who therewith afterwards peopled that City which is now called *Laxa*. Then he sent Captain *Porcel* with a Party of sixty men to the ancient Conquest which had been made in the Province of *Pacamura*; likewise *Licenciado Carvajal* was ordered to goe by Sea and embark with those Souldiers which *John Alonso Palamino* had brought from *Nicaragua*; and that he should order matters in every Port according to the Instructions which were given him. *Licenciado Carvajal* performed every thing as he was commanded, sailing along the Coast as far as *Truxillo*, whilst *Gonzalo Pizarro* marched all the way by Land; and at length they met all together at that Place, where orders were given to goe to *Los Reyes*; *Pizarro* was accompanied thither with two hundred choice Souldiers, amongst which were *Licenciado Carvajal*, *John de Acosta*, *John de la Torre*, *Licenciado Cepeda*, *Fernando Bachicao*, *Diego Gailien*, with other Persons of Quality.

Upon his entry into the City men were of different opinions concerning the manner of it. Those who would have him take the Title of King, and to be speedily crowned, proposed that he should enter under a Canopy of State. Others, who were of a more moderate temper, would have the Gate and the new Street enlarged and made more wide by laying open one of the Barriers of the City, to make his Entrance the more signal, according to the example of the *Roman* Emperours, when they entered *Rome* in triumph: both sides earnestly contended about this matter, but *Pizarro* would yield to neither of them, but only referred himself to what *Licenciado Carvajal* should judge convenient and fit to be done. And he accordingly directed, that he should make his Entry on Horse-back, and his Captains all on Foot before him, with their Horses led on the right-hand of them, after which the Foot were to march in rank and file. The Horsemen dismounted and marched on foot, being intermixed with the Infantry; it not seeming decent that they should ride whilst their Captains were on foot. *Gonzalo Pizarro* was mounted on a very fine Horse, and came up in the Rere, supported on each side with four Bishops; on the right-hand by the Arch-bishop of *Los Reyes*, and the Bishop of *Quitu*; and on the left by the Bishop of *Cusco* and the Bishop of *Bogota*, the latter of which came to *Pern* to be consecrated by the hands of those other three Prelates. Then came another band of Souldiers for a Rere-guard, all marching without Guns, or Pikes, or other Arms, than onely their Swords and Daggers in token of peace. After all came *Lorenzo de Aldana* who was constituted chief Governour of that City by *Pizarro*, together with the Aldermen of the Corporation and other Inhabitants, who came out to welcome *Pizarro*; and all the people, as he passed, saluted him with loud acclamations and a thousand blessings, for having concerned himself for their welfare, and restored their

their Estates to them with infinite labours and hardships, and the hazard of his life; in consideration of which they offered their lives and fortunes to remain at his devotion. And being now entered within the City, he went directly to the Cathedral Church there to adore the most Holy Sacrament; the Streets all along as he passed resounded with vocal Musick, Singing, Minstrels and Trumpets, which were excellently good in that City; and the Bells of the Churches and Monasteries spake his welcome, and added to the Solemnity of that day. *Pizarro* having performed his devotions to our Lord, went to his House, which formerly belonged to his Brother the Marquis, where, as the Historians say, he lived in greater splendour and state than ever he had done before. Some say that he entertained eighty Halberdiers for his Guard, and that no man was permitted to fit down in his presence; some say he gave his hand to be kissed: but many stories of this nature are framed out of envy and malice of enemies, who, as we have said, raise these reports: though to my certain knowledge, and I speak the same on the truth of a Christian, that there was not one Halberdier in all his Guard, nor have I ever heard that he entertained any. And, as I have formerly mentioned, when his Brother the Marquis returned into this Country, with a Commission from his Majesty, and with the privilege to entertain twenty four Halberdiers for the guard of his Person, he could by no means persuade any to accept of the Office, it being esteemed too low and inferior to the quality of a *Spaniard*; only I knew two men who vouchsafed to humble themselves to that mean degree. And therefore I know not how afterwards it could come to pass in times of greater pride and height, that eighty *Spaniards* should be found to stoop or condescend so low as to bear Halberds on their shoulders, especially since it hath been observed, that they were too proud, to own the taking money on the notion of pay; and therefore I am of opinion, that the Authours, who wrote of this matter did mistake the name of Halberdiers for Harquebusers. Besides, I note it for a mistake of the like nature in those who report, that *Pizarro* made use of poison to remove those out of the world who stood in his way, for never any such thing was acted, nor yet imagined to be done, for if it had been I should certainly have heard thereof, sooner or later, as well as they; and indeed, had he been guilty of such vanities and crimes as these, he would have been detested and abhorred by all the world, whereas on the contrary (as all Authours agree) he was well beloved and generally esteemed. And so much I declare upon my faith and truth, as an eye-witness of most of these passages; and I speak in sincerity without favour or affection to any, having no engagements to either Party.

C H A P. XLII.

The Authour declares in what manner Gonzalo Pizarro behaved himself towards his own People. The death of Vela Nunez. The arrival of Francisco de Carvajal at Los Reyes, and the manner how he was received.

WHEN *Gonzalo Pizarro* was at the City of Cuzco, I had some knowledge of him by sight; for soon after the Battel of *Huacina* he came and resided there untill the Battel of *Sacabamba*, which was about six months, during which time I was frequently in his House, and observed his behaviour both within doors and abroad. All people paid him the honour and respect which was due to their Superiour, attending and following him wheresoever he went, either on foot or on Horseback; and he demeaned himself with that courtesie and affability towards all, and so like a fellow-soldier, that no man could find cause of complaint: I never saw him give his hand to any man to be kissed, though desired in way of complement. He freely took off his Hat to every man, and to persons of Quality he gave them the Titles which were due to them: he constantly, as we have said, called *Francisco de Carvajal* by the name of Father, as I once over-

heard

heard him say; for when I was a Boy, or a young Lad, he would always have me with him, and upon a certain time *Carvajal* came to speak to him, and though there was none in the Room present with them besides my self, yet *Carvajal* not him in the ear; what it was I could not hear, but *Pizarro* answered in a few words, which were, Look you Father.

I have seen him sometimes at Dinner, for he always ate in publick; his Table was very long, and held at least an hundred people: at the upper end of which he sat himself, and on each hand there was a void space left which might contain two persons; at which distance all Souldiers fate down as they pleased; only the Captains and Citizens did not dine with him, unless it were in their own Houses. I dined with him twice at his own Table, by his command: and *Don Francisco* his Nephew, who was Son to his Brother the Marquis, and I from his own Plate; all which I saw; being then about the age of nine years, which I compleated on the twelfth day of April following, and do certifie the truth thereof, having been an eye-witness of what I have before mentioned; so that Historians may yield more credit to me herein than to those who speak out of prejudice, and with rancour and malice to his person. In like manner they accuse him, and say that he took away all the Fifths and Revenue belonging to the King, with the Tributes which were paid by the *Indians*, and the Estates of those who took up Arms against him, which together amounted to above two third parts of all the Income of *Peru*; and yet for all this they say that his Souldiers were unpaid, at which they remained much unsatisfied; but we may easily refuse this error and this mistake of Writers, when it is considered, that for certain he left no hidden Treasures at the time of his death. They also accuse him of Adultery and Incontinence, with many aggravating circumstances, which are most notorious in the lives of Governours and men in eminent places.

But to return to our History: We must know, that during the time that *Gonzalo Pizarro* resided at *Los Reyes*; it happened that *Vela Nunez*, Brother to the late Vice-king, came to an unfortunate end by means of Captain *John de la Torre*, who some years before had married an Indian Woman, who was Daughter to the Curaca of the Province of *Puerto Viejo*: The *Indians*, pleasing themselves with the honourable alliance of a *Spaniard*, whom they esteemed and preferring before their Riches, discovered unto him a Treasure of an hundred and fifty thousand Ducats in Gold and Emeralds, which were hidden within the Tombs of their Ancestours. *John de la Torre*, having thus made his fortune, had a mind to leave *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and return into *Spain*, and there to enjoy his Riches: but then considering with himself that his Rebellion and Actions against the King were too well known (for he was one of those who tore out the Hairs of the Vice-king's Beard and put them into a Medall) he feared he should be called in question, and not live securely and in peace at home: wherefore to take off this blemish from him, and doe some remarkable service, he persuaded *Vela Nunez* to make him escape with him, on one of the Ships then in Port, promising to assist him there-in, in case he would engage his Relations to favour and protect him, for the good services he had done in delivering him out of the hands of that Tyrant. *Vela Nunez* hearkened to the proposals he had made him, but then stories and rumours flying about that the King had confirmed *Gonzalo Pizarro* in the Government, *Vela Nunez* presently changed his mind, and began to contrive in what manner he might fix himself in the good opinion of *Gonzalo Pizarro*. *John de la Torre* observing this alteration, and fearing lest he or some others of his Confidants should make a discovery to *Pizarro* of the Compact or Plot that was between them, thought it to be his best course to be before-hand with them in the discovery; and so went to *Pizarro* and informed him of the design of *Vela Nunez* to make his escape, for which they cut off his Head, and hanged and quartered another concerned in the same Plot: howsoever, it was the common talk that this piece of cruelty was acted at the persuasion only of *Licenciado Carvajal*; for *Pizarro* had a kindness for *Vela Nunez*, whom he loved for his good nature and sweet disposition, and never inclined to put him to death. And this was the fate of this poor Gentleman, by the false accusation of a treacherous fellow, who was a Villain of the highest nature. *Francisco de Carvajal*, having some days before received intelligence

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telligence of Pizarro's march to *Los Reyes*, and his orders to meet him there, he came to the *Charcas* with intention to joyn his Forces with him at the City it self: Pizarro upon the news of his approach went a great way to meet him, and caused a triumphal reception to be made for him, as due to a Captain of his merit, who had defeated so many Enemies and gained so many Victories. Carvajal left Alonso de Mendosa for Governour of the City of Plate under Gonzalo Pizarro, and brought with him about a million of pieces of Eight, which he had digged from the Mines of *Potosi*, and from the *Indians* who are free and not under subjection of any Lord, so that Pizarro was now furnished with plenty of money; and then Carvajal took his opportunity to press him farther upon the Subject of making himself King, repeating the same arguments, which he had used in his Letter. And here let us leave them, their Officers, and their Friends, and particularly the inhabitants of the several Cities of that Empire, employed in keeping all things peaceable, and in quiet condition to the security and protection as well of *Indians* as *Spaniards*, and to the increase and propagation of the Holy Catholick Faith by catechizing and preaching to the Natives; and to the advantage of Trade and of every private man's concernment, which was so diminished and impoverished by the late Wars and Revolutions, that no man durst pretend to an Estate, for fear that it should be taken away, either by the violent force of Tyrants, who bare-faced plundered and pillaged all they could seize and lay their hands on; or else by those who pretended to borrow it for the service of his Majesty. And now (as the Proverb is) *That it is good fishing upon turn of the Tide*, let us pass over into *Spain*, and let us see what his Imperial Majesty is there designing for reducing to obedience the Rebels in *Peru*, and to set at liberty the Vice-king *Blasco Nunez*.

The End of the Fourth Book.

Royal

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Licenciado Pedro de la Gasca is chosen by the Emperour Charles the Fifth to reduce Peru.

W Hile matters were transacted in *Peru* in the manner before related, *Diego Alvarez Cuzco* and *Francisco Maldonado* arrived in *Spain* in Quality of Ambassadors, the first of which was sent from the Vice-king, and the latter from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and both went to *Valladolid*, where the Court then resided, under the Government of the Prince *Don Philip*, who ruled that Kingdom in the absence of the Emperour his Father; who, like a Catholick Prince, was at that time actually employed in the Wars in *Germany* against the *Lutherans*, labouring to reduce them to the obedience of the Holy Mother the Church of *Rome*. These Ambassadors did severally inform the Prince's Highness and the Royal Council of the *Indies*, in the best manner they were able, of all the transactions and successes which had happened in *Peru*, untill the time of their departure from thence; for then the Vice-king was still living. The ill news of these great revolutions and troubles of that Kingdom caused many thoughts in the mind of the Prince; for remedy of which his Highness summoned a Council of the most wise and grave persons, and of most experience, then residing at the Court, which were the Cardinal *Don John Tavera* Archbishop of *Toledo*, Cardinal *Don Fray Garcia de Loaysa* Archbishop of *Seville*, *Don Francisco de Balde* President of the Royal Council and Bishop of *Ciudad Real*, the Duke of *Alva*, the Count of *Ojorno*, *Francisco de Los Cobos* Lord Lieutenant of *Leon*, *Don John Cuenca* Lord Lieutenant of *Castile*, *Ramirez* Bishop of *Cuenca* and President of the King's Bench in *Valladolid*; all the Judges of the Royal Council of the *Indies*, besides several other persons of great Quality; all which, as well as the Court in general, did admire that those Laws and Ordinances which were made and designed for the universal good, as well of the *Indians* as of the *Spaniards* of *Peru*, should have such a different effect, and prove the cause of the destruction both of one and of the other, and so to endanger the Kingdom as even to put it in hazard of being alienated from the Crown of the Emperour. To prevent which, many consultations were held, and great debates did arise thereupon; some were of opinion, that it was to be done only by force of Arms, and that immediately Souldiers were to be sent thither under the command of several experienced Captains; but this opinion was opposed by the difficulty of such an enterprise; for that the charge of shipping Souldiers, Arms, Ammunition, Horses and Provision would be very great, the Voyage was long, the Navigation difficult and subject to a thousand hazards, being to pass two Seas. Other Counsels there were of the more moderate and grave sort of men, who were of opinion, that, since all those di-

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disturbances were caused by the rigour of the new Laws, and the severe and intricate manner of putting them in execution by the Vice-king, the remedy thereof ought to be by contrary applications; which was, that the new Laws should be absolutely abrogated and declared invalid, and that to declare and publish them for such, a person should be sent of a mild, gentle and facile temper, and one of experience in the world, of practice and capacity of Government in the times of Peace, and yet a Soldier knowing how to manage a War if occasion should require. The Person elected for this employment was *Licenciado Pedro de la Gasca*, a Presbyter of the Church, and a Member of the General Council of the Inquisition, and one in whom all the fore-mentioned qualities did concur; and being thus elected, he was offered to his Majesty for his approbation: upon receipt of these Letters of recommendation, Orders were given in such manner as *Gomara* writes in the 175th Chapter of his Book, which I have thought fit to repeat word for word, because he seems to be more plain and clear herein than any other Author whatsoever.

When the Emperour, saith he, had received the news of the great disturbances in *Pern*, and of the imprisonment of *Blasco Nuñez*, he highly resented the insolence of the Judges, who durst attempt to daring a piece of injustice against their allegiance, and also condemned the proceedings of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, as not tending to his service. Howsoever, when it was considered that Appeal was made to him in reference to the new Laws, that the Letters of Instruction which were given herein and sent by *Francisco Maldonado* were miscarried, and that *Texada* died at Sea; the fault was cast upon the Vice-king, who with too much rigour executed the new Laws, without admitting of any Petitions, or hearkening to the Reasons which were offered to the contrary: but then he seemed again to be excused by the positive commands in his Instructions not to admit of any appeal or delay, for that those methods were looked upon as certainly conducing to the service of God; to the welfare and conservation of the *Indians*, to the discharge of a good Conscience, and to the increase of the King's Revenue: when these things, as we said, were considered, the anger of the Emperour much abated; but his trouble increased by this unreasonable news, which came to him at a time when he was engaged in a War in *Germany*, and in those disturbances which were caused by the *Lutherians*. Howsoever, considering how much it concerned him to relieve his Subjects in *Pern*, and provide remedies wherewith to pacifie the commotions raised in those Kingdoms, which yielded him a vast Income and Revenue; he concurred in the opinion of his Council, which was to send a person of a gentle and peaceable disposition, and of experience and practice in affairs, and different to the humour of *Blasco Nuñez*, who was violent, open in his Counsels, and neither understanding Men nor Business: and lastly, considering that since a Lion could not prevail, the gentle spirit of a Lamb might be much more mollifying and winning of the people: such a person as this was *Licenciado Pedro Gasca* esteemed to be, a man of a much better understanding than the other, and one who had gained a reputation in management of the Commotions and Treaties with the *Moor*s in *Valencia*. And accordingly a Commission was given him, with Letters and Orders in Blank, to insert what Names he should think fit; and all the late Ordinances and new Laws were cancelled and repealed; and Letters were wrote to *Gonzalo Pizarro* all dated at *Vienna* in *Germany* in the year 1546.

Thus *Gasca* was dispatched away, and though he departed with a small number of Persons, and a mean Retinue, and with the Title onely of President, yet he was high in esteem, and great hopes were conceived of the success of his negotiations. The shipping which attended him was manly provided with Mariners, and onely what was necessary, that he might put the Emperour to as little charge as was possible, and shew plainness to the people of *Pern* without affectation of state in all his proceedings; the Judges he carried with him were *Andreo de Cianza* and *Renteria*, being persons in whom he greatly confided. When he arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, he communicated his business to no man, but treated with every man in such manner as agreed with the Character which was given of him, saying that he was to go to *Pizarro*, and that in case he would not receive him he would return again to the Emperour; for that his profession was not to be a Soldier, nor was he acquainted with the Art of War, his business being onely to recall the late Ordinances, and to preside in the Council. And whereas *Melchior Velasco* sent to let him know, that he was coming to serve him with some other Compa-

nions, he desired him to forbear a while, and to attend his farther Orders. And leaving his directions here he went to *Panama*, where he constituted *García de Paredes* Governour, and appointed him a Garrison of those Souldiers which *Hernando Mexía*, and *Don Pedro de Cabrera*, who were Captains belonging to *Pizarro* had brought to him; to defend that Town from the French, who committed Piracies along that Coast; and their coming thither was expected also; but their Voyage was thwarted by the Governour of *Santa Marta* who killed them all at a Banquet to which he had given them an invitation. Thus far *Gomara*.

CHAP. II.

Of the substance of the Commission which *Licenciado Gasca* brought. His arrival at *Santa Marta* and *Nombre de Dios*, the manner of his reception there, and of the various Successes and Treaties which passed there.

NOW that we may add to what was omitted by this Author relating to the Commission which *Licenciado Gasca* carried with him, and in which he comes short, for though in general he says, that the Emperour granted him a power as large as he could desire, yet not mentioning the particulars thereof, we are to add, that he gave him an unlimited and an absolute power in all things in such full and ample manner as his Majesty could grant; commanding all people upon his Summons to come in to his assistance with Men, and Horse, and Arms, and Money; with Shipping, Provision, and whatever else he should require for his Majesty's Service. He also carried with him a general Act of Pardon for all Crimes whatsoever, and that no action should be brought against any person by reason thereof; and that every man's Estate and Freehold should be conserved to him. And that he should cause the Vice-king to be embarked and transported into Spain, in case he believed it conducing to the service of his Majesty and the quietness of the Kingdom. He had also a Licence and Authority to make use of the Royal Revenue, so far as he judged it necessary for reducing the Rebels, for quieting the minds of the People, and for due administration of Justice by the Government. He had also Power and Authority to dispose of such Lands and Estates which belonged to *Indians*, which were not already granted or given away; and also of all Offices and Governments through the whole Empire, as well those which were already gained and conquered as those which should be acquired and discovered hereafter. And to himself there was no fixed or settled Sum appointed for his Salary or Entertainment; but a liberty and privilege to spend so much as he judged convenient for his Majesty's Service, of which the Auditor-General was to take an account, and send the same to the Officers of his Majesty's Treasury. All which particulars were set down, and required by *Licenciado Gasca*, who, like a wise man, provided as well for the future as for the present, and also that malicious men might not say, that Interest and a great Salary was the motive to incite him to laborious and difficult undertakings, which at every step offered themselves, but a true zeal onely to his Majesty's Service was his highest inducement; to which he sacrificed all his peace and quietness, and preferred it even before his own life. And *Gomara* farther describing this *Licenciado Gasca*, saith, that as he was of much more solid understanding and better temper than the Vice-king, so also he was of little stature, and of a strange shape, for from the girdle downwards he was as long as any tall man whatsoever, and then from the girdle upwards to his Shoulders he was not one third so high, and without any proportion to his other parts: when he was on Horse-back he seemed much less than he was, for he was all Thighs and Legs; and his Countenance was very ill-favoured and unpleasant: but what nature had denied to him in his Body, was largely recompensed to him in the endowments of his Mind; for he had not onely all those which this Author declares of him, but many more

more, considering that he regained his Empire again to his Majesty, which was almost totally ruined, and revolted from its allegiance. I my self knew him, and particularly one evening I was with him when he stood in the Court-yard of my Father's house, leading to the open place from whence he saw the Feasts of Bulls and Sports on Horse-back with their Darts; but he lodged then in the houses of *Thomas Vasquez*, now in the possession of his Son *Pedro Vasquez*; where also *Gongalo Pigarro* lodged when he was in that Town; and situate on the outside of the Street which is in the middle between our house and the Convent of our Lady of the *Mercedes*; and though those Houses have at one corner Windows which look out into the Market-place, from whence *Licenciado Gasca* might have seen all those Sports, howsoever he chose rather to see them from my Father's Court-yard, which more immediately fronts with the Market-place.

And now we shall proceed to declare his Actions which were not performed by the Sword or Lance, but by the force of his reason and council, which carried him on with such success as obtained all the points he desired both in Peace and War, and at length conducted him out of the Country without any Complaints or Accusations against him of violence or oppression. His weapons were, Patience to bear and undergo all the labours and difficulties which presented, and mildly to suffer the insolences and affronts of the Souldiers; he also had a great stock of subtlety, and craft, and good management to penetrate into the Plots and Designs of his Enemies, and to circumvent and disappoint them; from all which we have arguments sufficient to prove the difficulty of his undertaking, especially if we consider the condition of this Empire, when this worthy person undertook to settle and reduce it to obedience. And here we shall omit to give an account of the particulars of the Voyage which the President made to *Nombre de Dios* (to whom hereafter we shall give that Title) referring the Reader to *Diego Fernandez* for that relation; and so shall proceed to what succeeded after his arrival there. The President received the first News of the death of the Vice-king in *Santa Maria*, from *Licenciado Almandarez*, who was then Governour of that Province and of that new Kingdom; from whence both *Gasca* and those with him apprehended great difficulties in their design, judging it almost impossible to reduce a People without Arms who had proceeded so far in their Rebellion, as to kill the Vice-king in a pitched Battle. But the President, not to discourage his People, concealed the opinion and apprehension he conceived thereof; and to prevent farther disturbances which might arise, he publicly declared, that he had sufficient power and authority to pardon all the Crimes of what nature soever which were already committed, so that no man ought to doubt of pardon or of a general Act of Oblivion. Moreover, he considered, that by the death of the Vice-king, that general hatred was removed from the People, which they conceived against his perverse and untractable humour, and that thereby they might more easily be reduced to the service of his Majesty; Besides which another difficulty was obviated in case it should be thought necessary for quieting the People, to send the Vice-king out of that Country; who might object the injustice of such proceedings against a person, who for no other reason than the Service of his Majesty against Rebels and Tyrants, was banished the Country, and deprived of his Authority. The President *Gasca* comforting himself with such Considerations as these failed to *Nombre de Dios*, where he was received by the Souldiers of *Hernan Mexia* and by the Inhabitants all well armed; but they shewed him very little respect and less affection, speaking contemptibly of his person with affronting words; of all which (as *Diego Fernandez* saith) he took no notice, but spake kindly and cheerfully to all sorts of People. But the Clergy of the City, like true Servants of God, went in procession with the Cross to meet and receive the President, whom they conducted to the Church to sing the *Te Deum Laudamus*, with which kindness the President was much pleased, and thanked God, that some People were remaining, who were acquainted with their duty and good manners, and in some kind made amends for the disrespect of others: but that which added most to his satisfaction was, that the night following, *Hernan Mexia* who was one of the Captains of *Gongalo Pigarro*, and much obliged to him for several favours, came privately to speak with him, offering himself to the service of his Majesty, and to use his utmost endeavours to engage other Captains and Souldiers to return unto their Loyalty and duty towards their Prince: Moreover he gave him a large Narrative of the State of the Country and of the Fleet which

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was at *Panama*, and of the Condition of the Captains and Souldiers which were embarked thereupon, and how that *Pedro de Hinojosa* was Admiral thereof: for all him in the name of his Majesty a suitable reward, desiring his secrecy in the whole matter: And thus Peace and Friendship being agreed between them, they privately discoursed every night together, and *Hernan Mexia* gave him an account of every day upon the good wills and affections of the People and Souldiers, so that many of them went to dine and converse with him; and in all his discourses, he told them plainly that he came thither to no other end and intention, than onely to reduce them to their obedience and loyalty due to his Majesty by terms of peace and friendship, and with promises of reward: That the King had given him full power and authority to promise them a general Pardon for all crimes and faults which were already past; and that if People would not be contented herewith on fair terms, he for his part was ready, without farther force, to return speedily into *Spain*. This was his common discourse and declaration at all times, when he was in publick, with intention that the report hereof might be spread in all parts of the Empire: some few days after the arrival of the President at *Nombre de Dios*; *Melchior de Verdugo*, of whom we have formerly made mention appeared before the City of *Panama*, with intention to enter with his two Ships into the Port: But the Citizens were in great combustion hereupon, by reason that they feared and hated the person of *Verdugo*, and believed that he was commanded thither by the order of the President: but to clear himself of this suspicion, he wrote a Letter himself to *Verdugo*, and sent it by the hand of an intimate friend of his, who was a Church-man, ordering *Verdugo*, upon no terms whatsoever to come to *Nombre de Dios*, but to go to any other place, which should be more convenient, and that he should restore the Ships and Goods which he had taken to the true Proprietors, and by word of mouth; he gave him orders to return to *Nicaragua*, and there to expect such farther directions which should be sent him, the which would tend greatly to his Majesty's Service. But *Melchior Verdugo*, instead of returning to *Nicaragua*, failed into *Spain*, much doubting his security in that Country, for that place secure or safe. And being in *Spain*, his Imperial Majesty honoured him with the habit of *Santiago*. I saw him once in the Anti-chamber of the most Catholic King *Philip* the Second, in the year 1563. But soon after Informations came against him of all the Pyracies he had committed in *Peru*, and the other Volsuch great and crying sins, that he was in danger of being deprived of the honour of his habit, with which he became so sad and dejected, that his countenance changed and shewed the inward sorrow of his mind: but afterwards, at the Intercession of Friends he obtained his Majesty's Pardon, and returned into *Peru*.

CHAP. III.

The President sends Hernan Mexia to Panama to quiet the Disturbances which were made by Pedro Hinojosa, and dispatches an Ambassadour to Gongalo Pigarro; who having Intelligence of the coming of the President, sends Messengers to the Emperour.

THE President made preparations to return again to *Panama*, where he hoped by means of his good conduct to reduce *Pedro de Hinojosa*, with the other Captains which were there quartered, to due allegiance unto their Emperour: for according to the relation which *Hernando Mexia de Guzman* had given him

him, their inclinations were very well disposed thereunto; and accordingly he conceived great hopes of success. In order to which he went with all speed possible to *Panama*, taking the *Marefchall Alvarado* into his company, and to his assistance (as *Diego Fernandez Palentino* in the thirty eighth Chapter of his Book affirms) for whom he had obtained a Licence from the Council of the *Indies*, that he might be spared for some time from the Register's Office to attend upon the affairs of *Peru*; and be an Assistant and a Companion to him. This Gentleman having been in the Battel of *Chupas* against *Don Diego de Almagro Junior*, returned afterwards into *Spain*; and by reason that he was well versed in the transaction of affairs between the *Pizarros* and *Almagrians*, he was entertained in the service of the Council of the *Indies*. But let us leave both him and the President in their journey; to relate what *Pedro de Hinojosa* acted in the mean time at *Panama*, upon the News, that *Hernan Mexia* had received the President with signs and demonstrations of peace and friendship, rather than of enmity and opposition: and he was the more dissatisfied, because he was ignorant of the Commission and Contents of the Instructions which the President brought; And because he had concluded and agreed without any communication or correspondence with him: wherefore *Hinojosa* wrote so very angrily to him upon that matter, that several friends of *Hernan de Mexia* advised him not to go to *Panama*: Howsoever (as *Augustine Carate* saith) after some conference had with the President thereupon it was concluded, that *Hernan Mexia* should speedily depart for *Panama*, and laying aside all fears and jealousies should boldly communicate the whole matter to *Hinojosa*; which *Mexia* accordingly performed in confidence of the friendship which was between them, and the knowledge he had of his humour and disposition. After some conference together *Mexia* so well acquitted himself and gave such reasons for receiving the President; shewing that, let the business go how it would, his actions hitherto could bring no prejudice to their cause; that *Hinojosa* appeared well satisfied: thereupon *Hernan Mexia* returned to *Nombre de Dios*, and the President went to *Panama*, where he personally treated with *Hinojosa* and with all his Captains, declaring to them the cause and reasons of his coming; And managed matters with such secrecy and prudence, that none knew what he had communicated to the other; which so secured their affections and good will towards him, that he adventured publicly to declare his design, and to assure them that his negotiations tended to the publick welfare: and at the same time took care to provide for the necessities and conveniences of the Souldiery, the which he acted with such sweetness of behaviour and respect towards all, as feeds the vanity of that Souldiery, and prevails most in that Country. Thus far *Augustine de Carate* in his seventh Chapter.

So soon as *Pedro de Hinojosa* had notice of the coming of the President to *Nombre de Dios*, he gave immediate intelligence thereof to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, as did all his Captains, giving him assurance, that they would never suffer him to pass into *Peru*. But notwithstanding all their resolutions, after some conferences which they held with the President at *Panama*, they changed their minds, and then wrote in a different manner: for the President had so dealt with every single person in private, as had much engaged them and inclined their good-wills and affections to him. Whereupon they consented, and gave permission that he might send one of those persons whom he brought from *Casfile* with Letters from *Gonzalo Pizarro* to advise him of his arrival in those parts; the Gentleman whom the President resolved to send was called *Pedro Hernandez Paniagua*, who was an Inhabitant and Governour of the City of *Plasencia*, a person well qualified for such a negotiation; for, besides that he was a Gentleman of good extraction, he had left his Wife and Children a competent Estate in *Spain*, for which he not only merited esteem and respect of *Pizarro*, but also for his Countreys sake, and for the sake of his kindred and relations, who were engaged in his faction. Thus did *Paniagua* set sail for *Peru*, upon a frigate appointed for him; all the Letters he carried with him were one from the King to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and another to him from the President, besides some other private Letters to persons of quality, as namely, to the Bishop of *Lago*, and another to *Licenciado Benito de Carvajal*, to whom the President wrote amicably, and as became a kinsman, directing him in what manner to act for the service of his Majesty. And here we will leave *Paniagua* in his voyage, and relate what *Gonzalo Pizarro* was acting in the mean time.

Whilst

Whilst *Pizarro* was arrived at the top of all his hopes and expected a confirmation in his Government, and to be made perpetual Dictator in that Empire, he received Letters from *Pedro de Hinojosa* his General, which gave him advice of the arrival of the President in those parts. *Pizarro* and all his Captains were greatly surprized and troubled at this unexpected News, and thereupon with some of the Citizens entered into consultation how and in what manner they were to behave themselves in this business; the Debates were many and long, and the opinions different to each other; but at length they were reduced to two: some were of opinion that either publicly or secretly the President was to be killed. Others were of opinion that they should invite him to *Peru*, where having discovered all his Papers, Instructions and Commission, that then they should endeavour to persuade or force him to concur with them, and grant whatsoever they desired: and in case they could not prevail, it was but to put him off then with delays, pretending that they had not power to conclude alone, without the consent and concurrence of all the other Cities of that Kingdom, with that of *Los Reyes*: and in regard the Places and Cities were far distant each from the other, there would be good cause of excuse and means to defer the Assembly for two years: And in the mean time the President would be detained a Prisoner in the Island of *Puna*, under a Guard of faithfull Souldiers, who were to be careful to intercept all Letters which he should write for information of his Majesty, by default of which they might still continue under the notion of obedient and loyal Subjects. Others were of opinion, that the best and most expedite way was, to cause him to return again into *Spain*, and to persuade him thereunto with money and provisions for his voyage; by which it would appear, that they had treated him like a good Servant and Officer of his Majesty. These Debates continued with great difference and heat for many days: but at length it was by common consent agreed, That Messengers should be sent from them to his Majesty to negotiate the Grant of such Particulars as were most conducing to the welfare of that Empire: That they should give an account of all things which had been lately transacted; and especially to insist in justification of their cause, that they were compelled to the engagement of *Quin*, where the Vice-king was slain: and in all their Discourses they were to charge the Vice-king as the Aggressor, who had persecuted them through all places, and at length forced them to kill him in their own defence: And in fine, the Prayer of their Petition was, That his Majesty would be pleased to confer the Government of that Empire on *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who by his own bravery and merit of his Relations had gained that Empire to the Crown; and that farther, he pretended a Title thereunto on the Commission his Majesty had given to his Brother to nominate a Successour thereunto after his death: and in the mean time they desired, that the President might be ordered to reside in *Panama*, and not to proceed farther into *Peru* until his Majesty should give new directions. This matter being agreed upon, Ambassadors were chosen who were to negotiate those great Points in *Spain*; and to give the better countenance thereto, *Don Tray Geronimo de Loaysa*, Arch-bishop of *Los Reyes*, who was a great Prelate, Father and Pastour of that City, was entreated to accept of that Charge, who being a Person of great esteem and interest in *Spain*, it was presumed that he would be heard with the more favour; the like also was desired of the Bishop of *Santa Maria*, and *Friar Thomas de St. Martin*, who was Provincial of the Order of *St. Dominick*; and *Lorenzo de Aldana* and *Gomez de Solis* were pitched upon to join with them in the Commission. Money was ordered for their Voyage sufficient to defray all their charges; and particularly it was ordered, that *Gomez de Solis*, who was chief Gentleman-usher to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, should have thirty thousand pieces of Eight paid to him apart, out of the which he was to give unto *Pedro de Hinojosa* so much as he judged necessary: but as to *Lorenzo de Aldana*, he supposed that he had so many endearments towards him on account of his Country and mutual friendship which was between them, that he did not doubt but that he would prove a faithfull correspondent, and with all fidelity advise him of the accidents and successes of his Voyage, but more particularly to acquaint him from *Panama* of the import and contents of the Commission, and Instructions which the President had brought with him: Accordingly these persons embarked in the month of *October*, 1546. with Title of Ambassadors from the Empire of *Peru*, unto his Majesty; in whose Voyage nothing occurred worthy the Relation.

Eeee

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

The Ambassadors arrive at Panama, and both they and the People of that City revolt from Gonzalo Pizarro, and deliver up their Fleet into the power of the President. Paniagua comes to Los Reyes.

SO soon as the Ambassadors arrived at *Panama*, *Lorenzo de Aldana* went to take up his Lodgings with *Pedro de Hinojosa*: and having first burnt the Commission and Instructions which he brought from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, relating to matters which he had to act in *Panama* and *Spain*, he made his Addresses to the President, giving him in few words to understand his intentions: and in a short time becoming better acquainted, *Aldana*, *Hernan Mexia* and *Pedro de Hinojosa* engaged to employ themselves in the Service of the President, onely they pretended to make some difficulties for the first three days, untill they had well digested their matter: and then finding themselves all of an opinion, they began to publish their intentions, and on the fourth day they and all the Captains went to the President and professed their allegiance to his Majesty: and in token thereof delivered up the whole Fleet into his possession and command, together with the Arms, Ammunition and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, engaging upon Oath to doe homage to him, and to serve and obey him in whatsoever he should command. And in the mean time these Resolutions were kept as a Secret untill it was known how *Gonzalo Pizarro* received *Paniagua* and the message which he brought him. The principal motives which incited these persons to revolt from *Pizarro* to the Service of his Majesty were, impartially speaking, the sense of true allegiance and duty which they owed to his Majesty. In the next place, it was secretly agreed, that so soon as these Commotions were suppressed and the Country in peace and quietness, that the Army should receive their full arrears of Pay: the which was afterwards complied with in a more ample manner than they themselves had proposed, of which we shall speak in its due place. But nothing more prevailed and facilitated this matter than the Repeal of the late Ordinances and new Laws, and the general Pardon for what was already past: for when they saw themselves secured in their possessions and commands over the *Indians*; and absolved of the murders, spoils and robberies they had committed in the late Civil Wars; they resolved to close with this opportunity to save themselves, though thereby they sacrificed and surrendered him to destruction who had promoted them to the Titles of Captains and Ambassadors of that Empire, rather in expectation of future services from them, than in reward of former merit; for though they were Persons of Quality, yet none of them had been Conquerours, unless *Alonso Palomino*. This Secret was concealed for some few days, which the President esteemed, as no loss of time, considering his great success in so short a time. In fine, at a general Rendezvous the several Colours were surrendered up into the hands of the President, and the Captains publicly declared for the President; who accepted the surrender in the name of his Majesty and restored every man to his Office by Commission from the Emperour: as is confirmed by *Gomara*, Chapter 179. in these words:

By the prudent and dexterous negotiations of *Gasca*, and by the promises of reward which he made to *Hinojosa*, for there could be no force or compulsion in the case, a voluntary surrender was made of the whole Fleet unto the President: and here the first step was made to the ruine of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, *Gasca* accepted of the Fleet, and confirmed *Hinojosa* in his Office of Admiral, and all the Captains in the commands of their respective Ships, thereby converting Traitors to a condition of loyal and faithful Subjects. The President having gained the Fleet, began to conceive great hopes of these his negotiations; and indeed he had reason so to believe, for without the Fleet he could never have succeeded in his enterprise; by Sea it had been impossible to have found shipping to transport him to *Peru*: and to go by Land, (as it was once designed) the journey had been difficult and attended

tended with the sufferings of hunger, cold and other dangers. Thus much *Gomara* reports of this matter, and in the same place touches upon the industry and diligence used by the President in all his actions, and the mutual Promises and engagements which passed between both Parties. This account being made, and the publicly to own the command of all, and to chuse *Pedro de Hinojosa* Captain-General of all the Forces both by Sea and Land. Then he commanded and ordered four Ships to be prepared and fitted, under the command of *Lorenzo de Aldana*, *John Alonso Palomino*, *Hernan Mexia* and *John Tlanaes*. *Lorenzo de Aldana* was appointed Admiral of the four Ships, which were to carry three hundred men of the best Seamen and Souldiers selected out of the Fleet and provided with all things necessary for their Voyage.

They were moreover ordered to carry with them many Copies or Transcripts of his Majesty's most gracious revocation of the late Ordinances, and of the general Pardon, which was extended and indulged to all persons without exception, the which were in the best manner they could contrive to be dispersed in all parts of the inland Countries. These four Captains being accordingly dispatched, *Mexico*, informing him of all particulars which had succeeded to that time, and desiring his assistance with Men and Arms to forward his Majesty's Service. In like manner Dispatches were sent to *Don Baltazar de Castilla* at *Guatemala*, and *Nicaragua*, and to other persons of *St. Domingo* and *Pojoyan*, and the like unto other parts, for it was believed that all was little enough to reduce the Rebels to their duty and allegiance: but no force was so prevalent as the revocation of the late Ordinances, and the general Pardon, which operated on the minds of men, and contributed more to the ruine of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and confiscation of the Empire to *Gasca* than all the preparations did which were made for War.

But now, returning to speak of *Paniagua*, whom we left on his Voyage to *Los Reyes*, we shall pass by the Journal of what happened in his passage, to relate matters more essential to this History. *Paniagua* being arrived at *Los Reyes*, he delivered the Letters which he brought from his Majesty and from the President to the hands of *Pizarro*, as also his general Letter of Credence, signifying that he was sent by order of the President, and that entire belief was to be yielded to whatsoever he should deliver in the name of his Majesty and of the President. *Gonzalo Pizarro* seemingly gave him a fair reception, and having heard his Message, he dismissed him for the present, charging and forewarning him not to meddle or treat with any about the affairs of the President at his peril. He then called for *Licenciado Cepeda* and *Francisco de Carvajal*, and in presence of those three onely were the King's Letters read, as *Angelina Carate* writes.

The Substance of his Majesty's Letter.

The KING.

BY your Letters (*Gonzalo Pizarro*) and by other relations, we have been informed of the many troubles and commotions which have happened in the Provinces of *Peru*, since the time that *Blasco Nunnez Vela* Our Vice-king arrived there, together with the Judges of our Courts of Justice; and which were raised by putting those new Laws into execution, though contrived and framed for the better Government of those parts, and for the ease and relief of the Natives thereof. And we are well assured, that neither you nor any of those who have followed your Party, did all intentionally to doe us a disservice, but onely to put a stop to the severity which the said Vice-king used in the violent and indiscreet execution thereof, without receiving or admitting any reasons or petitions to the contrary. Of all which being well informed, and having heard whatsoever *Francisco Maldonado* had to communicate to us on your behalf, and from the Inhabitants of those Provinces; we have thought fit to send *Licenciado de la Gasca*, one of the Counsellors of the Holy and General Inquisition, with Title and in Quality of our President, to whom

We have given a Commission and such Instructions as will undoubtedly put an end to all the troubles and commotions of that Countrey. And farther we have given him a general authority to act and doe whatsoever he shall judge may most redound to the service and honour of God, to the improvement of those Provinces, to the benefit and welfare of Our Subjects, who are Planters, and of the Natives thereof. Wherefore we do command and require you to be aiding and assisting to our said President in whatsoever he shall demand of you in Our Name towards the performance and execution of those rules and directions which have been given him. And herein relying upon you with much confidence, We shall ever be mindfull of the Services which your Brother the Marquis hath done for Us, and which shall ever be remembered to the advantage of his Sons and Brothers. Given at Venloe the 16th day of the Month of February, 1546.

I the KING.

By command of his Majesty,

Francisco de Erato.

The Letter which the President wrote to Gonçalo Piçarro was to this effect.

Illustrious Sir,

Supposing that my stay would not have been so long in this Countrey I detained the Emperour's Letter by me, intending to deliver it with my own hands, nor did I think fit in the mean time to acquaint you of my arrival, out of respect to his Majesty's Letter, which ought to have come first unto your hands before mine. But considering that the Affairs of his Majesty would require my presence here for some time, and hearing that you had convened an Assembly of the People to meet you at the City of Lima, to consider of Affairs which depend on things already past; I judged it necessary to employ an express Messenger with his Majesty's Letter, and with the same occasion also to send you mine, the bearer whereof, named Hernandez Paniagua, is a Person of Quality, and one considerable in your Countrey, and very much your Friend and humble Servant. What I have now to say to you farther, is to acquaint you, That in Spain there have been great Consultations concerning the manner how the commotions and disturbances, which have been raised in Peru since the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez (whom God forgive) came into those parts, were to be taken and redressed. And after his Majesty had well weighed and considered the several Debates and Opinions thereupon, there hath no cause appeared hitherto to believe, that the same did proceed from any motive of disobedience or disservice to his Majesty, but merely from a principle of self-preservation, which induced them to oppose that severity which the Vice-king used in the execution of the new Laws against the privileges and rights of that Countrey: And farther his Majesty hath considered the obstinacy of the Vice-king, who would admit of no Petition or Appeal, or suspension of the new Laws untill such time as his Majesty was acquainted with the inconveniences thereof; all which appears at large in your Letter to his Majesty, and which gives a farther relation, that you had taken upon you the Government at the instance and desire of the Court of Justice, and which they had delivered unto you by Commission under his Majesty's Broad Seal; in virtue whereof you promise to serve his Majesty, and profess, that to have refused the Government at that time would have been a disservice to his Majesty, and that you accepted it on no other terms than such as became a good and a loyal Subject, and with intention to resign it at the command and will of his Majesty: All which being thus understood by his Majesty, he hath sent me to quick the minds of the People by a revocation of those Laws, according to the prayer of your Petition; with power to publish a general Pardon for all Faults, Crimes and Misdemeanours already committed: and lastly, to take the opinion and direction of the People of this Countrey concerning the methods which are to be used for the advancement and promotion of the service of God, and for the common good and welfare of the Inhabitants: And in regard there are many Spaniards in those parts, who are unemployed, and have no possessions, it is thought fit,

fit, that they should be provided out of new discoveries, which is the only way for them to gain honour and riches according to the example of the ancient Conquerours, wherefore I heartily desire you to consider these matters with the understanding of a good Christian, and the worthy mind and intention of a Gentleman, and of a wise and prudent Person, and with that affection and good will which you have always shewed to the happiness and welfare of this Countrey, and charity towards the Inhabitants thereof; giving God and our Lady thanks, (to whom you are a zealous Votary) that this great and important Affair, in which you have so deeply concerned your self, hath been so favourably interpreted by his Majesty and by the Grandees of Spain; who were pleased to acquit your actions of rebellion and disloyalty, and to style them with the more soft terms of defending his Majesty's justice, to which his Subjects are denied access, or to be heard by way of Petition. And now in regard your King, who is a Catholick and a just Prince, hath restored you and every person to the enjoyment of his own Estate and Possessions in as full and as ample a manner as they desired in their Petition; It is but reason that you deal as sincerely and justly with your King, by yielding due obedience to him, and compliance with all his commands: the which is a duty incumbent on us, not the Laws of Scripture and Grace, which injoin us, to be loyal to his King, but also by render unto every man his due, and especially obedience unto Kings. And since your Ancestors have made themselves illustrious by their loyalty and by their services to the Crown, in the largest characters, rather than to degenerate from their lineage and cast a blemish on all their achievements by your demerits and defection from their virtues. The greatest commendment we have in this world, next to the salvation of our Souls, is our honour, which is the lustre of your Ancestors' glories, or otherwise by irregular actions to cast a blemish and eternal obliquity upon them. For whosoever falls from God by infidelity, or from his King by treason and disloyalty, doth not only dishonour himself but likewise casts a blemish and infamy on his whole Family: wherefore let me advise you to reflect hereupon with a wise and a prudent spirit, weighing well the power of your King, whose Forces you are very unable to withstand: but lest your want of knowledge and experience in his Court, not having view of his Armies, or fathomed the depth of his Counsels, should betray you to an over-weening opinion of your own strength; be pleased to figure unto your self the mighty power and puissance of the Great Turk, who marched in Person at the head of above three hundred thousand fighting men, which he brought into the Field against him, besides Pioniers and other attendants on the Camp, notwithstanding which, when he met his Majesty near Vienna he durst not adventure to join Battel with him, but rather endeavoured a retreat, facing the Enemy with his Horse whilst the Infantry marched away and made their escape, &c.

This Letter is writ more at large by divers Authours, which we have thought fit to abbreviate, because it relates the many Victories which the Emperour gained upon the Turk, from whence he frames divers Arguments the Emperour gainable Gonçalo Piçarro was to contend with so formidable a Force, but that ratifications and reflexions were on this Letter, we shall declare in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Consultations and Opinions concerning the Revocation of the New Laws: and of the General Pardon of all faults and crimes past. What private Instructions had been given to Paniagua; and Gonçalo Pigarro's Answer thereunto.

THESE Letters having at the first consultation been read three or four times in presence of *Gonçalo Pigarro*, and of *Licenciado Cepeda* and *Francisco de Carvajal*; *Pigarro* demanded their opinion thereof: *Cepeda* desired *Carvajal*, because he was the oldest man of the company, that he would first speak to the matter in question, and though there were some little Replies between them, each desiring the other to begin first: yet at length *Carvajal* gave his opinion as followeth: These are, Sir, in reality great offers; Let us not neglect to accept these fair Conditions. What fair Conditions, answered *Cepeda*. What good or benefit can they bring to us? Why, said *Carvajal*, they are, Sir, both good and cheap; for they propose a revocation of the late Ordinances which gave us so much cause of discontent, together with a General Pardon for all that is past. And that for other matters a general Assembly shall be held consisting of Members of the several Cities, by whose Votes and Directions, Rules shall be given to order all matters tending to the service of God, to the welfare of the Countrey and benefit of the Inhabitants and Planters thereof; which is as much as we ever desired or can possibly expect: for by annulling or revoking those new Ordinances, we secure our *Indians*; our properties in which was the chief cause which moved us to take up Arms, and to adventure our lives in the defence thereof. The General Pardon exempts us from all future reckonings for what is past; and still we conferre the Government in our own hands; since that all the Laws and Rules which are to be made, are to proceed and to be enacted from and by the respective Corporations of Cities of which we are principal members. Wherefore upon the whole matter my opinion is, that we should accept of these gracious Offers, and in answer thereunto return Ambassadors to the President, signifying our acceptance of the terms propoſed: and to engraſiate our ſelves with him, let him be invited to this place, and carried on mens ſhoulders into the City; let his way hither be paved with Plates of Silver and Ingots of Gold, and treated in the moſt magnificent manner imaginable, for having been the Meſſenger of ſo general a good to us: let us find ſome farther way to oblige him to deal with us as Friends, and treat in confidence with us: I do not doubt but ſince he hath begun thus generously to open himſelf, but that he hath yet a larger Commiſſion, and a power to confer on you the Government of this Empire: but let the matter go how it will, I am of opinion, that he ſhould be brought to this place; and if afterwards his proceedings do not pleaſe us, it will remain ſtill in our hands to diſpoſe of him as we ſhall think fit.

Cepeda was abſolutely of another opinion, and oppoſed all that *Carvajal* had declared; ſaying, that theſe fair promiſes were words without ſecurity; which powerful men could eaſily avoid, as they ſaw occaſion. That if the President were once admitted in, he would ſo draw the hearts of all people to him, as to order and diſpoſe every thing according to his own will and pleaſure: that the perſon who was ſent with theſe Letters, was not one of that plain and ſimple ſort as was pretended; but a man of great ſubtlety and underſtanding, and full of Intrigues and Policies to delude and affect the minds of the People: and in ſum his concluſion was, that they ought not to receive the President amongſt them; for that his admittance would prove the ruine and deſtruction of them all. This was in ſhort the opinion of theſe two Counſellours, though the reaſons *Pro* and *Con* were more large, and though *Pigarro* did not declare himſelf at that time either one way or other, yet in his own thoughts he inclined more to the opinion of *Carvajal*.

of *Cepeda*, than to the ſenſe of *Carvajal*; believing that ſo ſoon as he affected thereunto, he immediately deſtroyed him of all the power and authority which he had in that Countrey. *Cepeda* alſo, blinded with his own ambition and intereſt, ſuſſily adhered to his own opinion, well knowing, that in caſe the President were received, his authority would fail, and that he ſhould loſe his Seal, and perhaps his life, for his crimes were of a deep ſtain; he had once been an Officer and Miſtiſer of the King's, whoſe Laws and Ordinances he ought to have ſuſtained; and inſtead thereof he had oppoſed the execution of them; and born Arms in that Battle, where the Vice-king was ſlain: Howſoever, *Pigarro* not being fully reſolved what courſe to take, ſummoned a general Aſſembly of all the principal Inhabitants of the City, of the Captains, Nobility, and of the moſt knowing perſons in thoſe parts, to deliberate upon the Anſwer which was to be given to the Letters from his Maſteſty and the President; which being of common concernment would beſt ſuit with the general authority and conſent of the whole Countrey. The Aſſembly being met, conſiſted of eighty perſons, amongſt whom were many ſtrange, and different opinions. Some were delivered with great gravity and reverence, tending to the common good of the *Indians* and *Spaniards*; and to the advancement of God's glory and ſervice: others were of a different ſtrain; many are there are different imaginations, and talents; and as it is uſual where ſo many men, ſo many minds: men of the moſt ſolid judgments did concur in opinion with *Francisco de Carvajal*, but ambition and the deſire of rule thwarted all to the other ſide. Howſoever *Francisco de Carvajal* boldly declared in publick, that the Offers were ſatisfactory, and ought not to be reſuſed: to which *Cepeda* preſently reply'd, that the Major General was afraid, the like was ſaid by other raſh and deſperate men; which *Carvajal* hearing, cryed out aloud; Gentlemen, I am as affectionate a Servant to my Lord the Governour as any man living, and as much deſire his proſperity, quiet and increaſe of honour; and as ſuch I deliver my opinion ſincerely and really as I believe to be beſt and moſt convenient for him, and from the abundance of my heart and affection I ſpeak it. You may, if you pleaſe, follow other Counſels which lead you into miſfortunes; for my part, I have as long a neck for a halter as any of your Worſhips. *Bernardus Palmirino* relates ſomeſthing of this opinion of *Carvajal* in his Hiſtory, but touches it not in this place, but in another ſome time after; perhaps he that gave this information gave it to him late and defective, ſo that he delivered it more fully in another place. Neither *Lopez de Gomara* nor *Auguſtine de Carate* make any mention of this particular, which is very ſtrange, becauſe after the War was ended, all people generally applauded the wife and politick counſel of *Carvajal*, which had undoubtedly preſerved *Gonçalo Pigarro*, had he had Grace and wiſdom enough to have received it.

Theſe Conſultations and Debates were publick; but the Cabals of the other ſide were more private in the Chamber of *Paniagua* where many People voluntarily reſorted the very night that he arrived there and every night afterwards during the time that he reſided at *Los Reyes*; all of them proteſting that they were Servants to the King, and obeyed *Gonçalo Pigarro* againſt their inclinations and will; for then they would revolt from *Pigarro* as the President arrived in thoſe parts; treated him to inroll their names in a Liſt, and offer them to the President, aſſuring him of their faithfull ſervice, as opportunity ſhould offer. Theſe were the aſſurances which were ſecretly given to *Paniagua* by the moſt principal Citizens, and by thoſe who were moſt deeply engaged with *Pigarro*, and of ſuch who moſt deſperately declared againſt the President, vowing that they would ſtab him in the Sea, as Hiſtorians write. And this ſecret intelligence was given in the night, partly to prevent the full declaration of his Commiſſion in favour of *Gonçalo Pigarro*: for we muſt know that juſt as *Paniagua* was about to take his leave of the President, the laſt and moſt ſecret Inſtruction was given him to be ſure to the People to *Gonçalo Pigarro*; and that in caſe he found them all of one piece and unanimouſly to adhere unto him; that then he ſhould publicly declare, how that the President brought a Commiſſion with him to confirm *Gonçalo Pigarro* in the Go-

the Government of *Pera*. And the truth is, it was concluded in *Spain* by his Majesty's Council just at the departure of the President, that, as the last and ultimate remedy of all, he should have power to confirm *Pizarro* in the Government: for it was said and concluded, that provided the Countrey were the Emperour's, 'twas no matter, though the Devil governed it.

This secret, (said the President to *Paniagua*) I entrust to you in as much confidence as it was committed to me, and in all things act as becomes a Gentleman, and as one obliged in duty to serve the King.

After the Countrey was quieted and settled, and the President returned to *Spain*, *Paniagua* himself revealed this story: for he remained behind with a good Estate, and a large proportion of *Lands* and *Indians* which were given to him. And he confessed, that he was often resolved to have revealed the secret to *Pizarro*, whilst he remained in a doubtful condition amidst the various humours and opinions of the Commonalty; and he said, that he often repented that he had not done it.

But to return to our History. *Paniagua* obtained an answer to his Message; the dispatch unto which was chiefly procured by the interest and favour of *Licenciado Carvajal*: which was a matter of high importance to him, being in continual fear and danger of his life; for had *Pizarro* known that he had secretly admitted access to him, and Cabals in the night, he would certainly have been as good as his word in putting him to death, as he threatened him at his first coming to the City. *Paniagua*, having received his dispatch, departed from *Los Reyes* in the month of *January*, 1547. Being furnished with money for his Journey, he carried only a single Letter for the President, of which *Augustine Carate* takes no notice, but *Fernandez Palenque* rehearses it in this manner,

Most Honoured and most Reverend Sir,

YOUR Letter dated from *Panama* of the 26th of September of the year last past, I have received, and return you many thanks, and kiss your hands for the advices you have given me therein, knowing well that they proceed from an affectionate and a sincere heart, agreeable to the quality of your Person, endowed with much learning and confidence. As for my part, I desire you would consider me as a person naturally inclined to the Service of his Majesty, the which you seem to acknowledge without any testimony of my own: And indeed those only can properly be said to serve his Majesty whose actions and not their words declare their works. Men who serve the King at his charge and cost, may be said to serve him; yet howsoever, they are not to be compared and set in the balance with them, who, like my Brothers and Relations, and like my self, who have for the space of sixteen years served his Majesty in my Person without any charge or expence to the Crown, to which I have gained and acquired greater and better Countreys, and a vaster quantity of Gold and Silver than ever any man hath done which was born; and all this at my own charge, without putting his Majesty to the expence so much as of five Shillings towards all my acquisitions and labours. And now at last there remains nothing either to me or to my Brothers but only the bare and naked reputation of having served his Majesty, in which we have consumed all that we have gained. When *Blasco Nunnez* first arrived in this Countrey, there were then living of our stock, the Sons of the Marquis, *Hernando Pizarro* and my self, amongst which there was scarce the value of a crown remaining either in Gold or Silver, notwithstanding all those immense Sums we had sent to his Majesty; nor had we one Acre of Land amongst us all, notwithstanding that vast tract of Empire we had annexed to the Imperial Crown: and yet notwithstanding all these neglects which have been put upon us, we remain firm and immovable in our Allegiance, to which duty we have no need to be incited from Arguments of his Power, or to be informed of his prowess and puissance of his Arms, unless it be to give us occasion to praise God who hath bestowed such a Prince upon us, who is gracious to his Subjects and so formidable to his Enemies, that as well Christian Princes as Infidels fear and envy his greatness. And though I have not spent so much time in his Majesty's Court as I have done in the Wars for his Service, yet I would have you to know, that I have been as curious to hear and understand the Affairs of his Majesty, especially the Successes of the late Wars, as any person whatsoever that is conversant in his Court, who perhaps are not well acquainted with all the occurrences so particularly and truly as I am; for those who come from thence give me informations of what hath past, and some Friends who live upon the place constantly write to me from the Camp, and give me as good intelligence as they are able; for they knowing me to be a man of truth, and delighted with a real and exact ac-

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count of all Successes, do endeavour to gratifie my curiosity and affection to his Majesty's interest by faithful and true informations, which my zeal to the Crown seeks and fixes in my memory, &c.

The remainder of this Letter, for brevity sake, we omit, as impertinent and little to our purpose, for it reflects chiefly on the Vice-king *Blasco Nunnez Vela*, himself he says, that all the Cities of that Empire chose him for their Agent-General; in which capacity he was empowered by Commission from the Judges under the great Seal, to drive out and expell *Blasco Nunnez Vela* from the limits of that Kingdom; and that he acted nothing all that time but by their Warrant, and by virtue of their commands.

With this Letter *Paniagua* was dispatched by Sea, where we shall leave him for a while to discourse of other matters which intervened; only before we conclude this Chapter, we must reflect a little on that passage of his Letter wherein he says, that of that vast tract of Empire which he and his Kindred had acquired by inheritance for ever, as the Lords in *Spain* hold their Lands, which were granted to them by former Kings in reward of the Services they had done in the Wars against the *Moors*, helping to subdue and drive them out of the Land: for though *Gonzalo Pizarro* and *Hernando Pizarro* were seized of much Land, with command over *Indians*, yet they held them only for their lives, as did also the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro* whose Estate was only for Life, and never descended to his Children.

CHAP. VI.

The death of *Alonso de Toro*. *Diego Centeno* and the other Captains come out of their Caves and places of retirement, and appear for the Service of his Majesty. *Gonzalo Pizarro* sets all his Ships on fire, and what was the saying of *Carvajal* thereupon.

Fernandez *Paniagua* having received his dispatches and departed, *Gonzalo Pizarro* began to be troubled that he had received no advices or intelligences from *Lorenzo de Aldana* either in relation to his Voyage, or to the Fleet then at *Panama*, thing amiss, in regard the time did well admit of a return. Wherefore he dispatched Letters to Captain *Pedro de Puelles* his Deputy at *Quito*, and to Captain *Mercado* Governour of the City of *St. Michael*, to Captain *Porcel* in *Paccamorus*, and should have occasion to call upon them for their assistance, which he believed would be very speedy; but when the Messengers came to those places, they found all the People already possessed with the news of a general Pardon, and of the revocation of the late Ordinances (for the President had taken care to disperse Copies in all parts) upon publication of which there was a general defection in all places from *Gonzalo Pizarro*: the like Message was also sent to Captain *Antonio de Robles*, then in the City of *Cocoto*, to prepare and keep his People in a readiness to be employed in any future service which might offer: this Message was sent to whom I had acquaintance) had killed Captain *Alonso de Toro*, who was Governour under him in that City: the truth is, the matter was sudden, and neither contrived by him who killed him, nor suspected by the person who was slain; for *Alonso de Toro* was Son-in-law to *Diego Gonzales*, and lodged in the same House:

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gether: *Afonso de Toro* was of a proud, cholerick disposition, and very loud in his speech; *Diego Gonçalves* being in the Hall, which was next to his Daughter's Apartment, he heard *Afonso de Toro* scold and quarrel with his Daughter, who was a very good and virtuous Wife, and in his fury coming out into the Hall, he met with his Father-in-law, and fanyling that he came to take part with his Daughter, he presently brused up to the good old man, who was above sixty five years of age, and with a loud voice gave him base and foul language; but *Gonçalves de Vargas*, rather with intention to defend himself than with design to hurt his Son-in-law, laid hold on an old Dagger which hung by a string at his side, and drew it in his own defence, with which *Afonso de Toro* being more provoked, came up so close to the old Man that he received a wound from the Dagger, which when *De Vargas* perceived, and considered that there was now no other way, he gave him three or four stabbs more in the Belly, and then fled, fearing lest *de Toro* should by his strength wrest the Dagger from him, and kill him with it; but he had strength onely to pursue him about fifty paces to the foot of the Stairs, where he fell down and died. This was the fate of poor *Afonso de Toro*, which his own fury and cholerick disposition had brought upon him, his Father-in-law being forced thereunto merely to save and defend himself.

Diego Gonçalves was afterwards tried for the fact, and acquitted, and I knew him several years after; he had a Son named *Diego de Vargas*, who went to School with me whilst we learned to read and write, and were afterwards in our Latin: we were also neighbours, and lived next door but one to them when this unfortunate mischief happened. After the death of *Afonso de Toro* the Corporation of the City made choice of *Afonso de Hinojosa* to be Governour and Captain thereof under *Gonzalo Pigarro*; but he was soon superseded by *Antonio de Robles*, who received a Commission for the place from *Pigarro*: by which though *Hinojosa* esteemed himself much dishonoured, yet he diffembled his pleasure untill a fair opportunity offered to make known his resentments, as will appear more plainly hereafter.

The Letters and Advices also of the arrival of the President were carried to *Arequipa*, and to the City of *Plate*, and flew over all *Collao*, where many of those people were concealed who had been dispersed by *Francisco de Carvajal* when he pursued *Diego Centeno*. This news caused great fermentation in the minds of the People, and particularly an inhabitant of *Arequipa* called *Diego Alvarez*, being then near the Sea-coast with nine or ten Companions, made himself Captain of them, and taking Colours of a Linen Cloth, they went in search of *Diego Centeno*, who had by this time quitted his Cave, and gotten together about five men, who unanimously chose *Centeno* for General of the new Enterprize. At first they consulted whether it would be most advantageous for them to march to the City of *Arequipa* or to *Cuzco*, where they knew that *Antonio de Robles* resided with three hundred men well fitted and appointed; but as yet they knew not what to resolve upon, for it seemed a hazardous matter to attack a body of men with so much disadvantage of numbers; but afterwards, considering that they carried with them the specious colour of the King's Authority, and the powerfull name of Loyalty, they resolved on the question, and to march directly to *Cuzco*. But let us leave them here on their Journey to relate other actions and successes which were carried on and passed in divers parts, and at the same time in those Countries, which were so many and various, that I seem to be entred into a Labyrinth, from whence I shall endeavour to extricate my self in the best manner I am able, hoping for the Reader's pardon and acceptance, in case I fall short in the relation where such great variety of affairs hath happened.

We have mentioned before, how that *Lorenzo de Aldana*, *Hernan Mexia de Guzman*, *John Alfonso Palomino*, and *John de Tllanes* were, by order of the President, sent by Sea to Peru; these by the way came to *Tumbez*, where *Bartolmeo de Villalobos* was Governour under *Gonzalo Pigarro*, who observing that their four Ships had remained four days before the Port and had not entred, he suspected that they had changed their Copy, and were revolted to the other Party; upon which supposition, without other grounds, he dispatched a Messenger to *Pigarro* with this information. The news was first carried to Captain *Diego de Mora*, who was then in *Truxillo*, above a hundred leagues distance from *Tumbez*, who was from thence to forward it with all expedition to *Gonzalo Pigarro*: *Diego de Mora*, upon receipt of this Advice, dispeided the Messenger to *Los Reyes*, but he himself remained doubtful which side to take, whether he should adhere to *Pigarro*, or revolt from him: but

but whilst he was thus considering within himself, the news came that the new Ordinances were repealed, and a general Pardon granted by his Majesty for all Treasons and Crimes which were past: wherefore, remaining no longer in suspense, he packed up all his Household-stuff, took what Gold and Silver he had, and therewith embarked his Wife and Family on a Ship, and with forty of his Squidiers (of which some were Inhabitants of *Truxillo*) he sailed to *Panama*: the news of these four Ships being come to *Los Reyes*, though the particulars thereof were confused and obscure, it being not known who or what they were, yet it served to put the People into a great consternation, and caused every one to prepare for a War. At the same time news coming of the revolt of *Diego de Mora*, he sent by Sea to *Truxillo*: but meeting a few days after with *Lorenzo de Aldana*, and his Associates in his way, he turned to their side; the like also did *Diego de Mora*, and all of them returned together to the Port of *Truxillo*, where *Diego de Mora* fallen at Sea; but he marched farther into the Countrey, as far as *Cajamarca*, a general Pardon given for all Treasons and Crimes already committed: upon this news amongst which were *John de Saavedra*, a Native of *Sevil*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *John Porel*, to whom *Pigarro* had lately wrote, advising him to prepare matters in a readines for War. In short, all the people of those places and Provinces coming in they formed a Body of about three hundred men, under the command of *Diego de Mora*, and declared for the Emperour: of which *Bartolmeo de Villalobos* then quartering at *Tumbez* receiving intelligence, he gathered what Forces he could and marched into the inland Countries, intending by way of the Desert to pass over to *Gonzalo Pigarro*: but his men gave a stop to his Journey, persuading him to change his way and his intention, and return to *Piura*, and keep that Town for the Emperour, as he had done before for *Gonzalo Pigarro*, to which he assented, though much against his will. The like happened in *Puerto Viejo*, which *Francisco de Olmos* held for *Pigarro*; who, upon news of the many revolts, and of people turning to the service of the Emperour, went with some persons, in whom he much confided, unto *Huayllqui*, which was a place governed by *Mmanuel Efascio* with Commission from *Pigarro*; and there, without farther ceremony, taking him by the hand, he stabbed him to the heart with his Dagger, and immediately set up his Majesty's Standard. And thus, with the news onely of a general Pardon, and revocation of the late Ordinances, without other persuasions or forces, the hearts and inclinations of all the Captains, chief Commanders and People were turned and reduced to the service of his Majesty.

Of all which *Gonzalo Pigarro* and his Party were not ignorant; for they received intelligence daily how matters succeeded, at which they were much troubled, and with great reason; for seeing how people daily fell from their Party, they feared that many others would follow the same example: whereupon they entred into frequent consultations, but with such confusion and disorder that nothing was concluded; onely it was agreed to burn the five Ships then in Port, together with all the Boats and Vessels which were there. This Counsel was laid to be given by *Licenciado Cepeda*, and *Licenciado Benito de Carvajal*, men who were better Lawyers than Souldiers, and better skilled in Books than in the Politicks; for they believed that the Ships and Vessels then in Port would give people opportunity to escape and turn to the Enemy, and for want thereof they would be forced, though against their wills, to side with their Party.

The burning of the Ships was ordered during the absence of *Carvajal*, who was gone for a weeks time about twenty leagues from *Los Reyes*, to direct some important affairs then in hand; but when *Carvajal* returned, and heard of the burning of those Ships, he grievously lamented the issue of that fatal Counsel, and amongst other things he said to *Gonzalo Pigarro*, Sir, You have ordered five Guardian-Angels, appointed for the defence of the Coast of Peru and destruction of your Enemies, to be consumed with fire; had you reserved but one for me, I should therewith have given you such an account of my actions as should have surpassed all my former services, and have given the world cause to envy my great successes: for with some Musketers which I would have put aboard, I would have undertaken to engage all the Fleet of the Enemy; for according to the intelligence we have from *Panama*, all the people they bring from thence, as

also those who come into them from the Coast, are all weak, and sickly, and ill armed, and their powder is moist and wet, and of little strength, for which reason one of your Ships is worth four of theirs. But the two Lawyers, who were no Friends to Carvajal, whispered to Gonzalo Pizarro that they much suspected Carvajal, and feared, that the trouble and concernment he shewed for burning the Ships, was because he thereby lost his means to escape and fly to the Enemy. But hereafter we shall see the advice of Carvajal verified by experience, and how much the Lawyers were mistaken in their measures.

C H A P. VII.

The President departs from Panama, and goes to Tumpiz, as also Lorenzo de Aldana to the Valley de Santa, from whence he sends Spyes against Gonzalo Pizarro; who names Captains, pays all his Souldiers, and frames a Process against the President.

Pedro de la Gasca, President for his Majesty, having dispatched Lorenzo de Aldana and his Companions upon the four Ships which were bound for Peru, he applied himself wholly to raise Men and Horle, and to get what Arms and Provisions the adjacent Countries did afford him, that therewith he might follow and second the Forces which were gone before him. Amongst those which came to his assistance, was a very famous Souldier called, Pedro Bernardo de Quitor, born at Andaxar, who some years past came into the Indies, and had served his Majesty in the Isles of Barlovento, Carriagena and the Continent, in quality onely of an Ensign; in which station he still contented himself, because no better preferment did offer at that time, in which capacity he acquitted himself well during all the Wars with Gonzalo Pizarro; and afterwards served with title of Captain in the Wars of Don Sebastian de Castilla, and of Francisco Hernandez Giron, so that he well deserved to have been rewarded with Lands, and an Indian Plantation, which in the City of Cozco was called *Cacha*, together with a provision to maintain Lances for defence of that Kingdom. Several Gentlemen and Noble Souldiers, and the best Nobility of that Maritime Coast, put themselves under the command of this worthy Officer for service of his Majesty to the number of five hundred persons; which when the President had seen, and accounted his Forces in other parts, he believed that he should have no farther need of any relief or recruits from Mexico, as he formerly desired; of which he gave notice to the Vice-king Don Antonio de Mendoza, and the other Governours, with informations of whatsoever had hitherto past. Having sent these advices, and left necessary instructions for securing the Government of Panama and Nombre de Dios, he dispatched a full relation of all that passed untill that time unto his Majesty, and in what manner he had acted for his service, and then set Sail for Peru with all his Fleet; and though when he first set out he met some storms and bad weather within the Bays and Gulfs between Lands, yet they gave him no stop in prosecution of his Voyage, in which on his way he happily encountered with Fernandez Paniagua, who brought an answer from Gonzalo Pizarro. Their joy was very great at meeting, and increased, especially when he understood the good will and affection which the people then actually with Pizarro expressed towards his Majesty's service, which they promised to manifest so soon as occasion offered; and so much was the President transported with the news, that he refused to read Pizarro's Letters lest he should make some Propositions which he would not gladly hear; and therefore without reading he burnt them, and continued his Voyage with a favourable gale untill he came to Tumpiz, where we will leave him for a while, to see what Lorenzo de Aldana was doing, who was gone with his four Ships to the City of Los Reyes, and to relate the great trouble Pizarro conceived at the news of this revolt.

Lorenzo

Lorenzo de Aldana, proceeding on his Voyage, loosed from Truxillo and sailed along the Coast, and, having some sick people aboard, he came for refreshment to the River called de Santa, where they took in fresh water, from whence he sent a certain Friar of the Merced, called Friar Pedro de Ulloa, to carry to Pizarro the news of his arrival in those parts, and with this occasion to advise all persons whom he knew to be those parts, and with this occasion to advise all persons any Boats or Vessels they could get, promising that, with the Pinnaces and Skiffs belonging to the Ships, he would gather and take them up, and bring them aboard their Ships. So soon as Pizarro heard that this Friar was come, he presently cautioned him to be brought to him without permission to discourse with any person either in publick or private; and upon the news of the revolt of his Fleet, he highly inveighed against Lorenzo de Aldana, accusing him of falsity, and betraying his Country, and of ingratitude for the friendship he had ever shewed him; blaming himself very much for not having followed the counsel and persuasions of his Officers, who long since would have had him hanged, and punished for his desert as justice required.

But matters could not be carried so secretly, but that the revolt of the Fleet under command of Lorenzo de Aldana unto the President was published and talked of over all the Town; so that Pizarro being forced to own it, he presently proclaimed a War; and beat up Drums for lifting Souldiers; Captains also were named and appointed, and pay advanced to every private Souldier; and some Souldiers of note received a thousand or two thousand pieces of Eight upon advance according to their quality and deserts. A general Rendezvous was appointed, to which place Pizarro marched on foot as General of the Infantry, which (as Carate, in the eleventh Chapter of his sixth Book, says) consisted of a thousand men, all as well armed and clothed as any Companies in Italy in the times of peace; for, besides their armour, every man had good Shoes and Stockings, and a Silk Doublet; and some of Cloth of Gold or Silver, or embroideries upon their Cloaks, with Hats turned up with Gold Buckles; and the Stocks of their Guns plated and embossed with Gold. The Captains of Horle were Licenciado Cepeda, and Licenciado de Carvajal, being great confidants and highly in favour. The Captains which commanded the Harquebusers were John de Acosta, John Velaz de Guevara and John de la Torre. The Captains of the Pikes were Hernando Bachiaco, Martin de Almeydas and Martin de Robles; but the Lieutenant-General of all was Francisco de Carvajal, who kept his former station, and commanded his own Company of Harquebusers which had always followed him. The Standard was carried by Antonio Alaminano, and the name of Gonzalo Pizarro, that is with the G. and P. with a Crown over it; and another Captain brought that Cypher into the form of a Heart; all their Ensigns and Colours were made new of divers colours, and a new fashion came up by direction of Carvajal (which I have not observed in any other Army) for every Souldier to tie a knot of Ribbon of the colour of the Ensign of that Company to such as had no Feathers wore them in a bunch on their Hats, by which every man was distinguished and known unto what Company he belonged; onely Carvajal was distinguished and known unto what Company he belonged; onely Carvajal was their honour, under which having had great successes, they might still hope to be fortunate and add new Victories to their ancient Glories. And now Pizarro shewed himself open-handed to his Souldiers, giving them large pay, and money upon advance; to some Captains he gave forty, to some fifty or sixty thousand pieces of Eight for their Souldiers, according to their numbers, or as they were Horle or Foot, which consequently required more expence. He also bought all the Horles, Mares and Mules he could find, to mount his people, for which he paid with ready money: but for some (as a certain Author says) he did not pay, the reason for which was this: Several Merchants of the City of Los Reyes listed themselves for Souldiers, not to shew themselves Cowards or disaffected, but after some days march, growing weary, they procured a discharge by surrender of their Horle and Arms, and those who had neither, gave money by way of compensation: for Gonzalo Pizarro and his Officers thought not fit to constrain any man against his will, knowing that prest men never made good Souldiers.

In this manner was the Army fitted and prepared with Weapons of War; and now to strengthen the good Cause with Reasons and Arguments to please Pizarro, Licenciado

Licenciado Cepeda carried with him a whole Library of Law-books, out of which, with the help of certain Lawyers who lived in those parts, he drew up an En-dictment of High Treason against the President *Gasca*, and against *Pedro de Hinojosa* and all the other Captains, for having betrayed the Fleet into the hands of the President. And to make the business more formal, Witnesses were examined, and the treachery and robbery made by the Captains proved upon Oath, and that *Gasca* had accepted of the Ships, and appropriated them to his own use, which cost *Pizarro* about a hundred thousand pieces of Eight: upon this Process Sentence of Death was passed upon them all to be hanged, drawn and quartered. *Cepeda* was the first who signed the Sentence; and desired *Gonzalo Pizarro* and all his Officers to subscribe it in like manner; but when *Cepeda* came to *Francisco Carvajal* for his hand, telling him that his firm was of great consequence, *Carvajal* smiled and made a jest of the Sentence. I warrant you, said he, so soon as this Writing is signed by this learned Council in the Law, execution will immediately follow thereupon, and the condemned persons dye upon the spot. No, Sir, said *Cepeda*, but it is good to have them sentenced by course of Law, that when we take them execution may presently follow without delay or loss of time. At which answer *Carvajal* laughed aloud; As I am a Souldier, said he, I thought that so soon as I had signed the Sentence, some certain blow of Thunder-bolt would have knocked them all dead on a sudden; but if it be not so, for my part I would not give a farthing for all your Sentence nor Subscriptions; for had I them but here, without such formalities, I would find a way to execute your Sentence with more expedition; to which he added many other pleasant Sayings to shew the impertinence of such a Sentence.

Licenciado Polo (of whom we have formerly made mention) was present at this Assembly, where he gave some reasons against the Sentence: the first was, Because *Gasca* was a Priest, and in Holy Orders, and therefore no Sentence of Death could be passed upon him in that nature, under pain of excommunication: another reason was, that this Sentence ought not to be precipitated in such manner, because it might probably be hoped, that some of those Captains, who for fear of *Hinojosa* had betrayed their Ships to *Gasca*, might yet repent of this action, and return again to their duty; whereas on the contrary, they will become desperate if the door be shut, and they excluded from Pardon by a Sentence. Upon these reasons a stop was given to the Decree, and the Writing signed by none but *Cepeda*.

CHAP. VIII.

Gonzalo Pizarro sends John de Acofta against Lorenzo de Aldana. Spies are sent from both sides. The death of Pedro de Puellas.

W Hilst matters were thus in consultation, and the Lawyers busied in drawing up their ridiculous and impertinent Process, *Gonzalo Pizarro* received Advice, that the four Ships under the command of *Lorenzo de Aldana*, and the other Captains were making their way towards the City of *Los Reyes*, that they had already been at *Truxillo*, and were sailing along the Coast: whereupon he detached fifty Horsemen armed with Carbines, under the command of Captain *John de Acofta*, to march to the Sea-shore, and hinder them from taking Wood, or Water, or landing in any of the Ports. *John de Acofta* proceeded as far as *Truxillo*, but durst not stay above one day there, for fear of *Diego de Mora*, who was then in *Callamarca*; wherefore he returned again to the Sea-coast, and lay in wait expecting to take some of *Aldana's* men in case any of them should adventure to come ashore. *Aldana* on the other side had Spies abroad who gave him notice of all the motions of *John de Acofta*, upon knowledge of which he laid an ambush of a hundred Musketers in a certain Wood through which *Acofta* was to pass: but he receiving intelligence thereof turned another way, and fell upon a party of those which

which *Aldana* had employed to fill water and cut wood, of which he killed three or four; and took as many Prisoners, besides fourteen or fifteen of them who of their own accord revolted to his party, and gave notice and caution of the Ambush. And though the Forces of *Aldana* were much more in number, yet they durst not adventure to rescue the Prisoners; for they were all Foot, and the Enemy Horse, and their Powder not half so good, nor their Guns so well fixed, and *Pizarro*, who received them very kindly, furnished the persons which were taken to Money: they acquainted him with the ill condition of the Fleet, how ill they were provided with men and victuals; and most of their people being sick those that remained aboard were sickly and ill provided, and wanted both Arms and Ammunition; that they had received no late News of the President, nor did they know where he was, nor when he would come, nor did they expect when he considered the weakness of the four Ships, then he began to be sensible of the evil Counsel which some of his Confidants had given him, to burn his own five Ships, and how much *Francisco Carvajal* was in the right, when he counselled that counsel, and said, one of these five Ships was able to fight with all the other four which *Aldana* commanded. After this *Acofta* failed to the Port dence as is sufficient to supply all Italy, France and Spain.

Gonzalo Pizarro having received intelligence of what *Acofta* had performed at *Los Reyes*, and what *Diego de Mora* had done at *Truxillo*, he resolved to send *Licenciado Carvajal* with three hundred men under his command to hinder *Acofta* from landing his men, or taking water or cutting wood, and likewise to keep *Diego de Mora* in some awe, and act other matters as occasion should serve. *Licenciado Carvajal* having accordingly provided all things necessary for his march, the Lieutenant General *Carvajal* gave a stop to his proceedings, condemning the Counsel as not good, for he was persuaded within himself that he would revolt with all his men to the other party: that which hath fixed him, said he, so long with us was since that is over, and the late Ordinances repealed, and a general Pardon given for whom all his Kindred and Relations are engaged, and are men of quality, and eminent in their Offices; nor can he forget, how without any fault, the halter was about his neck, and the sentence ready to be executed. *John de Acofta* was of the same mind, and earnestly persuaded *Pizarro* not to send him; upon which the design was altered, and *Acofta* was sent in his place with the three hundred men formerly ordered for *Licenciado Carvajal*: but when *Acofta* was on his march, he observed a kind of backwardness in some of his Souldiers, and an inclination to revolt unto the other party: the which was verified by the flight of twelve Souldiers, men of note and great reputation. And some of his friends assured him (whether true or false it is not certain) that several others had the same intention, and that the chief Leader of them was *Lorenzo Mexia de Figueroa*, the Conde de *Gemerá's* Son-in-law; on which information, without farther proof or testimony, he put him to death: This Gentleman was married to *Dona Leonor de Bobadilla*, the Widow of *Nunno Joviar*, who was Lieutenant General to Governour *Hernanda de Soto*, in that enterprize which was designed for the Conquest of *Florida*, as we have at large related in that History: he left one Son and a Daughter called *Maria Sarmiento*, who was married in *Cusco* to *Alonso de Loaysa* an Inhabitant of that City: the very night that they were married, happened the insurrection of *Francisco Hernandez Girón*, as we shall relate, God willing, in its due place. The Son the Grammar School, but he died very young, to the grief of all those who were acquainted with him. But let us leave *Acofta* upon his march, and the others upon the coast, to relate the disaster which befell *Pedro de Puellas* in *Quitú*: for he, having received advice that the late Ordinances were repealed, and a general Pardon given for all Crimes and Treasons already past, he resolved to accept towards his Majesty, and thereby renounce *Pizarro* and his Cause, for whom and for which he had zealously engaged himself in former times.

To compass the Plot intended, *Pedro de Puelles* made a solemn invitation to all his Souldiers and Captains; and then amidst the entertainment, he resolved to propose what was fit in order to his Majesty's service, and for a motive thereunto he designed to make known to them that a general Pardon was granted, and the late Ordinances repealed. *Pedro de Puelles* had in private communicated this his intention to a certain Souldier of note, called *Diego de Urbina*, who also entrusted the secret to one *Rodrigo de Salazar*, a fellow as crooked in his conditions as in his body: this *Rodrigo*, esteeming the matter easie and already well prepared to take effect, resolved, that *Pedro de Puelles* should not have the honour to himself, but that his Majesty and the President should own the signal service of reducing three hundred men to their allegiance solely to his management and valour. This purpose of his he made known to four of his friends, whose surnames were *Bastida*, *Firado*, *Hernandilla* and *Aderillo*, which were the names by which they were known: giving them to understand what the intent of *Pedro de Puelles* was, and therefore to wreathe to signal a service out of his hands, and appropriate it to their own merit, he proposed to kill *Pedro de Puelles*: to which they all assented and agreed, as they accordingly did, and went next morning, being Sunday, all five together to the house of *Pedro de Puelles*, and sent him up word, that Captain *Salazar* was come to make him a visit, and to attend him to Church to hear Mass. *Pedro de Puelles* took the visit kindly from them, and desired them to walk up into his chamber, for he was not as yet out of bed. It is reported that four of them entered in, and that *Rodrigo de Salazar* remained at the door, to see first how matters succeeded, though some say he did goe in; but I have heard the story related often in the manner before mentioned. These four Villains killed *Pedro de Puelles* with their Swords and Daggers, and then with *Rodrigo de Salazar* they ran out into the Market-place and declared for the King, to which all the City inclined and concurred with the greatest cheerfulness in the World.

CHAP. IX.

A Challenge is sent to Salazar to fight a Duell, on occasion of the Murder of Pedro de Puelles. Diego de Centeno fights with Pedro Maldonado, and enters into Cozco.

Rodrigo de Salazar and his Complices, having performed this Exploit, went with all expedition to join with the President *Gasca*, and happily met him in the Valley of *Sausa*: where he received them with all the kindness imaginable, and praised them highly for their Loyalty and Demonstrations of Allegiance to his Majesty, which he took notice of, and should be rewarded in its due season: but *Diego de Urbina*, who was a friend to *Pedro de Puelles*, considered that the Discovery he had made of his Friend's secret was the cause of his unhappy fate, and that *Rodrigo de Salazar* enjoyed all that honour and applause which was justly due to his dead Friend: wherefore being sensibly touched in conscience for the fact, he published in all places the truth of the whole matter, and of the loyal intentions of *Pedro de Puelles*, as before related. He also threw all the infamy he could heap up against this *Salazar*: he declared that he was a false, treacherous person, that he had betrayed the Vice-king *Blasco Nunez Vela*, and revolted to *Pizarro*, and had followed and sided with him in all his actions: that he was acquainted and informed of the loyal intentions of *Pedro de Puelles*; and that to gain the glory thereof to himself, he had perpetrated that bloody Murder: the like he had done by *Almagro* the younger, whose Servant he was, and yet he betrayed and delivered him up. And with such faithless practices as these, he had ever lived, and to the shame of the world was well esteemed, as the Proverb says, *Who is prosperous and overcomes, is always commended*. Wherefore upon the whole matter *Diego de Urbina* publicly declared, that he challenged him to a single duell

duell in the field; where he would make him confess with his own mouth, and acknowledge that all which he had said was true.

Rodrigo de Salazar, who trusted more to his own subtilties and craft, than to his Sword, chose rather to confess all which *Diego de Urbina* required of him to be true, than to enter the Lists with a person so much renowned for his valour and expedition, as was *Urbina*. And therefore after such confession made, he added, that in regard *Pedro de Puelles* had elapsed the day appointed for such declaration, as before mentioned, he suspected that he had repented of the design, and therefore killed him, knowing that delays of that kind are commonly dangerous: upon which confession approved by the President to be satisfactory; *Diego de Urbina*, and his Companions, who were men of note, and engaged with him in the quarrel, accepted of the confession, and put an end to any farther dispute thereupon: though some were of opinion, that the reasons were of some small moment, and not valid enough to put up such a challenge: but as the Proverb says, *Dead men and absent have but few friends*.

But to return now to Captain *Diego Centeno*, whom we left on his march to *Cuzco*, with resolution to engage Captain *Antonio de Robles*, who with a good force kept that City for *Gonzalo Pizarro*: and though it might seem a very rash action to attack three hundred men well disciplined and armed with forty eight men from their Caves and Mountains to which they were driven by *Francisco de Carvajal*. Howsoever he was encouraged to proceed upon the advice he received from *Alonso de Hinojosa* being offended with *Gonzalo Pizarro* for having advanced *Antonio de Robles* before him in the command of *Cuzco*, had wrote to the principal Inhabitants of that City, to return to their duty and to his Majesty's service: to which most of them assenting wrote Letters to *Diego Centeno* to prosecute his journey towards them with all diligence, promising to join with him, and afford him all the assistance they could at his arrival. So soon as *Antonio de Robles* received News that the Enemy was near at hand, he consulted with his Captains in what manner they should oppose him: and in the mean time he ordered *Francisco de Aguirre*, a person in whom he much confided, to scout abroad, and ride until he met with *Diego Centeno*, as he did about six Leagues distant from the City, where he informed him of the intention of *Antonio de Robles* to oppose his own men: upon which intelligence *Diego Centeno* and the Commanders then with him, the chief of which were *Pedro Ortiz de Carate*, *Francisco Negral*, *Lays de Ribera*, *Diego Alvarez*, *Alonso Perez de Esquivel*, agreed at a Council of War to make their attempt in the night, which would be more terrible to the Town, and give a better advantage to those who were well affected to pass over to their side.

They also used this ingenious stratagem of War; they took off the Bridles from their Mules and Beasts of burthen, and tied lighted matches upon the pomels of the Saddles, and ordered the Indians who attended them to lead them to such a place, and then whip them in such a manner, as that they might come running into the Town; the way by which they were to enter was by the Street of the Sun, which, as we have mentioned in the description of the City, leads directly to the Market-place: the Indians followed the Orders which were given them, and in the mean time *Diego Centeno* and his Souldiers entered by another Street to the West side, which comes out at a corner of the Market-place. *Antonio de Robles* being thus alarmed about the beginning of the night, drew up his three hundred men into a body in the Market place, and faced towards the Street of the Sun, they took a great compass to come about. The Indian servants did their parts, and made a great noise and out-cry with their Horses and Mules, as if they had with them a multitude of People, and broke in upon the Squadron of *Antonio de Robles*, before he or his Souldiers knew against whom they were engaged; and when they found them to be Horses and Mules onely without Riders, they were more astonished and troubled than before. At the same instant *Diego Centeno* and his men appeared at the corner of the Market-place and charged the Enemy on the right-wing, with loud shouts and crys, firing those few Muskets which were amongst them. At that time there was a certain person called *Pedro Maldonado*, who was lodged in the House of *Hernando Pizarro*, which is now turned into the *Residencia* of Col.

in College, he was a person of a quiet and mild disposition, he was no Soldier, nor pretended to the War, and was then repeating his Office of our Lady, to whom he was entirely devoted; but he being alarm'd with this noise, clapt up his Breviary into his bosom, and laying hold of a rusty Sword and a Halbert, which came next to hand, he ran into the Market-place, and the first person he met with happened to be *Diego Centeno*, and not knowing with whom he engaged, without farther ceremony, he took him over the left hand with a good blow, and with the next he thrust him into the thigh with the point of his Halbert, which did not pass through, because there was a cross bar to that weapon in form of a Flower-de-luce; and endeavouring to disengage his Halbert, and pull it out, that so he might give him another thrust, the barbes were fastned to his breeches of Velvet, so that pulling at them, *Centeno* fell to the ground: at which time a Page of his, who is grown up to be a man (whose name I have forgot) came in to the assistance of his Master, and shot *Maldonado* with a Carbine, with which he fell soon; but rising again to fight with *Centeno*, more Company came in, and seized on *Maldonado*, and disarmed him, and then pursued their Victory, which was easily gained; for by this time most of the Enemy's party had declared for the King, and the rest had conveyed themselves away. In all which Engagement nothing happened so remarkable as the Combat between *Pedro Maldonado* and *Diego Centeno*, with both whom I was acquainted, nor was there one drop of blood shed, but only that of *Centeno*.

CHAP. X.

A strange Accident which happened upon this Combat of Pedro Maldonado. The death of Antonio de Robles. Diego Centeno is chosen Commander in chief. Lucas Martin is reduced to his Majesty's service. An Agreement is made between Alonso de Mendoza and Diego Centeno.

Pedro Maldonado was one of the fattest and most corpulent men that ever I have seen: and though the shot which was given him knocked him to the ground, yet he received no wound; for the bullet happened to strike on the Breviary which was in his bosom; and so by the miraculous Providence of the B. Virgin (to whom he was zealously devoted) his life was preserved. I my self saw the Breviary some years after; for happening to be on a Saturday at Mals with *Pedro de Maldonado*, for on that day in the Church of *Merced*, they always sing Mals to the Mother of God; I desired him to let me see that Office or Breviary which is now called the Office of Miracle, for I told him, that I was very desirous and curious to say, I had seen it: he was pleased to comply with my request, and I opened the Book, and found that the Bullet had passed the cover, and entered the first thirty or forty pages, and some twelve or fifteen leaves farther it had rumbled up together, and had impressed the bigness and form of the Bullet, as far as to that leaf where the Mals of our Lady begins; and which in those days they bound up with our Lady's Office and with other Offices of Devotion, as the Bookellers pleased; for then there was not that care taken of Books as hath been since that time ordered by the Council of *Trent*; for then the Breviaries were of that size as the Prayers are now for daily Devotions.

That night there was no other encounter than this which happened between *Maldonado* and *Centeno*, though some Authours make a long relation of men killed and wounded; but certainly it was not true, of which I have as much certainty

tainty as a man can have that was not an eye-witness; for six days after this matter happened, I came to the City with my Uncle *John de Vargas* and with Captain *Rodrigo de Panaja*, and with about nine *Spaniards* more, who came from a Plantation about thirty Leagues distant from *Cocco*, as did also all my family, who fled from *Pizarro*'s party, and came for refuge to that City, with intent to be listed in *ter* I came thither I was brought to kiss *Diego Centeno*'s hands; and the next day after his left-hand was bound up in a piece of black Taffety, and I remember wounded in the Thigh, yet he seemed not very lame with it; for, I observed, he was standing upon his Legs: he was lodged in the House of *Fernando Bachicao*, which now belongs to *Don Lewis Palomino*: All which happened some few days after the Feast of the most Holy Sacrament, in the year 1547. And we have finished the History hereof about the same month, in the year 1605. and do confirm the truth thereof, which I saw with my own eyes.

All the Fight was friendly, and rather in words than actions, for had they been in earnest, as Historians say, forty eight men so ill armed as these were, whose chief Arms were only Daggers fastned to the end of Staves, would have had a difficult task, to have engaged against three hundred men all well armed and disciplined, as those were under the command of *Antonio de Robles*.

Captain *Antonio de Robles*, being thus defeated and abandoned by his Soldiers, fled for Sanctuary into the Convent of Saint *Francis*, which in those days was on the East side of the City, and not where it now is: from whence *Diego Centeno* sent the next day to bring *Robles* to him, not with design to kill him, for he was a person of a gentle temper, and not bloody, but to persuade him to serve his Majesty. But *Antonio de Robles* (as *Carate* reports of him) was a Youth, and of no great understanding, and behaved himself as if he had been still Commander in Chief of the City, uttering many insolent Sayings in favour of *Pizarro*'s Party, and reflecting with some disgracefull terms on the service of his Majesty: at which *Diego Centeno* being greatly offended, sent to take off his Head; and though he would) yet being a Gentleman, he was sentenced to a more honourable death.

Those who were well affected to *Pizarro*'s Party, conveyed themselves away in the night, and with great expedition travelled to *Rimac*, where they brought the first news to *Pizarro* of the loss of *Antonio de Robles* and his men at *Cocco*: which though ill news, and deeply resented by *Pizarro*, yet he covered and dissembled his trouble for a time, and gave out his Orders and Commands in such manner as we shall declare hereafter: but so soon as the news of the Victory which *Diego Centeno* had gained had spread it self in the Countries, all those people who were absconded, and had hid themselves in parts about forty or fifty leagues round, returned to *Cocco* in great numbers, amongst which were divers persons of quality, and Soldiers of honour and fame, who, joyning with those in *Cocco*, formed a Body of five hundred men, who with common consent freely chose *Diego Centeno* to be their Commander in Chief; who accordingly gave out Commissions both for Horse and Foot to several Captains, whose names we shall mention when we come to relate the Battel of *Huarina*.

So soon as General *Centeno* had reformed his Forces, he returned to *Collao* with design to fall upon *Alonso de Mendoza* (who was appointed Governour of the City of *Plata* by *Gonzalo Pizarro*) and to reduce him to obedience of his Majesty either by fair or foul means.

The news of *Centeno*'s success at *Cocco* reached to the City of *Arequipa* in a very short time, where a certain Captain resided, called *Lucas Martin Vezasso* an inhabitant of that City, and sent thither by *Gonzalo Pizarro* after the Battel of *Quinu* for Governour of the place. This Captain having not as yet received intelligence of what had passed at *Cocco*, resolved to bring an hundred and thirty men with him to *Pizarro* to serve him in his Camp; but being on his march some few leagues from the City, his own men who went unwillingly upon that service, desired him to turn to the King's Party, but he shewing an aversion thereunto they seized upon him, and kept him prisoner, that he should not fly from them, nor leave them.

So soon as they were returned to *Arequipa* they received news of all that *Diego Centeno* had done, and being all Friends and intimately acquainted, they persuaded *Lucas Martin* to change his mind and Party, and to serve his Majesty, and to do

that willingly to which he would be compelled by force; and that then they would restore him to his command as formerly, and esteem him for their Captain, and would write word to *Diego Centeno* that they had all devoted themselves to his Majesty's service. At length *Lucas Martin* complied, but by compulsion and not with a good will, as he afterwards acknowledged.

In *Arequipa* the Souldiers found thirty or forty thousand pieces of Eight, which *Lucas Martin* was sending to *Pizarro*, which they took and divided amongst themselves, and then marched to *Diego Centeno*, who gave them a very kind reception, and thanked them for the service and duty they had shewn to his Majesty; and afterwards they all marched in a Body to the *Charcas* in pursuit of *Afonso de Mendoza*, who was newly gone out of that Province with three hundred men to joyn with *Gonçalo Pizarro*.

When both Parties were come near to each other, General *Centeno* being desirous not to put matters to the extremity of a Battel, wrote a Letter to him, persuading him to put up and forget all the ancient grudges and enmities which had happened in the time of *Afonso de Toro* and *Francisco de Carvajal*, and that he should now espouse his Majesty's cause, and abandon the interest of *Pizarro*, who had renounced all allegiance to his Majesty, and that he could not longer continue in such a state of Rebellion without incurring the infamous name of a Traitor to his natural King. One of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of *Cusco* was dispatched upon this Message; he was a School-master, but *Pedro Gonçales de Carate* had taken him from thence to be an instrument of this happy agreement; for indeed he was a man of authority and prudence, and one fit for any employment.

In the mean time, whilst this School-master was thus employed, and treating with *Afonso de Mendoza*, endeavouring to reduce him to his duty towards his Majesty, which he found to be a difficult task, because he thought it dishonourable to renounce *Pizarro*: General *Centeno* received Letters from the President, wherein he informed him, how his Majesty had given him the Government of that Empire, that the late Ordinances were repealed and made null, and that a general Pardon was granted for all crimes and faults already committed. The which Advice he dispatched away with all expedition to his Agent the School-master, ordering him to make use thereof for inducements herewith to persuade *Afonso de Mendoza*, believing that those arguments would be most prevalent with him, though he had been much more obstinate than he was. The matter operated and succeeded according to desire; for so soon as *Mendoza* saw the Letters and the news he altered his mind, and resolved to declare for his Majesty; onely he made this condition, that in case he joyned with *Diego Centeno*, he would command his own Forces and remain chief Captain of them, as he had formerly been: his Souldiers were three hundred in number, all choice men, well armed and well mounted. *Diego Centeno* assented to the condition, not being willing to break off for the inconvenience of two Generals commanding one Army of the same Nation; so that both Parties met and joyned with all the rejoicing and triumph imaginable. And now (as *Carate* reports) they finding themselves a thousand men strong, resolved to attack *Gonçalo Pizarro*, and in their way to seize upon a certain advantageous Pass, and to proceed no farther for want of provision, but there to expect him. And at this Pass we will leave them, being near *Huarina*, where that bloody Battel was afterwards fought, and return to the President *Gasca*, whom we left in his Voyage, sailing on the south Sea.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The President arrives at Tumpiz; the Orders he issued out there. Gonçalo Pizarro sends John de Acosta against Diego Centeno. Lorenzo de Aldana comes near to Los Reyes; and Gonçalo Pizarro administers an Oath of Fidelity to his Souldiers.

THE President having overcome many difficulties in his Voyage, at length arrived safe in the Port of *Tumpiz* with all his Fleet, excepting one Ship, which being a dull sailer upon a wind, was left behind: the name of the Captain was *Pedro Cabrera*, who finding it impossible to turn to windward with his leewardly Ship, he entered into Port *Buena Ventura*, and travelled over Land with his leewardly Ship, and came to the President at *Tumpiz*, whom he found there employed in giving out Orders, and making necessary provisions for the subsistence of his Army, which consisted now of about five hundred men. At this place he received many Letters from considerable persons, as well Citizens as Captains and Souldiers, to all which he returned civil and obliging answers, promising them recompence and rewards in the name of his Majesty. He gave Orders to *Pedro de Hinojosa*, whom he had made Captain-General, to march before with the Forces appointed with the Fleet to coast all along by the shore; and he himself with a convenient Guard for the security of his person travelled by way of the Plains, as far as *Truxillo*, where he received the news of those Captains and Souldiers, who had declared for his Majesty, and in what places and Countries they remained in expectation of his coming, he dispatched Messengers into all parts, with directions to pass by way of the Desert untill they came to the Valley of *Cassamarca*, where they were to attend farther Orders. After which he travelled by way of the Plains, and sent Scouts before to see that the way was clear before him.

Whilst things succeeded thus with the President and his Army, *Pizarro* received news from *Cusco* of the Victory obtained there by *Diego Centeno*, of the death of *Antonio de Robles*, and of the imprisonment of *Lucas Martin Vegallos*, at which he was very much troubled, and seeing that fabrick of Empire which he had erected began to doubt his condition, and fear that he should never attain to that height of Government which he had long fantasied to himself. Hereupon in all haste he sent to recall Captain *John de Acosta*, whom, (as we have said before) he had sent with some Souldiers to *Truxillo* to suppress some disturbances which began to appear in those parts. At this time also *Francisco de Carvajal* cut off the Head of *Antonio Almirano*, who carried the Standard in *Pizarro's* Army, for no other success, and that he of late carried himself coldly and unconcerned in the service of *Pizarro*, which was cause enough for *Carvajal* to take away any man's life; the Standard was afterwards conferred on *Antonio de Ribera*. So soon as *Acosta* was returned, he ordered him with three hundred men to fall upon *Diego Centeno*: *Martin de Olmos* was appointed to command the Horse, and *Diego Gumiel* the Foot, with both which persons I was acquainted: *Martin de Almeydas* commanded the Pikes, *Martin de Alarcon* carried the Standard, *Perez de Sotomayor* was Lieutenant-General, and *John de Acosta* was Commander in Chief. These Forces were ordered to march to *Cusco* by way of the Mountains, and in a few days afterwards to descend into the Plains, and on all sides to make War upon *Diego Centeno*; for above all men living he resented his carriage towards him, and had most cause to complain of him, because he had been the first and the most importunate of any to advise and persuade him to accept and take upon him the Title and Office of Procurator-General of that Kingdom; and afterwards upon a report onely of a general Pardon, and repeal of the late Ordinances (whether true or false no man knows) he poorly and meanly deserted that cause which he himself had owned and

and promoted so far until he saw him nominated and chosen Governour of *Perná*; the same complaint he made against all those who had been instruments of his advancement, whom he hoped God would punish and avenge his cause against their fallens and treachery.

These and such like complaints *Gonzalo Pizarro* often uttered in the presence of his intimate Friends, though in publick he carried it with good courage, and a cheerful countenance, as he ever did in all his troubles and difficulties; which all Historians confess and report of him when they come to speak of his misfortunes.

To these ill successes Fortune yet added worse, for when she begins once to shew her disfavours she contents not her self with a single mischief. For now it happened in this unlucky conjuncture that *Lorenzo de Aldana* came with his four Ships within fifteen leagues of *Los Reyes*; and though he was ill provided with Men and Ammunition, and was in want of all Provisions and things necessary, yet he remained securely enough and well satisfied upon the news he received that *Pizarro* had burnt all his Ships which were in that Port: upon which assurance he took courage, and with confidence came boldly to the Port of *Los Reyes*, not with intention to fight with any, but only to take up such persons who should escape and revolt from *Pizarro* and his Party. The news of the arrival of these four Ships at *Huaura*, from whence there was no means now left to remove them, was re- sented as a common disgrace and dishonour to the whole Town: but *Gonzalo Pizarro*, considering how his people fell daily from him, and that there was a general defection in all parts, thought it necessary to secure them to him by way of Religion; which counsel was given him by the Lawyer *Cepeda*, who formed an Oath of Fidelity to be administered to all people; and thereupon the Citizens and Lords who had commands over the *Indians*, and the principal Inhabitants in all Cities near, and Captains and Souldiers were all summoned to take this Oath: upon administration of which the Lawyer made a speech to the People, telling them how great obligations they had to *Pizarro* for having sustained those labours and difficulties, and endured Famine and Wars, and passed through infinite dangers only for their sakes, to secure their Lives, Liberties and Estates to them, in which they were invested, and now peaceably possessed by the favour of his Brother the Marquis *Francisco Pizarro*. And to evidence unto the world the justice of his Cause, he had dispatched Messengers to his Majesty with an impartial Narrative of all the transactions in these Countries, but were intercepted by contrivance of the President, who corrupting the Commanders of his Fleet, deprived him of his own proper Ships, which had cost him an immense Treasure; and lastly, had entred within his Dominions, and dispersed seditious Papers in all parts of the Kingdom, to debase the minds of the People, and seduce them from their affections towards him, with intent to raise Wars in the Empire: but that *Pizarro* for his part resolved to oppose them, and he hoped that they would all joyn with him in defence of their Privileges and Estates, well knowing, that notwithstanding the fair pretences of the President, he will, so soon as he hath gained possession of the Countrey, follow the Example of *Blasco Nunez Vela* in execution of the late Ordinances, and severely punish all such who shall oppose him: wherefore to know and discover the mind of every man, how he stood affected to him, he desired every person freely and clearly to declare himself; assuring them that he would force no man, but leave them all to their own liberty, either to return to their own Possessions, or to go to the President, as every one inclined: but as for those who resolved to stay with him, he expected an engagement from them never to desert or forsake his Cause or Interest, upon the word of Gentlemen, and under the sacred assurance of an Oath, which should be administered to them according to the Christian Rites. So soon as these words were ended, they all cried out, that they were resolved to dye with *Pizarro*, and suffer a hundred deaths rather than abandon him; in confirmation whereof they took the Oath, and signed an Engagement to which a long Roll of hands were underwritten; the Subscriptions were taken by *Licenciado Cepeda*, who was the first that signed the List: but *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was a wife and a knowing man in the affairs of the world, did often laugh and jest at these matters in private with his Friends, and would say, you shall see how these promises will be performed, and what Conscience will be made of this solemn Oath; and uttered likewise many other witty Sayings, of which had a Collection been made, perhaps they would have been esteemed the best Apothegms, and the wisest Sentences in the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Hostages are mutually sent from one side to the other, in which much caution and subtilty was practised by both Parties. Many principal men of Quality abandon and leave Gonzalo Pizarro.

TWO days after this Oath was administered, the four Ships under the command of *Lorenzo de Aldana* appeared in the Port of *Los Reyes*, upon which the City was in a great Consternation; and *Pizarro* ordered the Souldiers to put themselves into Arms, and appear in the Market-place, being then about the number of six hundred men; but afterwards caused them all to draw up in the field; where, being in publick view, it would be more difficult for any person to revolt or forsake his Colours: the Camp was pitched about a League from the City, and about two from the Port; and, to prevent all escapes, he kept constant Guards and Petrolls of Horse between the Camp and the Sea, to intercept those who inclined towards the Enemy: but to quiet the minds of the people, and to know and understand the pretensions of *Lorenzo de Aldana*, an Inhabitant of *Los Reyes*, named *John Fernandez*, was sent to remain with *Aldana*, in nature of a Hostage, with intent that he should fend another in the like quality to make known the design of his coming into that Port, and what his pretensions were. Accordingly Captain *Penna* was sent from the Ships, and carried to *Gonzalo Pizarro* a Copy of the President's commission from his Majesty, and the general Pardon of all past Crimes, with a Revocation of the late Ordinances, which had caused the Government into the hands of *Pizarro*, *Penna* was not pleased to commit word of mouth to obey his King, and submit to his Commands. And here *Penna* relates what we formerly touched, about sending Commissions; but he is mistaken in his Discourse, for matters were now much altered, and it was too late to treat of Commissions or Delegation of Powers as they were called; for there was nothing now but noise and confusion, and endeavours to escape, as will appear by the sequel of this History. *Pizarro* answered something warmly to the Message which *Penna* had brought him: and bid him tell *Lorenzo de Aldana* and *Pedro de Hinojosa* and the rest who had been sworn friends to him, that they had falsly betrayed him, and been the occasion to have him branded with the infamous name of a Traytour, whereas he had never deserved to be so esteemed; having sent Ambassadors to his Majesty to render him an account of all the transactions of those parts; that his intentions were never to offend the King, but to quiet and compose the disturbances of the Countrey, and order every thing for his Majesty's better service. He added many other things like a troubled and an angry man complaining of the fallens of friends and ingratitude of men whom he had raised and preferred to offices and places of Trust, in requital of which they had unjustly and basely sold him; He ordered that Captain *Penna* should be lodged in the Tent of *Antonio de Ribera*, without liberty to converse with any person, that so the dispatches and orders he brought might not be divulged amongst the people; some Authors say, that the same night *Pizarro* tried if he could corrupt him with money to show him a way how *Aldana's* Ship might be betrayed to him, and for that service, he promised a reward of a hundred thousand pieces of Eight, believing, that if he could gain that Ship, the others would of course fall into his hands: but *Penna* made answer, that he was not the person they took him for; for that all the advantage and interest in the world could never prevail with him to be guilty of a Treachery so mean and manifest as that; and therefore it was an affront to propose it to him: the day following *Pizarro* ordered him to be returned safe to the Ships, which was performed according to the faith and pledges which were given: but on the other side, the Proposals made to *John Fernandez* had better effect; for *Lorenzo de Aldana* having understood from Captain *Penna*, that *Pizarro* concealed and smothered the Letters and Papers which were sent

sent him; in the publication whereof the success of his negotiation consisted; there being no other means whereby the Inhabitants and Soldiers could come to the knowledge of his Majesty's gracious Pardon for all crimes and faults already committed, and of the Repeal of the late Ordinances, than by these Papers and Letters; to disperse which he treated with *Fernandez*, and obtained his promise to be instrumental therein: to which purpose two Copies were drawn both of the Pardon and of the Repeal of the Ordinances, as also of the Letters which were wrote to particular persons; all which were delivered into the hands of *Fernandez*, and he safely returned ashore. So soon as he was landed, he went directly to *Pizarro*, and taking him apart from the company, he told him secretly, that *Aldana* had made him great promises, in case he would disperse amongst the people those Papers and Letters which contained the pardon and revocation of the late Laws: and to amuse *Aldana* with vain hopes, I gave him (said he) my promise so to do, and received the Papers, which I here faithfully deliver into your hand: for since you have been pleased to entrust me with your person, your safety, and your estate, having had so great a confidence in me as to adventure me for a Hostage amongst your Enemies; I resolve to be faithful and true to you, and with my other virtues to bequeath that of faithfulness and truth to my posterity: besides these I uttered many other flattering expressions wherewith to delude *Pizarro* and settle him in an assured confidence of his integrity and reality towards him. *Gonzalo Pizarro* who was naturally in himself of a frank and noble disposition, believed every word that *Fernandez* had told him; and taking the Papers from him, repaid an entire confidence in all his actions and dealings: upon which *Fernandez* gained an opportunity with better security to publish and disperse his Papers; those which were for particular friends, in whom he could confide, he delivered with his own hand, and the others he threw in at Windows and put under Doors; so that the Contents thereof were soon known and divulged over all the Town, which had the effect and issue for which they were designed, as we shall hereafter see in the sequel of these matters.

For no sooner was the substance of these Papers published, with a particular clause, That whosoever was desirous to gain the benefit of his Majesty's gracious Declaration, and escape to the Ships, should find Boats ready in the River to receive them and carry them on board, but great Disturbance arose in the minds of the people; for no man knew whom he could trust, every one growing jealous and suspicious each of other: and indeed there was just cause for it, because those who had entered into the most solemn engagements were the first who broke them and fled to the Enemy. And though the Camp was pitched at some distance in the fields, and Orders given out for the Army to march by way of the plains, yet several principal persons having obtained licence to go to the Town, under colour of making provision of necessities for their march, returned not again to the Camp, as they had promised to *Pizarro*, but renouncing his cause and interest, marched away to *Truxillo*. The most considerable of these persons were *Vasco de Guevara*, *Martin de Meneses*, *Nicholas de Ribera*, *Hernan Bravo de Laguna*, *Diego de Escobar*, *Francisco de Barlovento*, *Diego Timco*, *Francisco de Ampuero*, *Alonso Ramirez de Sosa*, all which had Possessions of Lands and Estates in *Los Reyes* and *Cocco*; and besides them, several private Soldiers quitted the Service. Of which *Pizarro* having received intelligence by the Out-guards, he immediately ordered Captain *de la Torre* with twenty Musketeers to go in pursuit of them and kill them in case they refused to return. Accordingly Captain *de la Torre* followed them about eight leagues, and not overtaking them, he turned back, and in his way met with *Hernan Bravo*, who had for some time absconded himself in a Kinsman's house in *Los Reyes*, where fearing to be discovered, and considering the trouble he should thereby bring upon his friends, he resolved to adventure abroad and follow the rest of his Companions, but being unhappily met by Captain *de la Torre*, he was brought back and delivered to *Francisco de Carvajal*, to be hanged for a Runagate.

But it happened that a certain Lady of Quality, named *Ines Bravo*, Wife of *Nicholas de Ribera*, who was one of those lately revolted, was informed that *Hernan Bravo*, who was her Cousin german, was taken, and would certainly be executed; she with her own mother speedily went to *Pizarro's* Tent; and though the was conscious to her self of having persuaded both her Husband and Kinsman to make their escapes; yet being assured of the generous and merciful nature of *Pizarro*, she

the confidently cast herself upon her knees at his feet, and with many tears asked the life of her Kinsman: *Pizarro*, like a Gentleman, presently lifted her from the ground; and though at first he seemed averse and hardly persuaded to grant him mercy; yet at length suffering himself to be overcome to grant him the request of the Lady, and with the Intreaties of those who stood by and joined in the Petition, he granted her request; and as a signal of the Pardon (according as his custom was in the like cases) his took off his Cap with the Medal on it, and delivered it to her to be shown to *Carvajal*; the which was brought to him just at the moment of time when *Hernando Bravo* was at the foot of the Tree with the halter about his Neck and ready to be trussed up: the which signal from *Gonzalo Pizarro* served for a sufficient Warrant to *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was also mollified by the Intreaties of those then present, who esteemed themselves concerned to promote and favour the Lady's Petition. And thus *Hernan Bravo de Laguna* escaped death, whom I knew a long time, and left him living in *Cocco*, possessed of a small Plantation.

Augustine de Carate in the seventh Book of his History Chapter the sixteenth having related this Passage, farther adds a particular which happened upon this Pardon very remarkable, which was this; A certain Captain called *Alonso de Carceres*, being then present when *Gonzalo Pizarro* pardoned *Hernan Bravo*, kissed him upon the Cheek, and cried out with a loud voice, Oh Prince of the World, cursed be he who for fear of death shall deny thee: notwithstanding which, before three hours were ended, both he and *Hernan Bravo*, and several others revolted, which was the more strange, in regard that an honest and a considering person might have seen that a man who had the halter about his Neck could not in so short a time have recovered from the agonies and ecstasies of death, &c.

C H A P. XIII.

Martin de Robles contrives a Plot for his Escape.

WHEN so many noble and principal Persons had deserted *Gonzalo Pizarro* their Lives and Estates, a great murmuring and trouble was raised in the Camp: for as *Carate* relates, many persons were amongst them, who had from the beginning followed *Pizarro*, and given him such assurance of their faith and fidelity, that no man could reasonably imagine that they could abandon or betray him: at which *Pizarro* was so engaged and put into that ill humour, that no man durst to appear in his presence, and in his passion gave Orders to the Out-guards to kill any man whom they found without the Precincts of the Camp: soon after which a poor Soldier happened to fall into their hands, upon no other evidence, or pre- sumption rather, than because he carried two Shirts with him. But nothing could be more infamous and dishonourable than what happened the night following, when *Martin de Robles*, pretending to be sick, that he might have leave to return to the City, sent secret intelligence to *Diego Maldonado*, who was a rich man, and a Citizen, and the High-constable of *Cocco*, that *Gonzalo Pizarro*, by advice of his Captains intended to kill him; and therefore out of the sense of friendship which was between them, he could not give him better Counsel than exhort him to take care of his own safety. *Diego Maldonado* gave entire credence thereunto, because he remembered that he was once under an ill opinion with *Pizarro*, when he served the Vice-king against him, as hath been formerly mentioned. After which they put him to the torture, upon certain Libells which were scattered in *Pizarro's* Tent, at the time when the Battel at *Quitu* was ready to begin; of all which though he was afterwards found innocent, yet the actions of his friend *Antonio Alcamirano* served afterwards to render him the more suspected.

These imaginations and the apprehensions of a tormenting death, which was practised in those days, so operated on the mind of *Diego Maldonado*, that believing every word that *Martin de Robles* had told him, he, without making a discovery to any of his Servants, or giving order to saddle his Horses, of which he had many good

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ny good ones in his Stables, went out of his Tent with Sword and Cloak onely; and though he was a man of sixty eight years of age, yet he walked all that night, until he came to certain Cains or Officers about three leagues distant from the Sea, where the Ships were at Anchor, and there he secretly absconded himself for that time: but then fearing that the day following he should be pursued and taken by them, or at least perish there with thirst and famine; he came from thence, and happily met with an *Indian*, to whom he revealed the great necessity and danger he was in. The poor *Indian* compassionating his condition (that Nation being generally of a mercifull nature) conducted him to the Sea, where on the shoar he presently wove a float of Rushes in the manner we have before described, and with which the *Indians* pass over the Rivers; and thereupon both of them mounting, the *Indian* brought him safe to the Ships, though not without great danger of being drowned, especially *Diego Maldonado*, for when they came to the Ships, the Rushes began to be all untied, and for want of good tackle and workmanship the Vessel had like to have miscarried. And thus the good man *Diego Maldonado* escaped, who was one of the first Conquerours; and whom I left living in *Casco*, when I departed from thence; next day very early in the morning *Martin de Robles* went to the Tent of *Diego Maldonado*, to see what operation his advices had worked in him: and understanding that he was gone from thence the night before, he went immediately to *Pizarro*, and feigning much concernment for his services, he told him, Sir, *Maldonado* is fled; and since it is visible how your forces diminish daily, my opinion is, that you should raise your Camp from hence, and march towards *Arequipa*; and farther, to prevent Fugitives in their intentions, I would advise you upon no pretence whatsoever to permit any person to return to the City. And as to my own Company, I am secure enough of them, for there is not one of them who demands leave to goe to the City, but give good example unto others; onely with your permission, I would goe to the City with some few of my Souldiers in whom I repose the greatest confidence, and whom I know to stand in want of several necessities, with which having provided themselves in my presence, I shall then return with them: and with the same occasion I will make search for *Diego Maldonado*, who, as I hear, is fled to the Monastery of *St. Domingo*, from whence I will endeavour to bring him to you, by whose exemplary punishment men may for the future be afraid to fly, and abandon your cause and interest. *Pizarro* reposing great confidence in the faithfulness of *Martin de Robles*, who was deeply engaged with him in all matters; for it was he who had taken the Vice-king and prosecuted him to death, and performed other pieces of notorious service; he gave him his permission with all readiness to goe to the City: hereupon *Martin de Robles* in the first place made bold with the Horses belonging to *Maldonado*, as the confiscated goods of a Traytor, and calling those to him of his Company, for whom he had most kindness and in whom he most confided, who were about thirty in all, he immediately went to the City of *Los Reyes*; and thence took the direct road to *Truxillo*, publicly declaring, that they were going to the President, and had renounced *Pizarro*, who was a Tyrant.

When this News came to the Camp no man would hardly believe it, thinking it impossible for *Martin de Robles*, who was a person so deeply concerned with *Pizarro* in all matters, to forsake him at the last. But when the truth was confirmed, it was the common opinion; that that very day the Camp would break up, and every man thist for himself, or that they would kill *Pizarro*, and make an end of the dispute at one blow: but such was the gentleness and generosity of *Pizarro's* disposition, that it entered into no man's thoughts to perpetrate so execrable a villany upon his person, all their designs being onely to leave and revolt from him.

Howsoever *Pizarro* put a good countenance upon all his misfortunes, pretending to esteem lightly of those who had denied him, and saying, that if he had onely ten good friends, who would stick by him, he should not despair of making a new Conquest of all *Peru*, as *Valentino* says in the sixty fourth Chapter of his Book.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

Licenciado Carvajal, Graviel de Rojas, and several other Citizens and Souldiers of note fly from Pizarro.

BUT these frequent revolts did not end with the flight of *Martin de Robles*, but rather a general defection was feared; for the night following *Lope Marquesours*, and one with whom I was well acquainted: whereupon *Gonzalo Pizarro*, *Carvajal* with a party of Horse to guard that part, and not to suffer any person to pass that way. One would have thought that this *Carvajal* had given sufficient assurances and pledges of his Fidelity, that his faithfulness to the Cause ought not to be suspected; and yet for all this he fled away and revolted, and by his example opened a door for every man to escape away and be gone; for he was followed by all his Troop of Horse, as also by *Pedro Suarez de Escobedo*, *Francisco de Escobedo xillo*; these also were accompanied with *Licenciado Polo*, *Marcos de Retamozo* an Souldiers of chief renown. The flight of these persons could not be so concealed but that it was quickly made known to the next Quarter, from whence *Graviel de Rosalong* before conferred the honour of carrying the Standard, which he had taken from *Don Antonio de Ribera*, whom he had left in *Los Reyes* to govern the City, begged with him as deeply as any in all his designs. *Graviel de Rojas* was followed by many others, amongst whom were his two Kinmen *Graviel Fernandez* and *Gomez de Rojas*, both Persons of Quality: the flight of these Officers was not presently known abroad, because the Quarters of *Licenciado Carvajal* were in the Out-guards, which *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Souldiers esteemed to be well secured by them, and reposed all confidence imaginable in their fidelity: but so soon as it was divulged, it caused great noise and rumour in the Camp; and *Pizarro* himself was particularly concerned for *Licenciado Carvajal*, and was grieved that he of all the men in the world should forsake him: and considering what could be the cause of his discontent or disgust, he was sorry that he had not married him to *Donna Francisca Pizarro* his Cousin-german, supposing that if he had so done, he had obliged him by perpetual bonds of alliance; and again he fancied that he must have been obliged, because having nominated him to have commanded some Forces, he had afterwards put *John de Acosta* over his head: of all which he complained to *Francisco Carvajal*, his Lieutenant General, blaming him for giving him the ill counsel which had dishonoured his Kinman: to which *Carvajal* made answer, that since the *Licenciado* had been so bold and daring as to forsake and abandon his cause even in his presence, and was so resolved upon it as to adventure his life in the Act; it was better to be rid of him than to entertain him in his service, since he might have carried three hundred men away with him, in case he had employed him in the place of *Acosta*. In the like manner (said he) such men as these turned to your side and party, at a time when their occasions required your assistance to help them to their Estates, and to conserve their Lives and Honours; and at that time they denied and renounced the Emperour, they persecuted his Vice-king to the death: and now the tide being turned, they deny, and sell you, and think they have no farther need of you; their Estates and Lives being now secured to them: such men as these, both here and in all other parts of the World, adore no other God than the Idol of their own interest: and having paid you like men of that stamp, their deserts will be recompensed to them in their own coin. This was the saying of the Lieutenant General, and he proved a true Prophet in it; for I saw many of these things verified in my time; for none of these people,

ple, at least very few of them, died in their beds, but were afterwards killed in those insurrections which succeeded these troubles. The whole party of *Pizarro* began now to despair and to faint in their courages by this defection of *Carvajal* and so many persons of note: for since such a Gentleman as he was so deeply engaged in this cause, having cut off the head of the Vice-king, and who had given other evidences of his zeal for it, had revolted and fled, what could be judged of the affections of others who had neither the guilt nor those engagements upon them? for the day following, when the Army was on their march, as many as could privately convey themselves away made their escape; and at length the defection became general, and Souldiers openly and in the fight of *Pizarro* and his Camp, turned their Colours and marched away: amongst which two Hosts of good reputation, named *Pedro Villalva* and *John Lopez*, declared openly for his Majesty, and that *Gonzalo Pizarro* might be confounded; who was a Traytor and a Tyrant: these were quickly followed by two others, called *Francisco Guillada* and *John Diaz de Sotillo*: *Pizarro* intended to have sent after them; but he had none whom he could author or be assured that they would not have born them company in their design of revolt. Wherefore he halted his march as fast as he could to *Arequipa* by way of the Plains; and yet many of his Infantry forsook him, leaving their Muskets behind them; with which they supposed the *Pizarro* right would be contented and not pursue them. In fine, as *Augustine Carate* saith in the sixth Book, Chapter the sixteenth, for many had left him that his whole number was reduced to two hundred men; as appeared at the Muster taken in the Province of *Nimasa*, which is not above sixty leagues from *Los Reyes*. *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was an experienced Captain, got all the Arms of the Fugitives together, intending to arm other Souldiers with them; in case any would come in to their Party.

CHAPTER XXX.

The City of *Los Reyes* declares for his Majesty, and set up his Standard: *Lorenzo de Aldana* comes ashore: A great Confusion and Disturbance at *Los Reyes*.

NOR did the ill fortune of *Pizarro* stop here with the general revolt of his Army, which was now reduced from a thousand unto two hundred men; but all things turning contrary, those forces which he left in the City of *Los Reyes* for the guard and defence of it, and in whom he confided as his best and most faithful friends, who were obliged to him on the score of alliance and many other arguments, did now renounce him, and declared for the King: for *Pizarro* had not gone above two days march on his way to *Arequipa*; and not above fifteen leagues distant from the City, when *Don Antonio de Ribera*, whom *Pizarro* had made Governour of the City, joining with the Justices *Martin Pizarro* and *Antonio de Leon* and other Inhabitants who upon pretence of sickness or infirmities of old age, had obtained licence from *Gonzalo Pizarro* to remain behind; (to whom they resigned up their Arms and Horfes) spread the Standard of the City, and let fly the Colours in the open Market-place, and gathering what people they could declared for his Majesty, publishing by out-cry the general Pardon, and the revocation of the late Ordinances as delivered by the President of the

Palentino relating this passage, says, that it was done by order of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and that he had left instructions with his Governour to do so; that those who had forsaken his Party might not gain the honour they pretended unto and expected by their revolt: and yet *Palentino* contradicts himself again in it, and says, that it was not to be believed, and that it was only a report of some disaffected persons; though in truth *Pizarro* did leave such instructions with *Don Antonio de Ribera*; for his sake only, that he might save himself, and gain favour with the President *Casca*: for *Pizarro* was well assured, that so soon as he was out of fight he should be out of mind, and that after his departure the City would throw off all

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respect and fidelity to him, and follow the example of his Captains and Governours in other places: and therefore that *Antonio de Ribera*, whom he entirely loved both on the score of alliance and of past services which he had done to the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro* his brother, he gave him secretly his consent to make a surrender of the City; that thereby he might conferve himself and his Niece *Donna Francisca Pizarro*, Daughter of the Marquis, who remained under his Guardianship.

The News of this Change in the City was soon carried to *Lorenzo de Aldana*, who was surprized with extraordinary joy to hear it, for he did not expect so sudden an alteration; and was riding at anchor at a good distance from the shoar, looking out with his Boats to take up such as made their escapes from the City, to secure which he ordered Captain *John Alonso Palentino* with fifty Souldiers to row along the shoar, suspecting that *Gonzalo Pizarro* would return again to the City to prevent Plots which might be there contriving against him; and to have the best of those persons who had revolted to him; and who hereby had given twelve able proofs of their fidelity; to be mounted on Horfes back, to scout abroad and strived all the ways and roads near the City. He also gave Orders to Captain *John Southsea*, and to some convenient place to land a Friar and a Souldier; who were to carry Letters and Dispatches from the President directed to Captain *Diaz de Sotillo*, and others to persons of great reputation and esteem then engaged with *John de Astiza*, the Contents of which were chiefly to inform them of the State and Successes of the Empire; the which were dispersed abroad over all the Country by the Indians, and by their means came to the hands of those to whom they were directed, which produced many ill effects, to the prejudice and destruction of *Acosta*, as will appear in the sequel.

We shall now touch upon some matters particularly relating to *Lorenzo de Aldana*, who was a person with whom I was acquainted. For both Sea and Land being disturbed and moved with intestine troubles, *Aldana* acted, and sent all his dispatches left some treacherous person should design to kill him, and fly to *Gonzalo Pizarro*; for (as Historians report) there were people who revolted to *Pizarro*, as well as from him to the King; with which apprehensions and jealousies he remained aboard until he received certain intelligence that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was removed eighty leagues from the City of *Los Reyes*; and indeed by that time this News came, he was removed at the distance of a hundred and ten leagues from thence. And then, adventuring ashore with all his Captains and Souldiers, he was received into the City with great joy, being met by all the Inhabitants, which though few, yet the very Children came in to make up the number. The charge of the Ships was committed to the care of *John Fernandez* the Sheriff of the Town; with the usual formalities required in such cases: And now *Aldana* being with his men lodged within the City, he endeavored to get all the Arms and ordnance report came, that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was returning again towards the City; and that he was not above four leagues off; and though there could be no ground to imagine such a rumour to be true or possible; yet such was the confirmation, out of the abundance of his fear shifted for himself. Those who were unprovided had Horfes fled to the Seaside to secure themselves within the Ships; those who were not possessed with so violent a fear, concealed themselves within the Officers gardens and other secret places; and in this manner they lay perdue or hidden for a whole night and a day, until such time as certain intelligence came that the report was false. And then they all returned again to the City unless such who had travelled away at a farther distance.

Augustine Carate writes, that *Lorenzo de Aldana* came ashore upon the ninth of September, 1547: where we will leave him for awhile, to speak of *John de Acosta*, who was now on his march towards *Cusco* by way of the mountains consisting of three hundred Souldiers under the command of a Major General, a Standard-bearer, and other Officers, as if it had been a great Army.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVI.

The Captains and Souldiers fly from John de Acosta. Gonzalo Pizarro comes to Huarina, from whence he sends a Message to Diego Centeno; with his Answer thereunto.

WHEN John de Acosta came near to Cozco, they received intelligence of the unfortunate success of Gonzalo Pizarro, and of the general revolt of his People from him; to conceal and smother which all endeavours were used but all in vain, for many of the Letters which were dispersed abroad fell into the hands of Officers and Souldiers, which made a full discovery of all matters; and though none durst to confide in each other so far as to discourse and communicate the news; yet by some accident or other the Advices became the publick talk: and then the Major-General Paez de Sotomayor and Captain Martin de Olmos (with whom I was acquainted) resolved to kill John de Acosta, which design was so secretly carried, that one did not know the intention of the other, but only by certain conjectures and circumstances; and in like manner at a distance treated with some Souldiers in whom they thought they could best confide: but the Plot was not contrived so secretly but that it came to the ears of Acosta, who became thereby more watchfull, and doubled the Guards about his Person with those of whose faithfulness he was best assured.

The two General Officers growing jealous hereupon, and knowing that John de Acosta was one day retired within his Tent, and in secret conference with Captain Martin de Almandras; and another intimate Friend of his, called Diego Gumiel, and fearing that they were plotting to kill them, they resolved to revolt, since they were disappointed in their design of killing Acosta: and accordingly passing their word in secret one to the other, without farther delay they mounted on Horseback with thirty men following them with their Arms, and in sight of the Camp marched boldly away towards Los Reyes. The principal persons hereof were Paez de Sotomayor, Martin de Olmos, Martin de Alarcon chief Standard-bearer, Garci Gutierrez de Escobar, Alonso Rengel, Hernando de Alvarado, Martin Monge, Antonio de Avila and Gaspar de Toledo. John de Acosta made pursuit after them, and overtook three or four of them and put them to death; but finding it in vain to prosecute them farther, he desisted and followed his way towards Cozco, where he took away the white Staves from the Sheriffs of the Town, who were appointed by Diego Centeno, and placed others in their stead.

And here he found Orders from Gonzalo Pizarro to come with all haste possible to Arequipa, and to join his Forces with him there. Accordingly John de Acosta marched out of Cozco, but before he was twelve leagues advanced on his way, Martin Almandras (who was the person in whom he most confided) fled from him carrying thirty of his best men with him, and returning again to Cozco he took the white Staves away from the Sheriffs, whom John de Acosta had constituted; as if the success of great matters had depended thereupon; and so he went to Los Reyes, to the great admiration of Acosta, who wondered much that a man so much esteemed and obliged by Gonzalo Pizarro, should desert him who had treated him like a Son, out of respect to the memory of his Uncle Francisco de Almandras, who was killed by Diego Centeno.

John de Acosta durst not adventure to pursue Martin de Almandras, lest all his Souldiers should follow: the like example, and therefore he took the direct way to Arequipa by long marches, but still his numbers decreased by two and three in a company, so that by the time he came to Arequipa to join with Gonzalo Pizarro he brought not above a hundred men with him, as is confirmed by Valentin Chapter sixty eight of the second Book, and by Carate, the sixth Book, Chapter eighteen. And now having lost their Honours by being outlawed and proclaimed Traitors, and their Estates, which remained in the power of the Enemy, there was nothing more to save but their lives only, and how that stake might be conserved was their only consultation.

In

In fine, Pizarro and his Captains resolved to take their march by the way where Diego Centeno was quartered, because it was the passage to the high Mountains of Andes, which are to the eastern parts of Peru; in which quarters they designed to gain some Province to make their abode, in case they might there be suffered to remain in quietness; and if not, they intended then to proceed to the Kingdom of Chili, to assist in the Conquest of that warlike people, supposing that, being then without the limits of Peru, they might more easily obtain the benefit of the general Pardon for such new services. And in case that Diego Centeno should interrupt them in their passage, they then resolved to break through him, and either overcome or dye, though they knew that he had much the advantage in his numbers. And departing from Arequipa with this design, they came at length by the usual marches near to Huarina, where the way leads to those Mountains.

Diego Centeno, having constant Advices of the motion of Pizarro, left his own quarters well fortified, and burnt the Bridge which is made over the Channel, whereby the Lake of Titicaca empties it self, that he might give a stop to the Enemy's passage; and, trusting much to the courage and resolution of his Souldiers, he resolved to engage him (if possible) in a Battle.

But Gonzalo Pizarro, endeavouring on the contrary to avoid fighting, sent a Messenger to Centeno with a Letter, putting him in mind of the ancient friendship and confederacy between them, when they conquered Collao and the Chircas, and the many kindnesses and good offices he had done him, both at that time and since; and particularly that he had given him his life when he killed Jasper Rodriguez and Philip Gutierrez for the very same Plot in which he was concerned; for though he was in the List with the other Conspirators, and was well assured that he was one of the principal of them, yet he granted him his Pardon against the opinion and sense of all his Friends. He farther desired him to recall to mind that he, that is Centeno, had been one of the first and chief of those who promoted him to the Office of Procurator-General of that Kingdom, that he had followed him under that Character to the City of Los Reyes, and had continued with him until he saw him advanced to the Government of Peru: wherefore, forgetting all that was past, he desired him to enter into a Treaty with him relating to matters which might tend to the common benefit of themselves and of all the Countrey, and that he would accord with him in any reasonable Propositions, as if he were his own Brother. This Letter was sent by a Souldier called Francisco Vello, the Husband of Joanna of Leyton, of whom we have formerly made mention; who for his relation to Francisco de Carvajal was employed, as a person of great trust and faithfulness. Augustine Carate, in the second Chapter of his seventh Book, saith, that this Souldier delivered the Letter to Diego Centeno, and offered to serve him, and at the same time advised him that Diego Alvarez, Ensign of his own Company, kept a correspondence with Pizarro; but Centeno thought not fit to examine the matter, or punish the Ensign, because he had discovered to him all the particulars, and assured him, that the correspondence was carried on with design of service unto him. Diego Centeno returned an Answer hereunto with great civility, giving him to understand that he did gratefully acknowledge the many good offices which he had received from him; in return whereof he did heartily advise and intreat him, to take into serious consideration the true circumstances of the present Affairs, and the gracious Declaration of his Majesty to pardon all past offences: And in case therefore that he would come in and return to the Service of his Majesty, he would promise to be his Advocate to intercede with the President in his behalf, and that he might be confident to obtain all the advantageous and honourable conditions he could desire, without hazard of his Life or Estate. And he did farther assure him, that he would be his Friend and his Associate in all matters whatsoever but those wherein his allegiance and duty towards his Prince were concerned. These and the like complements he returned in answer to his Letter. Thus far Augustine Carate.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVII.

Diego Centeno writes to the President, giving him an account of these matters by the same Messenger which Pizarro had sent to him. The President comes to Saufa where he meets Francisco Vosso.

Centeno being well assured of the good will and affection which Vosso bore to his Majesty's Service, by that free manner with which he offered it, and by the discovery he made of the correspondence which the Ensign held with Pizarro; he thought fit to send the very same Messenger to the President, with Letters giving him a relation at large of all which had passed until that time, and how he had so environed Pizarro on all sides, that he could not escape from him. He acquainted him how strong he was, and how weak Pizarro, and that he hoped to overcome him without fighting. He farther acquainted him with the Message brought to him by Francisco Vosso, and for better confirmation he sent him the very Letter. Moreover Centeno acquainted Vosso with the answer he had given to Gonzalo Pizarro, and told him, that he trusted him with that dispatch to carry it unto the President; and to bear his charges in so long a Journey he gave him the value of a thousand pieces of Eight in Gold; and farther directed him, that after he had been a short time at Pizarro's Camp, and had delivered his Letters, and given a relation of all matters, he should then buy the best Mule he could find to carry him with all speed possible to the President; and in regard he was well acquainted with the state and condition of both Camps, his directions were to inform the President with the circumstances of affairs on both sides, in respect to the number of people, and the manner how they were armed. And because his business was now to act a double part, he gave him a Grant in the name of his Majesty of certain Lands or Plantations in Arequipa which were vacant, signed by his own hand, desiring the President to confirm the same in reward of the Loyalty and Services of Francisco Vosso.

Accordingly Vosso returning again to Pizarro was ordered by him to acquaint Francisco de Carvajal with all the particulars of what he had seen and heard from Centeno, because that Carvajal having been his intimate Friend and Patron, he would no doubt freely open himself, and declare whatsoever had passed between him and Centeno. Carvajal examined him as to all matters, and Vosso fully answered and satisfied him in every thing; namely who were the Captains both of Horse and Foot, and what was the number of his Souldiers; and confessed that he had received the information from Centeno himself, who was so free with him as to acquaint him with the substance of the Letter which he had wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro in answer of his; confirming the same by word of mouth that he would be his Advocate with the President, and intercede with him to pardon them both as to Life and Estate, and would do him all other good offices, provided he would return to his allegiance and the duty he owed unto the King.

Carvajal, having heard and examined all the matter, brought Vosso to Pizarro to tell the story himself, who having repeated all as is before related, and particularly that Centeno offered to be his Advocate and Intercessour: Pizarro turned away in a rage, and said, that he scorned to receive favours from him who had been so much obliged to his Brothers and himself: and understanding that the Letter contained little more than that, he refused to read it; and, like a furious and desperate man, he ordered the Letter to be publicly burned, to shew that he would enter into no Treaty with him: And not to discourage his Souldiers, he ordered Vosso to report, that Centeno had not above seven hundred men, though in reality he was above twelve hundred men strong.

Vosso having thus related all this matter, and delivered his Message; by means of a Friend of his, (to whom he did not communicate the Secret) he bought a good Mule, which cost eight hundred pieces of Eight, and the next night he mounted thereon, and by break of day had travelled twelve leagues from the Camp

Camp on his way toward the President, passing by Arequipa where his Wife and Children were. When Pizarro received the news of the flight of Vosso, he wondred much at it, and whispered it to Carvajal, and told him, that he did not now think it strange that many of those who had great obligations should desert him, since Vosso, who was his Servant, and tied to him in duty and with all the bonds of humanity, had denied him. Carvajal answered, that it was no strange thing to him, for that he looked on Vosso to be in the number of those faint-hearted men, who, being afraid, resolved to secure themselves by a Pardon, which was the condition of most of those who had followed his Party; and on the contrary, it plainly appeared that such as were courageous and had been the least obliged were still fixed and constant to their Party: And that it was one of the miseries of this world, that no man respects or honours another but for his own interest, and that so soon as he finds he hath no farther need of his assistance and favour, he presently forgets all former ties of benefits received.

And now the falsity and treachery of Vosso being clear and apparent, and the agreement between him and Centeno being discovered, Pizarro complained of his misfortune in conferring his favours on those who had proved most ungrateful; and, being full of anger and despair, he resolved (since there was no place left for Treaty) to venture all upon the success of a Battel, and either overcome or dye.

The President, whom we left on his way from Truxillo to Los Reyes, had by this time received news of all matters which Gonzalo Pizarro had acted in that City, and how his people had deserted and fled from him. And whereas he understood from those very persons who were come in to him that Pizarro was marched along the Coast towards Arequipa, he sent Orders to the Captains who were quartered in Callamarca to march with their Troops in good order to the Valley of Sanja, because he understood that that was a good Countrey and a good quarter for plenty of Provisions, and a convenient situation for people to come in, and for receiving such who fled from Pizarro. Having given these Orders he marched forwards, and as he travelled intelligence was brought him of the ruinous condition of Gonzalo Pizarro, that of all his Army he had not two hundred men remaining, who expected an opportunity to escape; that Acosta was in no better a condition, for that of the three hundred men with which he marched out of Los Reyes above two hundred had deserted him with their Captains and Officers; that the City of Los Reyes had declared for the King, and that Lorenzo de Aldana was possessed of the Government, and lay in the Port with his Ships.

The President being much encouraged with this good news, dispatched fresh advices thereof to his Captain-General Pedro de Hinojosa, ordering him to march with all possible speed to Sanja; which he accordingly did, and not to lose time he passed by Los Reyes, and took the shortest cut by way of the Mountains and came to Sanja, where, meeting with his former Captains, they all rejoiced to see and meet each other. And here the President remained some days, during which time he set up Smiths Forges for making and repairing Arms, and appointed several Officers: and in short, did all that became an able and a diligent Captain; and to forward him in this work his Officers and Ministers were as diligent and as active as he, omitting nothing which might tend to the destruction of their Enemy, lest they should fall again into his power whom they had denied.

These good successes and prosperous proceedings were increased by the happy news which Vosso brought, declaring the low and mean condition of Pizarro's Army, and the welfare and numerous increase of that of Centeno's, of which Vosso assured the President, having seen both Armies, and been an eye-witness of the state and condition of both. Vosso delivered his Letters together with the Grant which Centeno had given him of a certain Plantation, which the President readily confirmed; and indeed it was his misfortune that the Gift was of no greater value, for had it been one of the best Baronies in Peru, there would have been no scruple in the conveyance of it, in reward of the good news he brought; which was so considerable and so well regarded, that Orders were thereupon issued to several Forces to give a stop to their farther Levies of men, since that Diego Centeno had force sufficient without other assistances to subdue and destroy Pizarro. And here we will leave them in their consultations and rejoicings at Arequipa, to recount the cruel Battel of Huacina, which happened in those days.

C H A P. XVIII.

Pizarro resolves to give them Battel. Acosta is sent to alarm the Enemy in the night. Diego Centeno draws out his Men, and Pizarro doth the like.

Gongalo Pizarro and his Captains being enraged with anger and disdain, to find, whilst they were treating of peace and accommodation, that the Enemy had corrupted their Messenger, and seduced him from the faith and duty he owed to his Lord and Master; whereupon, blinded with madness and rage they resolved to pursue their march, and forcibly make their way through the midst of their Enemies, and either to dye or conquer.

This resolution was taken at a consultation held by Pizarro and his Officers on occasion of the flight of Francisco Pello, and accordingly now to put it in execution, they furnished and prepared their Arms to march towards Huarina, but first they gave out a report; that they intended by some other way to divert Centeno from giving them any interruption in the Pass they designed; and to make this report the more credible, they sent a message to Francisco de Espinosa to provide them with Indians and provisions on their way by those parts. Howsoever the true design of Pizarro was discovered to Centeno by means of the Indians, who by order of Don Christoval Paulin Inca (of whom we have formerly made mention) were very diligent and faithful to acquaint Centeno with all the motions of his Enemies.

By these means Centeno being truly informed of the way and course which Pizarro intended to take marched forth to stop and interrupt him in his passage; and thereby came so near each to the other that the Scouts met and called to each other, and then returned to carry the advice. So soon as Centeno received this intelligence of their near approach, he put his people into a posture of defence, and drew them out all night into form of Battel, having been formerly well acquainted with the alarms and surprisings which Pizarro had often given him in the night. And yet for his care and vigilance Acosta made such an attempt upon him in the night with twenty Musquetiers as put all the Camp into confusion; and the affrightment was so great, that Carate faith, in the second Chapter of his seventh Book, that many of the Souldiers fled to their Tents, and the people of Valdivia left their Pikes and shamefully ran away; and that Acosta retreated again without the loss of one man. Thus far Carate. What he farther adds concerning the people of Valdivia is this; There was a certain Captain, says he, named Pedro de Valdivia, who, being in Chili, received intelligence of the great stir and troubles which were in Peru, and to be the better informed thereof, and perhaps to interest himself on one side or the other, he came with many followers, and sailing along the Coast of Peru, he received information of the ill condition of Pizarro, and that the President Gasca was then in Sanja preparing to march against him; whereupon Pedro de Valdivia resolved to go himself in Person to the President, and to lift himself with him in his Majesty's Service, and to travel with the less Train he dimitt his men and sent them to joyn with Centeno; and these are those Valdivians, who, as Carate faith, shamefully ran away.

The day following, as is reported, both Parties marched in fight of each other, with their men drawn up in Battalia. The Forces of Centeno (as Lopez de Gomara reports) were twelve hundred and twelve men strong; Carate faith that they were something under a thousand; Palentino calls them above nine hundred; but for my part, I have received it from very good hands that they were twelve hundred; of which there were two hundred and sixty Horse, a hundred and fifty Fire-locks, and about eight hundred Pikes and Lances. All the Infantry he drew up into one Body, flanking the Lances with the Fire-locks, though indeed the Flanks were very thin.

The Captains of Foot were John de Vargas Brother to Garcilasso de la Vega, my Lord and Father, Francisco de Restamio, Captain Negrin, Captain Pantoja and Diego Lopez

Lopez de Caniga; these five Captains with their Ensigns marched on the left Wing and in the Van of all about twenty paces distant from the rest of the Squadron.

These were immediately followed by eleven Files of the choicest men in the Squadron, in nature of a Forlorn Hope: After these came the Ensign-bearers carrying their Colours, and then followed the Lances and Pikemen interlined with the Musquetiers.

The right Wing of the Infantry was supported with three Troops of Horse, whose Captains names were Pedro de los Rios a Native of Cordova, and of as noble descent as any in that City, also Antonio de Ulloa born at Carceres, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and with them was joined Diego Alvarez, born at Almendral, who carried the Royal Standard. Diego Centeno being then sick was not amongst the Troops, nor present in the Battel, but was carried up and down in a Chair giving orders and directions. This Squadron, consisting of a hundred and sixty Horse, was commanded to charge the left Wing of the Enemy: likewise Centeno flanked the left Wing of his Foot with ninety seven Horse which belonged to Jeronimo de Villegas, and all commanded by the Major-General Alonso de Mendoza and the Sergeant-Major of this Army was Luis Garcia de Ribera; and

On the other side the Lieutenant-General Francisco de Carvajal formed his Squadron with the flower and choicest men of the Militia of Peru; and it was pity that such stout and excellent Souldiers did not take the right side, and employ themselves in service of the King their Lord and Master: this was the cause which moved Historians to write with such defamation of a man so experienced in War that he knew to a point how many Lances were requisite to give check-mate to a Party, and had as much advantage over others in War as an expert Master at the Game of Chess hath over a young beginner or learner. Accordingly with great art he drew up in Battalia his little Army of four hundred men upon the Plains, of which eighty five were Horse, sixty Pikes and Lances and about two hundred and fifty Fire-locks: howsoever many Hours make Pizarro to have been of a greater force, and Centeno of a far less; perhaps to abate the glory of Francisco Carvajal in case he conquered Centeno; but these Writers understood not the Secret, nor found out the true cause of the Victory on one side, and the defeat of the other, which we shall speedily relate.

Carvajal drew up in admirable Order his small Squadron in an open Plain, where were no Bushes, nor any thing else to hinder the shot of his Harquebusers: the Captains of which were Diego Guillen and John de la Torre; and Carvajal himself commanded his own Company composed of stout Souldiers, and excellent Marksmen. And though John de Acosta commanded at that time a Troop of Horse, yet he changed that day with Captain Guevara for his Foot Company, because Guevara was lame and could not fight otherwise than on Horse-back: these four were Captains of Foot, and Hernando Bachicao commanded sixty Lances and Pikes; and both Wings were interlined with Harquebusers on one side and the other.

Amongst the Captains of Horse Gongalo Pizarro was bravely mounted and armed with a good Coat of Mail, and over it a Coat of green Velvet, which I have seen him wear, and over all he had a loose Garment of crimson Velvet flashed; on each hand of him were Licenciado Cepeda, who was Captain of Horse, and Bachiller Guevara.

Francisco de Carvajal was Commander in Chief of this whole Squadron of Horse, and posted himself on the right Wing of the Foot, not exactly joyning to them, but advanced about fifty paces before, that the Musquetiers might have the more room to play their shot, for in them he reposed his greatest assurance of Victory.

Carvajal was armed like a Commander of Horse, with Coat of Mail, and Ganclet, and a Head-piece, which they call a Burgonnon, with a close Bever, furnished with such cross Bars as they put upon the Hilt of their Swords; over these Arms he wore a Coat of green Cloth, of a sad and deep colour, and he was mounted on a common Pad, like a poor Souldier, not to be known. And in this manner were his Troops ranged, whilst he, to put them into good order, rode to the Front and Rere, and was present in all parts and places to give his directions and word of command.

Thus were both Armies drawn up, and at a distance of about six hundred paces faced each other. Those of Centeno's side remained so confident of Victory, that when they went out of the Camp, they ordered their Indian Servants to provide

vide their Dinner with a double portion ready against their return, that they might entertain their Friends, when they had subdued them, and taken them prisoners.

But the *Indians*, who feared that this vanity and confident boastings portended some ill, answered their Masters, and asked them where they should drive those Herds of Cattel, to secure them against their Enemies; who though few in number, will yet, said they, be your Masters; and this they uttered with that earnestness and confidence, that many of the *Spaniards* grew so angry and outrageous to hear them, that they were ready to beat them, and with this passion they entred into the places and posts appointed them in their respective Squadrons. One of these was *Martin de Arbieta*, who discoursing with a Friend of his upon what the *Indians* had so unluckily prefiged; at the same time came one *Gonzalo Silvestre*, who reported the same as the *Indians* had prognosticated: And they had scarce advanced a few paces forward before one *Juho de Hojeda*, who was an Inhabitant of *Cocoto*, and one of the first Conquerours of *Pern*, came roaring, and swearing said, that he could scarce forbear killing his *Indians*, for saying that we should be defeated this day. How these dogs should come to say these things, I know not, unless they being Witches, converse with the Devil. At the same instant came another Inhabitant of *Cocoto*, called *Carrera*, who said the same things; and another also came to report the same News, so that it came by six or seven hands; who scorn to give credence to the vain prefiges of their *Indians*, posted themselves in that Squadron of Horse which flanked the Infantry in the left Wing.

CHAP. XIX.

The Battel of Huarina. The Strategem which the Lieutenant General Carvajal used. The particular Exploits of Gonzalo Pizarro and of other Cavaliers of renown and good fame.

BOTH Squadrons being drawn up in the Field stood facing each other for a long time without moving; and being in this posture, *Gonzalo Pizarro* sent his Chaplain, called *Father Herrera*, to *Diego Centeno*, requiring him to permit him a free passage to depart, and not force him to make his way by Battel; and in case he would not grant his request, he did then protest against him for all the losses, damages and blood which should ensue thereupon. The Chaplain came with his Crucifix before him, but the Guards stopped him, upon suspicion that he came as a Spy to discover their numbers and order. The Bishop of *Cocoto* and *Diego Centeno* who were together at the same time, sent for the Chaplain, and having heard what he had to say, he was ordered to be brought into the Bishop's Tent.

The Porters of *Diego Centeno*, having information of the Message which the Priest brought, and being confident and assured of Victory, were resolved to gain the honour of being the first to make the on-set; and accordingly moving towards the Enemy they had scarce advanced a hundred paces before they made a stand. *Francisco de Carvajal* ordered his men to keep their ground, being desirous to have the Enemy come up to them, and to encourage and provoke them thereunto, he sent *Juho de Anfoja* with thirty Musketeers to begin a skirmish, and to make a seeming retreat, to draw the enemy to follow them. The other side drew out an equal number to engage with them; but no hurt was done, for they fired at such a distance, that the Bullets could not reach home.

Historians write, and particularly *Augustine Carate*, in the third Chapter of his second book, hath these words; *Francisco de Carvajal*, said he, seeing the Camp of *Diego Centeno* to make a halt, ordered his own Souldiers to advance ten paces forwards; which when *Centeno's* Souldiers observed, they cried out, that the Enemy gained honour over them; and thereupon began to march in a full body: at which

at which *Pizarro's* men made a full stop, and stood still in expectation of the Enemy's coming up to them; and by the way as they approached, *Carvajal* ordered some few shots to be made at them, to incite them to return whole volleys; which as they went at the distance of three hundred paces: all this while *Carvajal* fired not one Musketeer, till the Enemy was come within shot, and then they poured whole showers of Bullets on them; which coming from expert Marks-men, above a hundred and fifty men were killed at this first charge, and amongst them two Captains; so that the whole Body began to be disordered; and at a second charge they were put into confusion, and plainly ran away.

Thus far *Carate*, who wrote all the particulars at the beginning, middle and end of this Battel: and the like Relation is given by *Gomara* and *Palentino*, with little or no difference. I shall repeat their Narratives, and add what I have heard reported from both sides.

It is said, that the reason why *Carvajal* would not advance, but stood still to keep his ground until the Enemy made the first on-set, was this, The whole body of his Musketeers were not above two hundred and fifty men in all; yet they had six or seven hundred Fire-arms, being such as had been left them by the and new fixed and delivered to the hands of the Souldiers, so that some Souldier carried three, some four Musketeers; and because it was difficult for a Souldier to carry such a heap of Arms on his shoulders, it was thought most convenient to stand still and expect the coming of the Enemy.

This *Francisco Carvajal* was certainly as great a Captain as any was in his time; and whatsoever he said or acted was accompanied with much sharpness and dexterity: and therefore we will mention some few sayings of his, which he uttered during the time that these matters were transacting.

Two days before this Battel, a certain Souldier of his of good fame and esteem came, and desired him to give him a little Lead to make some Bullets against the day of Battel. How, said *Carvajal*, I cannot believe that a Souldier of your worship's quality should be without Bullets when the Enemy is near: Really, Sir, answered the Souldier, I have none: Your Worship must pardon me, replied *Carvajal*, and give me leave not to believe you; for it is impossible you should be without Bullets. The Souldier finding himself thus urged, in truth, Sir, said he, upon the word of a Souldier, I have but three. Oh, Sir, answered *Carvajal*, did not I tell you, that your Worship being the man you were taken for, could not be without Bullets; and therefore I desire you to lend me one of your three, to bestow upon another; and then kill me to day a Bird with one of the two remaining; and a man with the other on the day of the Fight; and then I will require you to shoot no more. By this saying, *Carvajal* would give us to understand, that if every Musketeer could but kill his man, the Victory would be secure and certain. But howsoever, he largely supplied the Souldier with Ammunition and Arms, as he did all the others who had occasion of Powder and Bullet: in this pleasant manner he treated with his Friends; but when he came to deal with his Enemies, he treated them at another rate, with all gravity, caution and reservedness required.

Another quaint saying of his was expressed to his Musketeers in sight of the Enemy; when he advised them to level their Arms from the Girdle downwards, and not from the Breast to the Head upwards: For, look you, Gentlemen, said he, Bullets are apt to rise, and that which misses, though but two Fingers breadth, is lost, and cannot doe execution; but that which flies low, and grazes ten paces off, may yet have some effect: And in case you wound your Enemy either in the Thighs or Legs, he must fall, and become disabled; when, on the contrary, a man may receive a shot either in his Arm or Body, unless the wound be mortal, he may yet continue fighting. Upon this ground, and for this reason, he ordered his Musketeers not to fire above a hundred paces distant from the Enemy; which, as *Carate* saith, did such cruel and terrible execution, that in the first ranks of Captains and Ensigns, and in the eleven files which were in the Van before them, there remained not ten men found, all being killed or wounded; which was a sad case, and much to be lamented. In like manner these Shot gauled the Horse very much, of which *Alonso de Mendoza* and *Jeronimo de Villegas* were Captains; so that ten or twelve of the Cavaliers were dismounted, and

and amongst them was one *Carrera*, whom we have formerly mentioned. One of the Colonels, named *Luis de Ribera*, considering that in case the Horsemen were detached by degrees and ordered to charge the Foot, they would all be killed one after the other, before they could be able to come up to the Enemy; and therefore Orders were given, that they should charge *Pizarro's* Horse; who seeing the Enemy coming upon them, kept their ground, and stirred not one step forward, as the Lieutenant General had directed; that the Musquetiers might not lose their Shot, nor advantage of their Volleys, as the Enemy came up to them; but when he saw that *Centeno's* Horse had passed the right wing of the Foot; he then advanced thirty paces forward, to receive the charge of the Enemy. *Centeno's* Horse riding upon a full trot, over-bore *Pizarro's* Horse, and trampled and trod them under foot, as if they had been so many Sheep, so that (as Historians agree, and I with them) Men and Horse were overthrown; and scarce ten Men of all their numbers remained who were not dismounted. One of these thus hardly belated was *Gonzalo Pizarro* himself, who being single and divided from his Company, hastened up to join with his Foot. But being known by three Cavaliers of chief note, they fell upon him with intent to kill him or take him prisoner: one of them was called *Francisco de Ollos*, another, *Michael de Vergara*, and the other, *Gonzalo Silvestre*: This latter assailed *Pizarro* on the right side, *Vergara* on the left, and *Ollos* joined with *Vergara*. These two came up so closely to *Pizarro*, that they gave him many Stabs under the Ribs, but good Arms defended him. *Michael de Vergara* made a loud Out-cry, and said, This Traitor *Pizarro* is my prize and my prisoner. In this manner they all four pursued him, till he came up to the Foot; but the Horse on which *Gonzalo Silvestre* rode most troubled and endangered him, for, being a nimble Horse and in a full carriage, he came so close up to him that *Silvestre* took hold of the Horse's pectoral, and stopped him in his course, which when *Pizarro* perceived, he turned about his body to him, and with a short Cutlase, which was hanged with a Ribon on the wrist of his right hand, he gave three Cuts upon his Horse, one of which lighted upon his Nose, and cut off his Lips, so as the Teeth were laid bare upon one side; another Cut he gave him over the Nostils, and the third took him over the hollow of his right eye, though without hurt to his sight. And this *Pizarro* performed with so little concernment, as if he had been engaged in sports of the Ring or other Feats of Arms. And this very story I heard from *Gonzalo Silvestre* himself, who often amongst other particulars of this Battel recounted this passage, and the same I have heard confirmed by divers others. And that all four of them pursued him up to his body of the Foot.

CHAP. XX.

The Story of the cruel Battel of Huarina is farther continued, several Feats of Arms performed therein. The Victory is gained by Pizarro.

WHEN the Souldiers saw him coming they knew him to be *Pizarro*, and charged with their Pikes to receive and defend him. *Silvestre* perceiving that he had not wounded *Pizarro* with all the Stabs he had given him on his sides; he stopped his hand, and gave a Cut on the Blade-bone of his Horse's Shoulder, but the wound was so inconsiderable, that after these matters had passed, and the Wars were at an end; this particular was scarce judged worthy to be mentioned, left it should accuse his Arm of faintness and want of strength: but this small wound was again returned by *Pizarro's* Souldiers, who falling forth to kill those who pursued him, wounded *Gonzalo Silvestre's* Horse in the head with a Lance, which made him rise up on end; and then another with his Lance ran *Silvestre* himself through both his Arms: the Horse with the smart of his Wounds floundered

floundered and tumbled on all four; with the force of which the head of the Lance broke off in his Arms; but howsoever the Horse bounding up, carried off his Master with more danger than what is here exprest. But *Michael de Vergara Pizarro* was his prisoner, pursued him within three or four files of the Enemy, where they knocked him down, and cut both him and his horse into pieces.

Nor did *Francisco de Ollos* succeed better, for as he was turning his horse to escape, a Musquetier clapt the nose of his Gun on the reins of his Back, which over the hucksons of his hinder legs, and though he was hamstringed thereby, yet he was a horse of that spirit, that he carried his Master off above fifty paces, and then both of them fell dead together; all which I have learned and heard so very particularly that the colours of their Horses were described: This was the issue of the Fight between the Horse of *Pizarro* and *Centeno*, which was so bloody that a hundred and seven horses lay dead within the field where the Battel was fought; which contained not above two Acres of ground besides those which fell at some farther distance off, and yet all the number of horse on one side and the other did not amount to above a hundred and eighty two. The matter was very strange, and indeed no man believed the report, untill my Father *Gargilasso de la Vega* did assure them upon his word, that he had counted them one by one, and that out of curiosity, he had taken the account, by reason that the Battel was so exceeding bloody that no man would hereafter believe, that out of so small a number so many should be killed.

When *Diego Centeno's* Horsemen saw that *Pizarro* was retreated into the Body of his Infantry, they then charged those few Horse of the Enemy which remained with such success, that they killed them almost all to the last man, so that the Victory was clear as to them: One of those who were killed was Captain *Pedro de Fuentes*, who had been Governour to *Pizarro* in *Arequipa*; he was knocked down with one of those Clubbs which the Indians use in the War; by the strong Arm of a Horseman, who rising high from his Saddle, gave him such a blow with both hands on his Helmet, as beat it into pieces, and dashed out his Brains, so that poor *Pedro* fell down dead upon the very place. Captain *Licenciado Cepeda* was grievously wounded with a Cut over his Face and bridge of his Nose, and was taken prisoner, I remember that I saw him at *Cusco*, after he was cured, with a patch of black Taffaty of a Finger's breadth over the Scar. At this time *Hernando Balthazar*, who commanded the Lances under *Pizarro*, hearing the Enemy found the Levets of Victory, ran over to *Centeno's* side, and called Witneses that he was come over to the King's service, and claimed the privilege of the Proclamation of general Pardon. But the other Squadron of Horse belonging to *Centeno*, which flanked on the right Wing of the Infantry, and commanded by *Pedro de Los Rios*, and *Antonio de Ollos*, charged the left Wing of *Pizarro's* Foot, as was ordered at the beginning of the Battel; but they were so warmly received with such a volley from the Enemy, that Captain *Pedro de Rios* was killed, and many others, before they could come to close with them; whereupon they wheeled off, and would not adventure to engage farther with that Squadron, which was too hot for them, being well fortified with Pikes and Fire-arms: Howsoever passing along the left Wing and the re-re-guard of *Pizarro's* Forces, they were much gaulled with Shot from them; for that Squadron was well guarded with *Tlapas*, which in the Indian tongue signifies thunder and lightning; and indeed it proved so to that noble and flourishing Army of *Diego Centeno*, which consisted for the most part of Gentlemen, mounted on the best Horses which at that time were to be found in all *Peru*, and which were for the most part that day destroyed in that bloody and unfortunate Battel. *Pizarro* had a desire to have charged the Enemies horse in person, and fought it out with them to the last, but *Carvajal* advised him not to do it, but to keep his ground, and leave the management unto him; and do not doubt (said he) but very speedily you shall see your Enemies routed, taken and killed. *Centeno's* Horse having rallied into one body, after they had passed the two Wings of *Pizarro's* Squadron, were yet more warmly received by the Re-re-guard which *Carvajal* commanded to fire briskly upon them; which they performed with such success, that they killed many of them, and put them into disorder, and forced them to quit the Field; the which action was performed in so short a time that scarce had *Centeno's* Trumpets finished their Levety which founded Victory, before

before it was begun on *Pizarro's* side: which when *Hernando Bachicao* perceived, he returned back to his former Squadron, crying out Victory as loud as any. One of the Horsemen on *Centeno's* side, born at *Herrera de Alcantara*, (whose name I have forgotten, running away, in his Flight and full carriage, accidentally happened to pass by *Francisco de Carvajal* sitting on his small Nag, as we have before mentioned, and not knowing who he was, gave him a stroke with a broad Sword over the Vizard of his Head-piece, which being given with a strong Arm and a good Will, the Sword entred deep within the Iron, but yet went not so far as to wound him: at which those who saw it wondered very much; and after the Battel was ended, and all things quiet, *Carvajal* shewed the Head-piece to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and said to him, what do you think, would have become of me, had I not been guarded with this defence? One third part of *Diego Centeno's* Foot were all slain, as is mentioned before; another third part of them, when Victory was sounded on their side, were licensed to plunder *Pizarro's* Camp, and accordingly they sacked a great part of it; but this proved their ruine, and was a great occasion of the loss of the day. The remainder of the Infantry, which were not above sixty in all, were left at push of Pike with *Pizarro's* Souldiers, seconded with a Party of *John de Acosta's*. A certain Souldier of *Centeno's* side, called — *Guadramiro* (whom I knew) a Man tall of Stature, and well shaped, of a peaceable disposition and more a Courtier than a Souldier, gave *Acosta* a push with his Pike in the Throat; and the head of the Pike remaining within the flesh, he gave him with the Staff end such a blow over the Shoulders, that *Acosta* was therewith knocked down, with his Heels up in the Air: at the same time a *Neger* chanced to come in, whom I knew, called — *Guadalupe*, and gave him a cut over both the Calves of his Leggs; but the *Neger* being a weak little fellow, and the Sword as dull and as black with rust as the Matter, he rather bruised the flesh than cut it.

At length *Pizarro's* men coming to handy-blows with those of *Centeno's*, they killed them almost all: but *John de Acosta* saved both *Guadramiro* and *Guadalupe* from being killed: for he interposed himself between them and those who would have killed them, and cried out a-loud, that they deserved Quarter and also Honour and Reward: What I have said here I knew to be true; for afterwards I took acquaintance with *Guadalupe*, when he was a Musqueteer in one of the Companies belonging to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, quartered at *Coczo*, where he was gallant in his Habit, and dressed up in Feathers as gay as a Peacock, because every one respected him for his courage and bravery. And here I must beg the Reader's pardon for having defended thus far to rival particulars, having only an intention hereby to confirm the truth of my Narrative by the Testimony of having been an Eye-witness to the foregoing Transactions.

CHAP. XXI.

The number of those who were killed and wounded on both sides, with other particular Successes: as also what was acted by Carvajal after the Battel.

THE escape of *Guadramiro* was after the Battel ended, and after the Victory plainly appeared for *Gonzalo Pizarro*; for on his side were slain about a hundred men, of which seventy odd were Horsemen, and about fifteen Foot, besides those which were wounded, amongst which were Captain *Cepeda*, *John de Acosta*, and Captain *Diego Guillen*. On *Diego Centeno's* side above three hundred and fifty were killed, and amongst them their Major General, and all the Captains of Foot, with their Ensigns, being the Flower of their Army, and the choicest Men amongst them; besides which *Pedro de Los Rios*, Captain of Horse, and *Diego Alvarez*, who carried the Standard, dyed on the place. There were, besides those that were slain, three hundred and fifty wounded, of which above an hundred

and fifty dyed for want of able and experienced Chirurgeons, and of Ballams, Plasters and other Medicaments; and the extreme colds of the Countrey contributed are often very intense, by reason of the high Winds and lofty Mountains. *Gonzalo Pizarro* followed the pursuit with seven or eight lamed Horses, with which they entered the Tents of *Centeno*, rather to own and publish the Victory, than to offend the Enemy; for as *Gomara* saith, in Chapter 182. the Conquerours themselves were so ill treated, that they were not able to pursue or offend the Enemy. On one side, where this Battel was fought in that great Plain, was a long Bog or Marsh, and about thirty or forty paces broad, but so shallow as would scarce serve to cover the Fetlocks of a Horse. Before they came to this Bog, one of *Pizarro's* Souldiers called to one of *Centeno's*, whom he saw covered with blood, both he saying *Centeno's* Souldier was much troubled, because he trusted to make his escape by the goodness and strength of his Horse.

This person was *Gonzalo Silvestre*, of whom we have formerly made mention; and it was he from whom I received the Information of many of these Passages: and he told me moreover, that turning his face to the left-hand, he saw *Gonzalo Pizarro* himself as he went, and crying with a loud voice, *Jesu*, What a Victory is this! before they came to the Bog, a certain Souldier of *Pizarro's* side called *Gonzalo de Nidos*, overtook *Gonzalo Silvestre*; whom *Silvestre* had a little before taken Prisoner, and upon his asking Quarter and his Life, he gave him his liberty, without the least hurt done to him: When *Nidos* knew that *Silvestre* was his Enemy, he cried out, Kill that Traytor, Kill that Traytor: upon which *Silvestre* turned to him, and calmly said, Sir, I beseech you let me alone to dye in peace; for giving you the trouble to kill us, we cannot live many minutes without dye by my hand. *Silvestre* looking well upon him, and finding him to be the man to whom he had newly given Quarter: Good Sir, said he, be patient, and use me with the like mercy that I shewed to you. But *Nidos* roared out then louder, and cried, Thou art the Rogue: Dammé me, I am resolved for that very reason to kill thee, and tear out thy Heart, and throw it to the Dogs. *Silvestre* told me, that if this fellow had answered him in more moderate and civil terms, he should certainly have yielded to be his Prisoner; but finding him so ungrateful, rude and barbarous, he resolved to fight with him, if his Horse were able to stand against him: this discourse passed between them as they were wading over the Bog or Marsh, which was no place for a Combat; but to soon as they were over, *Silvestre* spurred up his Horse, to try his strength and mettle; and finding him throwing up his Head, snorted out some of the blood which issued from the wounds on his Nostrils on his Master's Clothes; which when *Silvestre* perceived, he rode away a gallop, seeming to fly, that he might draw the fellow farther from his Party: accordingly *Nidos* pursued him, crying out aloud, The Traytor runs, and The Coward runs: but to soon as *Silvestre* had drawn him at a convenient distance from his Companions, he returned upon him, and gave him a stroke about the middle with a rusty Rapier, which he had taken from a *Neger* in the Battel; for he had broken the two Swords which he had brought with him that day into the Field; for, as the manner was for good Souldiers, he came doubly armed, that is, with one Sword in the Scabbard by the side, and another fastened to the mel of the Saddle. *Nidos* was not wounded with the blow, but only being well affrighted, ran away to his Party, crying out, They kill me. They kill me; for Cowards are always more valiant with their Tongues than with their hands. *Gonzalo Pizarro* being an Eye-witness himself of what had passed, and of the Brave and fair terms to come in and yield, that he might do him honour, and reward him for his Gallantry and Valour. *Alonso de Herrera* hastened what he could after him, but his Horse was so wounded, that he could not put him out of his Trot, and soon afterwards he dyed of his Wounds; howsoever *Herrera* called after him to return, swearing, that if he would come back, his Master, the Governor, would do him more honour in one day, than he should receive from

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the King in all the days of his life; but *Gonzalo Silvestre* returned him no answer, but spurred up his Horse and went away. This Story I have heard from those of *Pizarro's* Party, and likewise from *Silvestre* himself, and on the report of both sides I relate it here.

Gonzalo Pizarro, in pursuance of his Victory, thought not fit to enter *Centeno's* Camp, having understood that his Souldiers were in it already, and were plundering the Tents in great heat and fury: wherefore, returning to his own Camp, he found it had also been pillaged by *Centeno's* Souldiers, at the time when they thought the Victory was theirs, and that they had taken from thence all the Horses and Mules they could seize, which were now usefull in their flight. *Francisco de Carvajal* on the other side pursued the Victory, not to kill *Spaniards*, with Clubs which two *Negroes* carried, as *Palentino* reports Chapter the eightieth, and says, that he killed above a hundred; which certainly had been a very cruel action: but it is good neither to flatter men with praise who do not deserve it, nor yet to calumniate or accuse wherein men are not guilty: the truth is, *Carvajal* killed none after the Battel, but remained satisfied with his Victory, which he had obtained solely by his own good management and industry, (as was manifest) and might be attributed to his great skill and experience in martial affairs; and therefore he might well triumph and glory, that he himself had killed a hundred men in that Battel, since the whole success of that day was effected by his extraordinary conduct. *Lopez de Gomara*, Chap. 183, reflects on the words of *Francisco de Carvajal*, and descants farther upon them, and says, that he boasted of the satisfaction and pleasure he had in killing a hundred men, amongst which one was a Friar, who said Mass: but if this report be not true, we may then lay the cruelty at the door of this Authour, and not of this great Souldier, who onely gloried in his Victory, &c. Thus far *Gomara*.

Francisco de Carvajal, having achieved so much honour and glory, cared and dealt kindly with his Enemies; for the next day after the Battel, being informed that several principal men of note, belonging to *Centeno*, and professed Servants to his Majesty, were wounded, and lay concealed in the Tents of some of his Souldiers, who out of friendship took care for their cure, he with all diligence made search after them, which all people imagined at first was with design to kill them; at length he found eight of them, one was *Martin de Arrieto a Biscayner*, a person of noble descent and valiant, of whom we have formerly made mention, and whom we shall have occasion to name hereafter; another was a Gentleman of *Salamanca*, called *John de St. Miguel*; another was a Gentleman born at *Casira*, named *Francisco Maraver*. I knew them all three, and the other five also, but I have forgot their names; all which *Carvajal* finding very much wounded, he spoke particularly to every one of them, and told them that he was troubled to see them in that condition, and desired them to take care of their recovery, to which if he could contribute, he desired them freely to command it of him, assuring them, that he would be as carefull of them as of his own Brothers; and that when they were cured he would readily grant them their freedom and liberty to depart; but if they would resolve to stay with him, he would make it his business to serve them all the days of his life. Moreover he caused Proclamation to be made thorough the whole Camp. That what Souldiers soever belonging to *Centeno* which lay wounded, should freely discover themselves and demand help for their cure, which should be admittid to them, and money, if they wanted it, and he promised to take the same care of them as he did of his Lord the Governour. This policy *Carvajal* used to allure the hearts of the Souldiers to his Party: for he was not ignorant, that benefits and cares are more prevalent than rigour and cruelties; the which he exercised towards his declared enemies standing in defiance, but was more gentle and complemental with such as he perceived inclinable to his Party.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Gonzalo Pizarro issues out Orders to bury the Dead. He dispatches Officers into divers parts. The flight of Diego Centeno; and what happened to the conquered Party.

SO soon as *Gonzalo Pizarro* returned to his Tent, he found my Father there, and desired him to lend him his Horse, *Salinillas*, until his own were cured of the slight wound which *Gonzalo Silvestre* had given him; which being granted, he mounted thereon, and taking a turn round the Field, he gave order to bury the dead, and to take care of such as were wounded; which he found for the most part stripped of their Clothes by the *Indians*, who, without regard to Friend or Foe, made all prize which came within their power: the common Souldiers were all buried together promiscuously in ten or twelve great Pits, which were made for that purpose; but the Bodies of Noblemen and Persons of Quality were carried to the Village of *Huarina* (which was near thereunto, and for which reason this Fight was called the Battel of *Huarina*) and there they interred them in a small Church built by the *Indians* themselves, in which they were taught the Articles of the Christian Faith, when things were in peace, and when the time was proper for it: and there those Bodies rested for the space of four years, until the troubles being at an end, and the Empire flourishing in peace, those Bodies were taken up and carried to the great Church of a City which the *Spaniards* had lately founded and called it the City of Peace, where they were re-buried with much Solemnity, Masses and Sacrifices, which continued for many days. The Gentlemen of *Pera* did generally contribute to the expence hereof, in regard they were all related to the dead, either by Kindred or by Friendship. *Gonzalo Pizarro* having buried the dead, and taken care of the wounded, dispatched away Officers into divers parts to provide necessaries which were wanting. *Dionysio de Bonadilla* was sent to the City of *Plate*, to bring what Silver he could get for payment of the Souldiers. *Diego de Carvajal*, surnamed the Gallant, was dispatched to the City of *Arequipa* on the same errand, and Captain *John de la Torre* was sent to *Cuzco*; all three were attended with thirty Musketeers apiece, who had commission to press what men they met, and bring them to the place where *Pizarro* lay encamped.

But now to return to *Diego Centeno* (of whom we have for some time been silent) He was sick, as Authours write of him, having been six times let blood too in the distemper of a Pleurisie; and therefore was not actually present in the Fight, but was carried about in a Chair, from whence seeing the slaughter of his men, and the loss of the day, he left his seat and mounted on his Horse, which was led near to him: and being overcome with the fear of death and the desire of life which is natural to all men, he fled away, not staying for the Bishop or any other; but onely with the company of one Priest called Father *Biscayner*, he took his way over the Deserts and Mountains, leaving the high way, the better to elude the devices and stratagems of *Carvajal*, and came at length to the City of *Los Reyes*; so that neither *Carvajal* nor any of his own side knew what was become of him, that he seemed to be vanished like an Apparition, or carried away by some strange Enchantment. And though he was informed that the President *Gasca* was in the Valley of *Sausa*, which was in his way, yet he thought not fit to go thither, but wrote a Letter to him by the Father *Biscayner*, to excuse his non-attendance, being forced to go first to the City of *Los Reyes* to provide himself with such necessaries as were requisite for his own person, and agreeable to the quality of that Office and Dignity in which he had served. And here we will leave him at *Los Reyes* to speak of *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was wandering about the Countrey in search, as Authours say, of *Don Fray John Solano*, Bishop of *Cuzco*, against whom he was highly incensed, saying, that whereas he ought to have been in the Church, praying unto God for the peace of Christians, he was turned Souldier, and was become a chief Officer in the Army of *Diego Centeno*; but being not

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found, nor known where he was, he hanged up a Brother of his called *Ximenez*, and a certain Friar who was a companion to the Bishop, and so proceeded on his march to *Arequipa*: where we will leave him also, to tell what became of those who fled from the Battel, that by the short relation we make thereof, the Reader may imagine the sad and miserable condition of those who fled from the Battel, wounded and ill treated without Victuals or Chirurgions; nor so much as a Cottage or Shed to cover themselves that night, against the excessive colds which are constant in those Defarts; which is most terrible and grievous to consider.

Gonzalo Silvestre having thus escaped out of the hands of *Gonzalo Pigarro* and his Souldiers, went directly to his Tent, where the first thing he demanded of his *Indians*, was the Budget in which they put the Instruments for shoeing their Horses; for it was the custome then, and many years after, for every *Spaniard* to be prepared to shoe his own Horse, in case he should cast a shoe on the Road, and accordingly every one carried with him, when he travelled, a Pouch or Budget containing about two hundred Nails, and four Shoes well fitted, with Hammer, and Pinchers, and Shaver to pare the Hoofs: and indeed it was necessary to go so provided, in regard there were no Smiths Forges in the way, nor in any places but where *Spaniards* inhabited, which were commonly sixty leagues distant from each other; and the ways being rugged and rocky, it was necessary for every Horse-man to go so provided: though now I am informed that in these days that convenience is found every where, and that in every Inn maintained by *Spaniards*, there is a Smith's Forge for accommodation of Travellers. However I am sure that I learned something by that ancient custome, for I knew how to shoe my Father's Horses, and to let them blood when occasion offered: for this reason *Silvestre* calling for these Instruments, and for a Scarlet Cloak dyed in Grain, which was the habit of Persons of Quality, he departed thence, leaving his *Indians* sad and melancholy, and complaining that he gave no belief to them when they fore-told this unhappy misfortune, which if he had done, they might have saved and secured all their goods. Thus left he his *Indians* without any care or provision made for them; and on the way he saw great numbers of people flying away, as well *Spaniards* as *Indians*, not knowing which way to go, but as fortune directed them. Amongst these, about a little more than a quarter of a league from the Camp, he overtook a *Spaniard* that was wounded, riding on a small Nagg; he had several wounds, but one especially on the Reins of his Back, so that he could not sit upright, but lay along with his Face on the Horses Neck: an *Indian* Woman walked by his Horses side; her left hand she laid on his wound, and in her right she had a stick to switch up the Horse; and said to her Master, pray doe what you can to get out of the hands of these Traitors and Rebels, and do not fear that I will ever leave you until I see you again safe and sound: but *Silvestre* got before him, and overtook divers others shifting for themselves as well as they could. By that time that he had got a little more than three leagues from the Camp, he left the common way, and got into a by path, where was a Hole or Pit covered with Bulshes and green Grass, which was all the Provender he could give that night to his Horse; but for himself he had neither Supper nor Bed: in this place he alighted and unbitted his Horse, who was so hungry that in a short time he left neither Grass nor Bulsh, but ate all up, which *Silvestre* was so pleased to see that the good fare his Horse found served him also in the place of a Supper. About two hours after above twenty *Spaniards*, some wounded and others found, came to the same place, with as many *Indians*, who were very serviceable to them at that time, for they lighted them up a Candle, and divided the *Alays* amongst them which they carried for their own provision. The poor wounded men knew not what to doe, sighing and groaning with the pain of their wounds; amongst them there was one man who between himself and his Horse had twenty three wounds great and small. But God provided for them in this great extremity; for as they were sitting, they espied an *Indian* carrying a Hammer made of Straw in form of a Chest, to him they went and opened the Hammer in hopes to have found provisions, but there proved to be nothing but tallow Candles, which this *Indian*, on supposition of better booty, had robbed from the Tents; for the *Spaniards* in such Hamper as those, which are very light and portable, usually carry provisions and accommodations for their Journeys. The *Indians* seeing the Candles, told their Masters that they were able to cure the wounded

wounded with the Tallow, mixed with the dung of Cattel (of which there is great store in that Countrey) which having dried and beaten to a powder; they heated it with the greafe, and made it as hot as they could well endure it, and first having probed the depth of the wounds with some Bodkins which the *Spaniards* carried with them, they poured it into them, and this served for a Balsame which not onely stench'd Blood but healed the Sores, without other remedies; violence to that Party, which in their extremity had found so sovereign a cure: presently after mid-night they began again to travel, dividing into several parties, that the Enemy might not be induced to pursue them, on the report of many gotten into a Body.

About fifteen days afterwards *Gonzalo Silvestre* met with the *Spaniard* who was wounded, with his *Indian* Woman, and found him well and sound, in a Village of *Indians*, where were about fifteen or twenty Houses; for he had carried him thither amongst her own Friends and Relations, where they cured him, and entertained him with what provisions their Countrey afforded. These passages I received particular information of from good hands, which happened in that desert Countrey: there were many other accidents of greater importance than these, of which not having had particular information I forbear to write them; and leave them to the contemplation of the Reader, who in his thoughts may imagine the miseries which followed after a cruel Battel, in a Countrey disinhabited, and in a Desert without relief. I shall now return to a description of the place where this Battel was fought, and say something of what the three Authours write concerning the exploits which were performed by *Garcilasso de la Vega* my Lord and Father.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Authour confirms the truth of what he hath said; and to satisfie those who do not believe him, he boasts of what Historians write concerning his Father.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 182. relating the Battel of *Huarina*, and giving an account of the numbers of those who were killed and wounded, saith, that *Pigarro* had been in great danger had not *Garcilasso de la Vega* lent him his Horse, &c.

Angelino de Carate, Book the seventh, Chapter the third, discoursing of this Battel, saith that the Horse seeing the rout which was given to the Foot, engaged the Enemy's Horse, and in that charge *Gonzalo Pigarro* had his Horse killed under him, without other hurt to himself, &c. *Diego Fernandez* also, Book the second, Chapter the seventh and ninth, speaking of this Battel, saith, as follows;

Pedro de los Rios and *Antonio de Ulloa* charged the Horse on the other Wing, and engaged not with the Foot, as was ordered; which they performed with such success that they dismounted the whole party of *Pigarro*, scarce ten men remaining in the Saddle; and therewith being as it were assured of Victory, they began to rifle their Enemies, make them Prisoners, and take away their Arms. In this encounter *Pigarro* himself was dismounted, which when *Garcilasso* observed, he alighted from his Horse, (for he was one of those who continued in the Saddle) and lent it to him, and helped him to get up. *Licenciado Cepeda* was one of those who had yielded and taken quarter; but *Hernando Buchicao*, giving the day for lost passed over to *Centeno's* party.

Though all these Authours agree in these particulars concerning my Father, yet I am well assured of the truth of what I have wrote; and that the Horse which *Pigarro* received from my Father was not in the heat of the Fight, but afterwards: but I do not wonder that Historians should be so informed, for I remember that some School-fellows of mine, who were born of *Indian* Women, told me the same;

fame; and that they had heard what *Diego Fernandez* relates, how that he alighted, and lent *Pizarro* his Horse, and helped him to get up. And to undeceive the World in this particular; my Father (after the Battel of *Sacshuana*) gave information before the Justice by an Officer of the Exchequer, and with the Testimony of twenty two Witnesses, all of *Ceneno's* Party, who declared, that at the time when *Pizarro* desired my Father's horse, there was not one man of *Ceneno's* Army within half a league of him; and that the Wound which *Pizarro's* horse had received was so considerable, that notwithstanding the same, he might have fought that whole day upon him if occasion had been. I have heard it also reported, that *Pizarro's* horse was cut over the hucksons or hamstringed, as *Francisco de Olloa's* horse was; but it was a false report and informati^{on}, as it was also, that the horse recovered, and yet dyed twenty two leagues distant from the place of Battel; but the truth is, the horse dyed for want of diet and good government: for though the Farrier who took care of *Pizarro's* stables, called *Me-fua*, a Native of *Guadalaxara* (with whom I was acquainted) did use to give that horse water a little warmed, and therein flower of *Mayx*: yet the Groom forgot to give that in charge to the Indian who led the horse well covered and warmly clothed against the excessive colds of that Countrey: and the Indian, not knowing the rules which the Farrier had given, suffered the horse to drink, as he was passing a brook, as much water as he pleased, with which being presently taken with a chills, he fell into a shivering, and dyed four leagues from that water.

Thus the Historians had some grounds to write what they did concerning my Father, and I had reason to give a truer information; not to excuse my Father in hopes of favour or reward, but out of affection to truth itself. As to the Offence which is objected against my Lord *Garcilasso*, I have been punished and done penance for it, though I committed not the Crime. For when I came to petition his Majesty for some reward for the services of my Father; and that in consideration thereof the Estate which came by my Mother might be restored to us, which by the extinguishment of two Lives was escheated to the King: which when I had presented before the Royal Council of the *Indies*, and made it appear how great the services of my Father had been: and that those Lords were convinced of the clearness of my pretensions; yet *Licenciado Lope Garcia de Castro* (who was afterwards made President of *Peru*) being then in the Chair, asked me, what reward I could expect the King should give me: considering that the services my Father had done for *Pizarro* at the Battel of *Huarina* were such as had given him the Victory. And when I replied, that the information was absolutely false; How, said he, can you deny that which all Writers of these matters do affirm? And therewith they excluded me from all pretensions, not onely on account of my Father's services, but of my own. And though I had many merits on my own score to alledge, yet I could not procure to be heard: for I could have related, how I had served under *Don Alonso Fernandez de Cordova* and *Francisco*, under *Marquis de Priego*, Chief of the family of *Aguilar*, under *Don Francisco de Cordova* (who is now in Heaven) and second Son to that Great *Don Martin de Cordova*, Count of *Alcantara*, Lord of *Monte-mayor*, and Captain General of *Oran*. I have also served his Majesty in quality of Captain of four several Companies; two of which were in the time of *Philip* the second of glorious memory; and the other two under his brother *Don John of Austria*, now also in Heaven, who were pleased as signals of their favours to gratifie me therewith; not that I pretend to have merited them from that Prince; but onely his Highness observing in me a readines of mind and affection to serve him, accepted my endeavours and was pleased to recommend me to his Brother. And yet notwithstanding so prevalent were the prejudices I lay under, that I durst neither revive my old pretensions nor alledge my later services: for which reasons, being cashiered the Army, I was so poor and naked in clothes, and so indebted, that I durst not return again to the Court, but retired my self into an obscure corner of solitude and poverty, where (as I declared in my Preamble to the History of *Florida*) I passed a quiet and a peaceable life, as a man loose and disengaged from the World, and the mutability, without hopes or great expectations: and indeed I have no reason for it, because the best part of my life is passed already, and for the future God will provide, as he hath hitherto done. Pardon me this impertinent digression, to which my troubles and oppressions have transported me; for it may well be allowed to me,

who

who have wrote the Lives of so many men, to relate some few passages of my own misfortunes.

But to return to what the aforesaid Authours have written concerning my Father: I must confesse that there is no reason for me to contradict the testimony of three such important Witnesses, nor is it reasonable for me to expect, that any one should yield entire credence to me who am a party in the case. For my own part, I am satisfied within my self, that I have declared nothing but the truth, and let other men judge as they please: I am sufficiently contented, that the character which they have given of my Father should pass for true: and I do much avail and value my self on the honour of being the Son of so courageous, resolute and valiant a Souldier, as he; who in the heat of a Battel so cruel and bloody as is before repeated, durst adventure (as Historians write) to alight from his Horse, and spare him for his friends; and amidst of much danger, could bear that presence of mind, as to help to set him on Horse-back. And if this action gave a turn to the fortune of the day, and obtained the Victory for *Pizarro*, certainly there have been none, or at least few of these examples in the World.

These Trophies of Honour atchieved by my Father, I gladly assume unto my self: for the desire of honour is so natural to all men, that even those who have no vertue or worthiness to boast of, yet rather than want some little glitterings of imaginary honour, will glory in that which is their shame: but some may object, and say, that my Father acted against his Majesty's service: To which I make answer, that laying that matter aside, the Action in it self was brave and merits a due honour and renown. But to return to those who fled from the Battel, amongst which the Bishop of *Cozco* was one; and he, having departed from *Ceneno* without any regard to either side, or concerning himself farther with them, returned to his Cathedral Church, but he was in too much haste to visit it, or to make any stay there. In company with him were *Alonso de Hinojosa*, *John Julia de Hueda*, with about forty other principal Citizens and Souldiers, whom I saw in that City, but yet cannot remember their Names, except those three formerly mentioned. The Bishop (as I have intimated in another place, lodged in my Father's house with about fourteen or fifteen more, and next morning early they met in the lesser Square of the City near to the Convent of our Lady of the *Mercedes*; and thence they travelled, and took the direct way to *Los Reyes*; because they understood that *John de la Torre* pursued hard after them; of whose success we shall speak in the following Chapter.

C H A P. XXIV.

The Proceedings of *John de la Torre* in *Cozco*; and what was acted by other evil Ministers in other parts.

Captain *John de la Torre* pursuing those who were fled from the Battel came to the City of *Cozco*; where he executed his Justice on *John Vasquez de Tapia*, who had been Mayor of the City for the King: he likewise hanged his Colleague or Coassessor named *Licenciado Martel*. These men lost their lives for want of due regard to themselves: for they resting confident of *Ceneno's* success against *Pizarro*, acted with great zeal in the King's service against such as were of the disaffected Party: and yet they took these matters into so little consideration, that though they saw the Bishop fly away, yet they resolved to stay by it, and not quit the City, until *John de la Torre* came, who made them pay for their error and in-cogitancy with the loss of their lives: but as to the common Souldiers he issued a Proclamation of Pardon to all those who would list themselves in his Company. Then he gathered all the Arms he could, and erected triumphal Arches, and prepared all things with magnificence and ostentation for the reception of *Pizarro*, who, as he pretended, was coming to that City, to enjoy the fruits and happy consequences of his Victory: And here he levied money for payment of the Army,

and

and sent Officers to all parts round to bring in Provisions for their support. Amongst these *Pedro de Bufinicia* (who was nobly defended and married to the Lady *Beatriz Coya*, the legitimate Daughter of *Huayna Capac*) was dispatched to the Province of *Antabuylla*, which is a Country abounding with all sorts of Provisions: on this service this Gentleman was employed as the most proper person, because that out of respect to the Lady he had married, the *Caciques* and their Subjects would with all readiness apply themselves, and bring in what Provisions he should require: but he was very unfortunate in this undertaking, for it cost him his life, and very inconsiderate to engage himself in danger which he might have excused and avoided. As we shall find in the sequel.

Diomiso de Boudilla was sent by *Pizarro* to the City of *Plate* with Instructions to bring what money he could raise out of *Pizarro's* own Estate, or out of his Brothers, together with what Tribute and Rent was due from the *Indians* to those whose Estates were confiscated for adhering to the King: and having hereby raised great sums both of Gold and Silver, he returned with all expedition to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whom he found in *Cusco*, where he was well received for the service he had done, in bringing so considerable a supply for payment of the Souldiers. *Diego de Carvajal*, surnamed *The Gallant*, was employed to *Arequipa* with the like Commission; but (as *Palemino*, Chap. 82. reports) he treated many Women of that City very ill, because their Husbands were said to be in the service of his Majesty, and in confederacy with *Diego Centeno*, plundering them of all they had, even to their wearing Garments: and it is farther said, that he and one of his comrades, called *Antonio de Viesna*, ravished two Women, who in rage, and for shame of the affront, took Mercury and poisoned themselves; imitating the example of the chaste *Luravata*, who on the like occasion destroyed herself.

But men, from such Outrages as these, deserve not the name of *Gallant*, being such abominable Villains as want words to express their Iniquity: for he that would be esteemed a *Gallant*, ought not to derive that Title from his Attire or Dress; but from his Words and Actions, which challenge an esteem and love from all men; but these men soon afterwards received the reward due to their deserts. Nor was the behaviour of *Francisco de Espinosa* less scandalous in his journey to the *Charcas*, but rather worse, if worse can be. For in his passage he robbed and plundered all he could find, which (as a certain Author says) amounted to the value of sixty thousand Ducats: and in *Arequipa* he killed two *Spaniards*, one of which had Lands and Command over *Indians*: in the City of *Plate*, he hanged a Judge and an Officer of the Court; and all four of them, for no other reason, than because they had served the King: and in his return to *Cusco* he burnt seven *Indians*, upon pretence that they had given information of his departure to certain *Spaniards* who were fled from him. All which he acted without Commission or Order from *Gonzalo Pizarro* or his Lieutenant General, but merely out of his own arbitrary Power and Lust, intending thereby to evidence his great zeal to the cause of him, who was not pleased with such service; for when he was informed of his Cruelties, he abhorred both his person and his actions; for *Pizarro* was of a mercifull nature, and did neither approve of these nor other Cruelties committed by *Carvajal* of the like nature.

But to divert the Reader awhile from the sad relations of such Barbarities; we will mention one generous action performed by a person infamous in those days: whereby it will appear that he was not altogether so wicked as Historians describe him.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the Gratitude which Francisco de Carvajal shewed in Arequipa to Miguel Cornejo, in return of those benefits and kindnesses which some years before he had done for him.

WE have now an occasion presented to declare some good actions performed by *Francisco de Carvajal* in lieu of the many bad ones which Writers flying Enemies: Upon News of his approach, not only those who fled from the Battel of *Huarina*, but likewise the Inhabitants, who were about forty in number, abandoned the City, and took the way to *Los Reyes* along the Sea-coast. So soon as *Carvajal* was entered into the City, and had received information of their flight, without stop, or stay, or repose so much as of one hour, he dispatched twenty five of his chief and choice Harquebusiers after them, commanded by an experienced Souldier; who had all been instructed in the School of an expedition in the pursuit of them, that they overtook them two days journey from *Arequipa*, and seizing upon every one of them, they brought them back a noble Gentleman, one of the first Conquerours, and an Inhabitant of that City, called *Miguel Cornejo*, who had some years before much obliged *Francisco de Carvajal* when he came first into *Pera*, before he had Lands or Estate, or had acquired any Fame, or Reputation, or Interest in that Country: the manner of it was this; *Carvajal* travelling with his Wife, *Donna Catalina Leyon*, one maid-servant and two men-servants, came to *Arequipa*, where finding no Inn nor House of entertainment to receive him, he remained in the Streets: for it is to be noted, that in those times, and many years afterwards, there were no Houses of publick entertainment in all *Pera*; nor were there any when I came from thence, in the year 1560; but Travellers were used to take up their quarters with the Inhabitants of the Country or Province; for such was the generosity of those Gentlemen in those days who had Lands and *Indians* allotted to them, that they frankly received all Strangers into their Houses, affording them entertainment not only for days and weeks, but also for months and years, and likewise furnished them with Clothes and obliging usage was the common custome and practice of that whole Country. In this condition was *Francisco de Carvajal* in that City without friend or acquaintance, or house whereunto to resort, and so remained for the space of three hours on horse-back with his whole family in a corner of the Market-place; when *Miguel Cornejo* having taken notice of him, as he was going to Church, at his return went up to him, and asked him what his business was so long there, since for above three hours he had observed him in that place? Sir, answered *Carvajal*, I have no kindred, friends or acquaintance in this Country, and there being no Inns or places of publick entertainment whereunto I might goe to be received, I am enforced to stay in this corner of the Street. To which *Miguel Cornejo* replied, Your Worship hath no need of another Inn than my House, whereunto if you please to goe, you shall find us all ready to serve you to the utmost of our power. After this he carried them to his House and entertained them untill such time as that Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro* bestowed some Lands which *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, Vice-king of Mexico, sent to the assistance of the Marquis *Pizarro*, when Prince *Manco Inca* had raised great Forces against him, as we have formerly related in its due place.

When *Francisco de Carvajal* understood that *Miguel Cornejo* was amongst the prisoners that were taken, he caused them all to be brought to his presence, and having seen *Cornejo*, he took him aside, and began very kindly to complain and chide him.

him. Is it possible, said he, that you should fantasie and imagine me to be so ungrateful as to forget the kind and charitable entertainment I received from you, some years past in this very City? or to believe, that in return thereof I should not embrace all occasions to make known my gratitude? is it possible for me to be so short of memory as not to remember how kindly you took me and my Family to your own home, (when there was no place to receive us) and entertained us there for days and months, untill such time as *Marquis Pizarro*, of glorious memory, had made other provisions for me. And having ever conferred the thoughts hereof in my mind, I carried great respect to every thing wherein you were concerned; for though I had sufficient information, that *Diego Centeno* was concealed within your possession, and though I knew the very Cave it self where he was hid, and nourished by your Indians, yet I winked at it, and took no notice thereof, that I might not give you trouble, nor bring you under a prejudice or ill notion with my Lord the Governour. I might then easily (if I had pleased) sent some File of Musketeers and have brought *Diego Centeno* to me; but for your sake I forbore to persecute him, notwithstanding the mortal enmity between us. Nor indeed did I much value him; for he who could submit to take his refuge in a Cave was not much to be feared; not doubting but whensoever he should adventure again abroad, and dare to take up Arms against my Lord the Governour, I should drive him into another Cave, as I have done since his flight from *Huarina*, where by the blessing of God, and assistance of Friends, I gained a signal Victory. And now, since for your sake I took not vengeance on an enemy whom I had within my power, how much more should I respect your person, and those whom you own for your friends and acquaintance? and to assure you of these my real intentions, I give you free leave to return unto your home, and there repose and rest with as much freedom and security as you can desire. And also you may assure all the Inhabitants of this City, and all such as were taken and brought back in your company, that for your sake they are pardoned and exempted from that punishment which their offences have deserved. And herewith he acquitted and dismissed *Miguel Cornejo*, and freed the City of the fears and apprehensions they were in for having with zeal and affection shewed themselves active in his Majesty's Service, and for the assistance they had given to *Diego Centeno*. This Story I learned, not only by common report, but from the particular relation of *Gonzalo Silvestre*, who was a professed enemy to *Francisco de Carvajal*, as he was a fast and faithfull friend to *Diego Centeno*, having adhered to him and accompanied him in all his adventures and misfortunes till the day of his death, as will appear hereafter. And on this occasion I produce this authentick Witness to confirm the truth of what I have spoke; for I pretend to flatter no man, but really and truly to lay down matters of fact according as they have passed.

Carvajal, having gathered what Arms and Horfes he could find in *Arequena*, returned to *Pizarro*, who was still on his march to *Cusco*: for by reason of the many sick and wounded in the Camp, he was forced to continue longer at *Huarina* than was intended. And here it is very observable, that those of *Pizarro's* Party who were rich took care and compassion of the wounded men belonging to *Centeno*, and dividing them amongst themselves carried them to their own Tents, where they provided for their maintenance and cure. It was my Father's lot to have twelve assigned to him, of which six dyed on the march, and six happened to live and recover. I knew two of them, one was called *Diego de Papiá*, a Gentleman of good Quality, and a person of virtue, who made many gratefull acknowledgments for the care which was taken of him. When I came for *Spain* I left him in the House of *Diego de Siliua*, who was Godfather to me at my Confirmation. The other was called *Francisco de Penna*, whose name agreed well with his nature, which signifies a Rock, and indeed so hardy was he, that though he had received three great slashes on the Crown of his Head, from the first to the last of which there was about three fingers distance; and though his Skull was so broke that the Chirurgion was forced to take out some Bones; and having no better Instruments to trepan his Head, he made use of a Smith's Pincers in this operation, yet had he the fortune and strength to recover. And this farther shewed the soundness and hardiness of his complexion, that, notwithstanding all these wounds, and the unfitness of the Instruments that he recovered without Fever, or any other accident; and yet kept no rule or regimen in his Diet, but ate whatsoever was set before him. The which indeed was very strange, and never heard or seen before; and so might well be called *Francisco Penna* rather than *de Penna*, which is *Francis Rock*, and not *Francis of the Rock*. And having said thus much, it will be now time for us to return to the President.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

How the President and his Army received the ill news of the Victory of Pizarro; and what new Orders he made.

HOW vain and short are the prosperities and successes of this life may appear by what happened in the Valley of *Sausa*, where we left the President and his Army full of joy and contentment upon the good news which *Francisco Pello* lately brought concerning the flourishing condition of *Centeno's* Army, which was much superiour to *Pizarro's* both in Men, Arms and Horfe. In confidence of which the President, and those who were of his Council, resolved to raise no more men, but to disband the Army which they had already formed, and dismiss the Souldiers who were come from such distant Countries and Provinces; for that expectation of an Enemy already presumed to be overcome and defeated. And this course was so far resolved, that (as *Augustine Carate* saith in the fourth Chapter of his seventh Book) the Army was just upon the point of being disbanded; the which he expresses in these words: At this time came intelligence to the President of the Defeat given to *Diego Centeno*, which he took much to heart, though he expressed not so much publicly, but seemed to carry it outwardly without much concernment: all which happened so contrary to the common expectation of the Army, that many of the Officers were of opinion, that the President had no need to raise an Army, for that *Diego Centeno* had a sufficient force to overthrow *Pizarro*, &c. Thus far *Carate*.

But as it was the good fortune of the President, so it was the misfortune of his Enemies that this determination was not put in execution; nor was it so much as known that this matter was ever deliberated or designed to be made publick; for if the Army had been disbanded, it had certainly been very difficult to have raised another of the like nature, or so well provided with Men and Ammunition as this was. As matters were in this agitation the Bishop of *Cusco* arrived at *Sausa*, with the ill news of the Rout and Defeat of *Diego Centeno*, of all which he having been an eye-witness was best able to give a relation. The President, and other Inhabitants of that Countrey, who had Baronies and commands over the Indians, were greatly surprised and troubled at the news; finding that the heat of War, which they considered lately as extinguished, was now again inflamed, with such advantage to the Enemy, that their cause seemed almost desperate, and the Rebels in a state not to be reduced. Howsoever the Captains and Souldiers, who live by War, were not in the least disturbed at this news; for War is their livelihood and trade, from whence they derive their Honours and Estates, and especially in the Empire of *Peru*, where the reward of Souldiers and Adventurers is Command, and division of Lands, and a Barony over Indians. The President being desirous to hold up the hearts of his people, which he found drooping, put the best countenance he could upon the matter, and made them a short Speech in this manner: That Successes of this nature were usual and common over all the world, and were incident to War; and that these things were intended for the good of God's People, who were to give thanks to his Divine Majesty for having granted to *Pizarro* a Victory, with intent to bring greater mischiefs on his head, and that having filled up the measure of his iniquity, his ruine and downfall would be the greater. And to obtain this great blessing, he advised every Officer to be vigilant and diligent in his station, and to order and dispose all things in such a method and readiness as might enable them to contend with such an Enemy. He added farther, that there was no need for him to move and incite Cavaliers so well experienced in War as they were to actions of bravery and to martial exploits; for that he was to follow their example, and take their counsel and advice in matters of greatest importance: In fine, he told them, that he was well assured that they would direct every thing in the best manner to the Service of his Majesty, who would gratifie their fidelity with rewards agreeable to their merits, and make them Lords of that whole Empire.

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Having ended this Discourse, he ordered the Marechal *Alonso de Alvarado* to go to *Rimac*, to bring thence the Forces which remained there, as also the Guns from the Ships, and other Ammunition, which came from *Spain*, together with what Money, Arms and Horses, and other provisions for War which he could find at that place. He farther ordered, that all Artificers and other Workmen should act and labour with all diligence in their several employments; namely in making Musquets and Fire-arms, Gun-powder, Bullets, Pikes, Helmets, Croflets, &c. all which the *Indians* made of Copper with great ingenuity; and the Artificers applied themselves thereunto with great alacrity and Art, being chief Masters and excellent Workmen in their respective Trades. Likewise Captain *Alonso Mercadillo* was dispatched away to *Huamanga*, and after him *Martin Lope Lusitano* with fifty men to seize the passage towards *Cuzco*, and succour such of *Centeno's* men who were wandering and dispersed in those parts. And here we shall leave the President in his preparations to speak of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whom we left in the field of *Huarina*, where that famous Battel happened.

C H A P. XXVII.

Licenciado Cepeda and others advise Pizarro to make an Agreement and Peace with the President. His Answer thereunto. The death of Hernando Bachicao. Pizarro makes his entry into Cuzco.

Gonzalo Pizarro, having performed the last office to the dead, he resolved to march towards *Cuzco*, but he was forced to defer it for several days by reason of the wounded men, who were not in a condition to travel; and at length they marched very easie and short Journeys: whilst they were thus on their way *Licenciado Cepeda* put *Pizarro* in mind of a promise he had made him some days past, to enter into a Treaty with the President *Gasca* whensoever any seasonable and convenient opportunity should happen, which might induce the President to admit of some fair and moderate terms: of this opinion with *Cepeda* there being divers others, the matter was debated at a general Council of Officers, who for the greatest part were inclinable to peace and accommodation, and urged *Pizarro* so earnestly thereunto, that he became very angry and displeased with their importunities; as is confirmed by *Gomara*, Chap. 183. in these words: In *Pucaran* some hard words passed between *Pizarro* and *Cepeda* touching a Treaty with *Gasca*; for *Cepeda* urged that it was very seasonable to enter into Articles, and put him in mind of his promise given him at *Arequipa*: but *Pizarro* being carried away with the opinion of others and the air of his late fortune, denied that the time was convenient, for that propositions for peace would argue weakness and fear, which would cause many to leave their Colours and fly to the Enemy, and discourage those Friends who were then actually with *Gasca*: of those who were of the opinion of *Cepeda*, *Garcilasso de Vega* was one. Thus far *Gomara*. But *Pizarro* rejected this Council which was good and wholesome, and took that which was given him by young and rash men, such as *John de Acosta*, *Hernando Bachicao*, *John de la Torre*, and others, who being puffed up with their late success at the Battel of *Huarina*, thought themselves invincible, and would hearken to no Proposals or Articles less than an entire surrender to them of the whole Empire of *Peru*. Two days after this Consultation, the Lieutenant-General *Francisco de Carvajal* returned from his Journey to *Arequipa*; and two days afterwards he hanged up *Hernando Bachicao*, for having at the Battel of *Huarina* passed over to the Enemy's side. And though *Carvajal* was not ignorant of this fact on the same day when it was done, yet he deferred this punishment until a fitter season, not thinking it fit to interrupt the joy of that signal Victory by the sadness which the death of so ancient a Captain, and so zealous for the cause, as was *Hernando Bachicao* would cause. At length,

length, after a long Journey, caused by short marches for the sake of those who were wounded, *Pizarro* and his Souldiers arrived at *Cuzco*.

Captain *John de la Torre* had prepared to make for him a solemn entry under triumphal Arches which he had erected over the Streets, and adorned them with Flowers of various colours after the *Indian* manner in the times of their *Incas*. The first that led the way were the Infantry with their Banners displayed, marching three by three in a Rank, every Captain at the head of his Company; then followed the Horse in the like order; after which, and that the Souldiers were lodged in their quarters, followed *Pizarro* himself attended only by his own Servants and the Inhabitants who accompanied him; for he thought it not convenient to be introduced by his Souldiers, lest it should seem as if he gloried in an entire Victory over his Enemies, and made a Triumph before Conquest. As he entered, all the Bells of the Cathedral and Convents were rang out, and the *Indians* of the City, being drawn up in the Streets and publick places of the City, gave loud acclamations as he passed, calling him *Inca*, and giving him those other titles of Majesty which they used to bestow on their own natural Kings in days of triumph, the which was performed by order and direction of *John de la Torre*. The Trumpets also sounded, with Violins and other Instruments of Musick in which *Pizarro* much delighted, and had excellent good of that kind. The first place he entered was the Church of our Lady of the *Merced*, where he adored the most Holy Sacrament, and the Image of the Virgin his Mother and our Lady. From thence he walked on foot to his Lodging, which was provided for him at the House of one of his chief Officers called *Alonso de Toro*, which is situate over against the Convent of the *Merced*. I my self accompanied them into the City, having gone out the day before to meet my Father as far as *Quispicancha* being three leagues distant from *Cuzco*; part of the way I walked on foot, and I was carried part of it by two *Indians*, who by turns took me on their Shoulders: but at my return a person leading a Horse gave me leave to ride, so that I saw every thing which I have here related, and such particular observations did I take thereof, that I could assign the very Houses and Chambers, where every Captain was quartered, for I knew them all; and though it be sixty years ago since that time yet I remember the very places and Houses where they lodged; for we conserve things better in our memory which we saw in our youth than what we have observed in our ripper years. *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Souldiers being thus entered into *Cuzco*, *Francisco de Carvajal* attended to give out necessary Orders, and make such provisions as were requisite to carry the War forwards: he repaired the Arms which were broken, or become defective in the late Battel of *Huarina*, he caused Powder and Bullets to be made, and new fixed such Arms as were not used, and omitted nothing in order to carry on the War. Of Arms he had great stores; for he had gathered all those which *Centeno's* Souldiers had left in the Field, and those which belonged to the men slain on both sides, and of those who had been deserters; all which he repaired and re-fixed with great care and curiosity: and of all sorts of offensive Arms he most esteemed of Fire-arms, saying that the Gentiles had wisely armed their God *Jupiter* with Thunder and Lightning, which was an Engin that killed at a distance as well as near. He caused also Pikes to be made, and though they had no Ash in that Countrey out of which to frame them, yet they had another sort of Wood, as strong and proper as that; He also provided great quantities of Cotten for making Matches; and, in fine, he omitted not the least matter which might be requisite or usefull in its time and season: in all which matters he applied himself with that diligence, that he was never idle, and seemed not to allow himself time either to eat or drink.

His custome was always to ride upon a Mule of a pyed colour, I never saw him on any other Beast during the time he continued at *Cuzco*, and before the Battel of *Sacsabambana*; so earnest was he at his work, that day and night, whensoever he was met by his Souldiers, they always found him employed: And because he knew that they would murmur to see him so busie, he would always, when he passed by them, with his Hat in his hand, salute them, and instead of saying, I kiss your hands, he would say, *What you can perform to day defer not till to morrow*, and this saying he constantly had in his mouth. And when they asked him what time he took to eat? and what time to sleep? he would make answer, *That those who had a mind to work had time for every thing*. Amongst all these exercises and contrivances, *Carvajal* could not conceal his own fierce nature, which shewed it self

self it self in a piece of cruelty acted at *Cosco*, upon a noble Lady belonging to *Arequipa*, whom he strangled in *Cosco*: for she, like a Woman, after the Battel of *Huarina*, vented many opprobrious speeches against *Pizarro*; saying, that the time would come when his tyrannies would have their end, like those of more powerful Governments, such as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, which were all brought to destruction: and so violently would she express her self without any discretion, fear or wit, that *Carvajal* caused her to be strangled, and afterwards hanged out at a Window looking to the Street.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The Imprisonment and Death of Pedro de Bustincia. Captains are chosen and made by the President. Of his departure from Sausa and arrival at Antahuaylla.

IN revenge of this murder it seems as if God had suffered another of the like nature to be committed about that time in the Royal Army, that so *Francisco de Carvajal* might not have caused without some cross accident to please himself in so detestable an action as the murder of a simple Woman: *Gonzalo Pizarro* was greatly troubled at it, and expressed his resentments of it in secret to certain Friends, though he did not make known so much of his mind to *Carvajal*, who was well acquainted with the tender heart of *Pizarro*, and knew that he would have prevented him in the execution of his ill design, in case he had been acquainted with his intended cruelty; and for that reason he privately strangled her in his Chamber, and afterwards hanged her out at the Window. Now in return of this murder another followed by the death of *Pedro Bustincia*, who being sent to make provisions for the Army in *Antahuaylla* and the parts thereabouts, as hath been mentioned before; *Aloño Mercadillo* and *Lope Martin*, who were two Captains of the contrary party, and sent upon the same design, having notice thereof, resolved to beat up *Bustincia's* Quarters in the night, and take him, if it were possible, by whom they might be certainly informed of the condition and state of the Enemy. *Lope Martin* so well managed his business, that though he was inferior in number to *Pedro Bustincia*, yet he so surprised him in the night, that he took him prisoner: to which action twelve of *Centeno's* Souldiers contributed very much; for though they promised to joyn with *Pizarro* yet their hearts failed them when they came to fight in his cause, for they being pleased with any ill success which could befall him, made no resistance; so that *Lope Martin* took *Bustincia* and all his men, of which they killed three; one of which being of *Pizarro's* Souldiers to shew himself more brave than the rest, dyed in the conflict, though there was very little or no opposition; the other two, who were *Levanites*, (or people of the Eastern Countries, called the *Levams*) availing themselves much on their bravery, boasted that they had killed ten men at the Battel of *Huarina*, by which vain words they brought death upon themselves; for it was believed that they were not men of such gallantry, but some of those who had been taken lately or wounded. *Lope Martin* set the twelve Souldiers of *Centeno* at liberty, but *Pizarro's* men with *Bustincia* he carried away prisoners, being greatly pleased and proud of so good a prize. The President received *Martin* very kindly, and by means of *Centeno's* men he became informed of the true state and condition of *Pizarro's* Army, as far as he could desire to know. *Pedro de Bustincia* was not contented quietly to remain a prisoner in the hands of the President, but he must needs be talking, thinking it a piece of gallantry amidst his Enemies, to praise the great actions and exploits of *Pizarro*, and extoll them to the skies; which he so boldly affected that he incurred the same fate with *Donna Maria Calderon*; as before mentioned; for as there was the same similitude in their indiscreet and passionate words, so it was thought fit that they should be equalled in the punishment, and accordingly he was strangled, and his Body publicly exposed.

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Pedro de la Gafca, President of his Imperial Majesty, having summoned all the Captains and Souldiers who were in *Quinu*, *Cassamarca*, *Rimac* and other parts; and who accordingly appeared at the Rendezvous, and having ordered the Mareschal *Aloño de Alvarado* (as we have hinted before) to goe to the City of *Los Reyes* to raise Men and to provide Horfe and Arms and Money and Spanish Cloth for the use of the Army, and to bring the Guns from the Ships; all which being accomplished, and sufficient Ammunition and Victuals provided; it was determined that the Camp should remove from *Sausa* to meet *Gonzalo Pizarro*; and Officers were appointed for better Government of the Army; as the three Historians agree, and particularly *Carate* in the fourth Chapter of his seventh Book hath these words.

The Camp was ordered, faith he, in this manner: *Pedro Aloño de Hinojosa* continued in the Office of General, as was agreed when he first surrendered up the Fleet at *Panama*. The Mareschal *Aloño de Alvarado* was made Lieutenant General, *Licenciado Benito de Carvajal*, Standard Bearer General, and *Pedro de Villa-vicencia* was made Sergeant Major. The Captains of Horfe were *Don Pedro Cabrera*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *John de Saavedra*, *Diego de Mora*, *Francisco Hernandez*, *Rodrigo de Salazar* and *Aloño de Mendoza*. Captains of Foot were *Don Baltasar de Castilla*, *Pablo de Menejes*, *Hernando Mexia de Guzman*, *John Aloño Palomino*, *Gomez de Solís*, *Francisco Mosquera*, *Don Hernando de Cardenas*, *Admiral Andagoya*, *Francisco de Olmos*, *Gomez Darias*, *Captain Parcel*, *Captain Pardavel* and *Captain Serna*. Captain *Gravriel de Rojas* was made Master of the Ordnance. In company with the President were the Arch-bishop of *Los Reyes*, the Bishops of *Cosco* and *Quinu*, and Father *Thomas de San Martin*, Provincial of *St. Dominick's* Order, with many other Friars and Priests. At the last Muster there were listed seven hundred Musqueteers, five hundred Pike-men and four hundred Horsemen: the which number increased to a thousand nine hundred by that time that they arrived at *Xaquixaguana*: and so the Camp removed from *Xauxa* on the twenty ninth of December, in the year 1547. and marched in good order towards the City of *Cosco*, and endeavoured to find some shallow place, where they might with the least danger ford over the River of *Avanagay*. Thus far *Augustine Carate*: so that besides the four principal Officers, viz. the General, Lieutenant General, Standard-bearer and Sergeant Major; there were seven Captains of Horfe, and thirteen of Foot, besides the Master of the Ordnance, who were all Noble, and persons of Quality (most of which I knew) and with these Officers and Forces the President removed his Camp from *Sausa*, to find the Enemy, and came to *Huamanga*, where being great want of Provisions, they were forced to proceed forward in all haste to the Province of *Antahuaylla* with intention to winter there; being a Countrey (as we have said before) abounding with all sorts of Provisions. At this place the President with his whole Army made some stay in expectation of the coming of the Mareschal *Aloño de Alvarado*, who brought new Recruits commanded by their own Captains, and were (as *Augustine Carate* reports) about three hundred men, of whom we shall speak more in the following Chapter.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of the Captains and principal Men of Quality, and Souldiers who came to Antahuaylla to serve his Majesty. And the great joy there was at their Arrival.

THE President quartered his Army in *Antahuaylla* for above the space of three months; during which time the People flocked in to him from all parts: amongst them was *Aloño de Mendoza*, who escaped from the Battel of *Huarina* (whom we forgot to mention in the due place) and was preferred to the Command of Captain of Horfe. About a month and a half after, the President entered into *Antahuaylla*, the Mareschal *Aloño de Alvarado* came thither with a hundred

dred Souldiers, bringing the Cannon with him, with part of the Money, Arms and *Spanish* Cloths: the remainder he left behind; and was afterwards brought by the Accountant *John de Carveres*, by which the necessities of the Souldiers were abundantly supplied. In like manner the *Licenciado Pedro Ramirez*, Judge of the Court at *Nicaragua*, came thither with about twelve Horsemen in his company, having left about a hundred and twenty Foot-souldiers on their march thither, who came in about eight days after. The Admiral *Belalcázar* came in thither also with about twenty Horse in his Company, having travelled four hundred leagues. Captain *Diego Centeno* brought in thirty Horse of those who had escaped from the Battel of *Huarina* and met together on the road, one of which was his dear Companion *Gonzalo Silvestre*, and Partner in all his misfortunes: Besides those here named were many other Souldiers of less note and fame, who in all made up a Body of three hundred men. The President rejoiced much to see his Army so much increased, and courageous, and to consist of men who came from far Countries to serve his Majesty; and particularly he was pleased to see *Diego Centeno* who was a person of loyal Principles, and endued with excellent parts both of body and mind, for he was much a Gentleman, and a most comely Person.

The last who came to the Army was *Pedro de Valdivia*, Governour of *Chile*, with about eight men on Horse-back: In praise of whom *Valentino* hath spoken very fine things. And *Carate*, in the fifth Chapter of his seventh Book useth these words:

The President having removed his Camp from the Valley of *Sauzay*, *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was Governour in the Province of *Chile* came in to his assistance. This *Valdivia* came by Sea to *Los Reyes*, with intention to furnish himself there with men and ammunition, cloathing and other necessaries for the total subjection of that Country: but being landed there, and understanding the state of the troubles then in transaction; both he and his men resolved to employ themselves in this War; and accordingly, with great quantities of Money which they brought with them, they took the direct way towards the President, to whom the person of *Valdivia* was of great use and reputation: for though many rich Men and other principal Captains had followed the President before *Valdivia* appeared, yet no person was esteemed so experienced in War as he; and whose Art and Skillfulness in Military discipline might be opposed to the Strategems and Contrivances of *Francisco de Carvajal*, to whose Government and Industry *Gonzalo Pizarro* had been beholding for many of his Successes, and more particularly in the late Battel of *Huarina* against *Diego Centeno*: so that the President's whole Army was affrighted and remained in apprehension of this person, untill they recovered their spirits and courage by the coming of *Valdivia*. Thus far *Augustine de Carate*: who after he had praised *Pedro de Valdivia* very much, he extols *Francisco de Carvajal* much more, and with very good reason, for certainly he was far the best Souldier of any that was come into the new World. *Diego Fernandez*, the Historian having confirmed what is before related of *Pedro de Valdivia*, adds farther in his second Book, Chap. 35. as follows *verbatim*. And in regard some curious Reader may desire to know the cause and reasons which might move *Pedro de Valdivia* to undertake this voyage, I shall, for better understanding of this History, deliver the causes and reasons which might excite him thereunto.

The Governour *Pedro de Valdivia* being in his Provinces of *Chile*, received intelligence, that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was in Arms against his Majesty. And some say that Letters and Correspondences passed between them, which if so, 'tis certain *Valdivia* concealed them, as if no such thing had ever been. His chief business was to borrow Gold of those men, whom he knew to be monied men; upon pretence that he might therewith send *Francisco de Villagra* to *Pern* to raise men, to make an entire Conquest of that Country; but notwithstanding all his importunities, he could not find a man who would lend him a farthing. Whereupon *Pedro de Valdivia* summoned them all together, and told them, that since they resolved not to lend him the Gold he would borrow of them; he gave free licence to as many as pleased to go to *Pern*; where shewing the quantities of Gold they brought with them, it would bring their Country into reputation, and be a means to invite people to come and plant there. Hereupon many prepared for the voyage, and intended to embark in the Port of *Valparaiso* (which is about ten leagues distant from the City of *Santiago*) and with them *Francisco de Villagra* was to goe also, being

ing the person designed to bring people from *Pern*: *Valdivia* remained in the City of *Santiago*: And when all people were in a readiness and prepared for their Voyage, he came privately out in the night, just at the time when all people were embarked, and were at the mouth of the harbour, *Pedro de Valdivia* over-taking them there, caused great store of Meat to be dressed, and invited them all aboard to dinner to the number of about twenty persons; all which came willingly to receive the favour of his invitation: so soon as the dinner was done, and the table taken away, he earnestly recommended *Francisco de Villagra* to them (whom he esteemed as his own Son) and desired them, that since he went with them on the same design, to bring people to inhabit and increase their Country; they would lend *Villagra* some Gold in case his occasions should require it, the which every one promised to doe with great readiness. After which *Valdivia* walked out of the Harbour where they fate, and as if he intended to look towards the Sea; he on a sudden leaped into a Boat, and rowed aboard a Ship, where he seized on all the Gold which imported above eighty thousand pieces of eight; howsoever he noted the quantity and passed to every man's credit the sums which concerned him. The persons he took with him for his companions were *Jerónimo de Alderete*, *Gaspard de Villarreal*, *John de Cepeda*, Captain *Jofre*, *Lewis de Toledo*, *Don Antonio Beltran*, *Diego Garcia de Carveres*, *Vincencio de Monte*, and *Diego Oro* his Secretary: Before whom he declared that he went to serve his Majesty against the Rebels under the command of *Pizarro*. And leaving those aboard to whom the Gold belonged, he appointed *Francisco de Villagra* to be his deputy Governour, and therewith immediately set sail. Being arrived in *Pern*, they received intelligence that the President was on his march towards *Coroco*; whereupon they made the best of their way to *Lima*; where having supplied themselves with all things necessary, they went to *Andaguayas*, where they understood that all the Army was quartered and remained untill the rains were past; and the Summer season entred, which was fit for action. Thus far *Diego Fernandez Palentino*, who wrote this particular Act agreeable to the many Tricks which are now practised in the World; and to which the Devil gives colour and reputation under the guise and appearance of Reason of State.

The coming of *Pedro de Valdivia* with the Captains and Souldiers with him; who were persons of Noble Families, did much encourage and give life to the Souldiers of *Centeno*, whose spirits were become low and drooping by reason of the late Defeat; so that there was great joy and triumph over the whole Camp, which they testified by their sports of Running at the Ring and other Pastimes of that kind. But Sports and Mirth have the same operation as Musick hath on the spirits of men, for those who are merry, it rejoices; and those that are sad, it makes more melancholy. The President with all his Army made his Winter quarters in *Amahuysla*; the Winter was very severe by reason of the continual Rains which rotted the Tents; and the common Souldiers by reason of their bad lodging, and unaccustomed to the climate, fell sick and infirm; but such was the care of the President, that he provided an Hospital for them; the chief Chirurgion and Physician of which being Father *Francisco de la Rocha*, born at *Badajoz*, a Friar of the Order of the Holy Trinity, very few died or miscarried.

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C H A P. XX.

The Army leaves Antahuaylla, and passes the River Aman-cay. The difficulties they found in passing the River of Apurimac, over which they design to make four Bridges. Carvajal's Counsel is rejected by Gonzalo Pizarro.

THE extremity of the Winter season being past, the President resolved to leave *Antahuaylla*, and goe in quest of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who was in *Cusco*; and accordingly he marched with his Army to the River of *Aman-cay*, which the Spaniards call *Avancay*, and is about twenty leagues distant from that City. When they came thither, they found that the Bridge had been burnt, for (as we have said before) all the Bridges of that Country were made of Twists of Osiers; whereupon they determined to repair it again, which was easily effected, the River being narrow, and some of the old work remaining: having passed this River the most difficult task was how to pass the River of *Apurimac*: it seemed impossible for them to go over by the Banks of the high Road, because the channel is there very broad; it was yet more narrow at the place where the Posts were fixed on each side, and yet from the one to the other 'tis above two hundred paces wide: besides which there was a greater difficulty to overcome, and that was in case they took that way, they were to travel over a desolate and an unpeopled Country where few Indians inhabited, and those so very poor, that they had scarce Bread or Provisions to sustain themselves. At length they resolved to pass the Army over one of the three Bridges, which they intended to make over the River above, where the channel is contracted by the mountains on each side. One of these places was called *Cotapampa*, the other, which is higher, *Huacabaca*, and the uppermost *Accha*. And though the access to any of these places by reason of the high and craggy Mountains seems impossible for an Army, and for any so conceive who hath not seen them; yet they resolved to overcome the difficulties by reason that there was no other way besides that. And to arouse the Enemy, they seemed as if they intended to make four Bridges, at four several places; and to make them believe so, they caused about fifteen or twenty loads of Osiers to be carried to every of the four places; whereas to make one of those Bridges, at least four thousand loads of Osiers and Ropes are required, besides great quantities of Ropes and Cables, all which were provided at the charge and pains of the poor Indians. The places where these Bridges were to be formed were to be surveyed by some particular persons, whose care it was to provide materials for the same; as *Valentino* confirms, Chap. 36. *Pedro Alonzo Carasco* was appointed to goe to the place near the common road, *Lorenzo Martin* to *Cotapampa*, *Don Pedro Puerto Carrero* and *Thomas Vasquez* to *Accha*, *Antonio de Quimenez* and *John Julio de Hojeda* to *Guaacachaca*. I was acquainted with all these Gentlemen, when they lived at *Cusco*, and four of them were of the first Conquerors: And having surveyed all these four places, they concluded that the most easie passage might be made at *Cotapampa*; which they put in execution with great secrecy, that the report thereof might not come to the knowledge of the Enemy. The persons applied themselves to their respective stations, as was ordered; and in the mean time the President marched his Army with invincible difficulty over craggy Rocks and Mountains covered with Snow; which, as divers Authors report, is so white and glittering, that with looking thereupon many people lose their sight; though it is probable, as we have said in another place, that the whiteness thereof dazes the eyes, and the force of the object weakens the optick nerve, which may so continue for three or four days, and not longer. And here we shall leave them for some time, labouring under the great difficulties of their march, to relate the Contrivances of *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was solicitous to sustain and augment the greatness of *Pizarro*. Soon after the President had removed his Camp from *Antahuaylla*, and was on his march towards *Cusco*, *Gonzalo Pizarro* received intelligence thereof; for from time

* To which the Bridge of Osiers was fastened.

to time he had advices of whatsoever was acted in the Enemies Camp: In the time of War, Indians were not persons to keep a Secret, for they served for Spies on both sides; because being doubtful to which the Victory would incline, they endeavoured to gratifie both parties; that so the Conquerour might not return them ill for the good Offices they had done him. And though we have in another place touched on the Treachery of the Indians in this particular, yet here more especially we are concerned again to repeat it, because the Secret which the President on this occasion committed as well to the Indians as to the Spaniards was (according to the opinion of Historians) of high concernment. And though *Gonzalo Pizarro* received certain intelligence that the President was marching towards him, and was ignorant of none of his proceedings, yet he thought not fit to obstruct him in his march or defend the difficult passes (of which there were very many) but only to keep his own ground, and expect the coming of *Gasca* for having been flushed with many Victories, he did not doubt of the constant success of fortune. On the other side *Francisco de Carvajal*, who day and night applied his thoughts to military Affairs, that he might promote *Pizarro* to the Government of that Empire, observing in him a strange negligence of his Affairs, and without other Counsels than only to give the Enemy battle; he went to him, and desired his consideration of some matters which he had to impart to him. Sir, said he, considering the late Successes, and the present state of your Affairs, and the dubious fortune of War, I would not advise you to hazard your whole stake on the uncertainties of a Battle, but rather endeavour to avoid fighting, and prolong the War until such time as some happy conjuncture happens to secure your Affairs. To which end I will lay before you what may be said concerning the state of both Armies, that so I may acquit my self in all points relating unto your self, and to that cause in which we are so deeply engaged.

Now, Sir, in order to obtain victory over your Enemies, it is in the first place necessary for you to abandon this City and leave it wholly dispeopled; the Mills must be broken down, all Provisions taken away, the Inhabitants forced to take refuge in other places, and all their Goods, and what else is not portable or to be carried with them, consumed and burnt; so that there may remain nothing which may be of use and relief for the Enemy. There are two thousand men marching against us, half of which are Seamen and a sort of raw Souldiers who are almost naked, without Hose or Shoes to their Feet, and half starved; and live only in hope of coming to this City, where they may satiate their hunger, and be clothed: in which when they shall find themselves disappointed, and nothing but misery and desolation, they will be totally discouraged, and the President will be forced to disband them, having no possibility to support and sustain them.

In the next place I would have all *Cuzco's* Souldiers dismist; for knowing themselves to be a conquered people, they can never be good friends: You have at least five hundred men, who since the Battle of *Huarina* are come in to you, to partake of the benefits of your Victory, all which are choice men, who will never leave you, or forsake their Colours in the greatest extremities. I would have two parties of Musketeers, of fifty men each, detached from the main Body, and sent to the right-hand of the way, and to the left; with orders to march twenty or thirty leagues distant from the Army, and to seize all Cattle and other Provisions they can meet; and bring them to us, and what cannot be carried with them, to burn and destroy, that nothing thereof may remain for subsistence of the Enemy. In this manner your Camp will be supplied and fed with Kids and Sheep and other Provisions of the Country, and with whatsoever the fresh Provinces, through which we are to pass, do afford: whilst the Enemy pursuing us with two thousand men, half of which are useless, will find themselves in great wants and necessities; and then the other half, which are Souldiers and men experienced in War, will be starved for want of Provisions, which they must be forced to fetch from parts above a hundred leagues distant from them; for all the Victuals which the Countreys afforded through which they passed are already consumed, and they must daily leave those parts at a farther distance in case they pursue after us.

But indeed such a pursuit with a thousand men will be almost impossible, so that they must be constrained to divide their Forces into two bodies; against any one of which singly your men will have the advantage. And in case you shall be willing to decline fighting, you may march from one Province to another, and

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protract the War, and so tyre the Enemy, as to force them to yield to you, or else to grant you such advantageous terms as you shall require.

But *Gonzalo Pizarro* rejected this Counsel, as in no manner agreeable to his honour; for that it argued cowardice to fly from the Enemy; and that a retreat of this nature would cast a blemish and shadow upon the lustre and glory of all the brave actions he had performed. To which *Carvajal* replied, that this was not to lose Honour but to improve that which was already acquired; for it was the part of great Captains and men experienced in War, to know how to protract it, and with military Stratagems to weaken and destroy an Enemy, without adventuring on the hazards of a Battle, which is so doubtful, that neither Party can upon the greatest advantages remain assured of Victory: hereof many instances might be produced in the World; but we shall need no other than that of the Battle of *Huarina*; of Victory in which, the Enemy remained so confident, that we are informed, they gave order to their Servants to provide a double allowance of meat at their tables, for entertainment of such prisoners as they should take in the Fight. And, Sir, consider farther, that this Victory was a particular mercy and favour of God Almighty towards you, and was not obtained by force of Arms or humane Policy; nor is it reason to tempt God again or expect the like miracles from him. To which *Pizarro* replied, that he knew not how to turn his back upon his Enemy, and therefore resolved to live in hope, and make trial once more of his fortune: having great confidence, that he who had given him so many Victories, would not leave him at last, or suffer him to be overcome. Thus ended the Discourse, without approbation by *Pizarro*. *Palentino* in Chap. 88. relates part thereof, and that *Carvajal* concluded, saying, Sir, be pleased to do, as I advise you; and as for *Centeno's* men, dismiss them all, for being conquered men, they will never be true friends; for if you resolve upon a Retreat, you will be better without them.

All these particulars are wrote by *Diego Fernandez*, and agree very well with the Genius of *Francisco de Carvajal*, who was a man of great parts and abilities, though never sufficiently known or fathomed by his own people, nor yet by strangers. Now if we would know the true ground and cause why *Pizarro* did not approve of this nor other Counsels which were given him by *Carvajal*; no other reason can be assigned than that from the very day that a Consultation was held at *Las Reyes*, whether the President *Gasca* was to be received or not, and that *Carvajal* was of opinion that the terms were good which were offered, and that they should enter into a Treaty, and examine the Power and Instructions which *Gasca* brought: from that very time he lost his Credit with *Pizarro*, who ever afterwards suspected the reality of all the Counsels he proposed, which did not exactly square with his own advice and reason; and indeed *Pizarro* was of an humour not to admit of any advice but what proceeded from himself, affecting always to have the reputation of a Governour and Manager of all affairs. And as it is natural for mankind to hate and detest a Partner in Government and Rule; so did *Pizarro* more easily admit of a prejudice against *Carvajal*; which though grounded on a false imagination, yet so deeply did it take place with him, and possess his fancy; that all the future Services which *Carvajal* performed and the Miracles he acted at the Battle of *Huarina* could not avail to root out that suspicion he had conceived of him. And indeed this proved fatal to *Carvajal*, for those who are acquainted with these Secrets attribute his more speedy destruction and downfall to this Jealousie and Suspicion which he had conceived against *Carvajal*.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXI.

Lope Martin lays three Strannes of the Bridge over the River. The Spies of *Gonzalo Pizarro* cut two of them off. The great disturbance which this occasioned in the Royal Camp. *Carvajal* gives order to *John de Acosta* to defend the pass of the River.

THE Gentlemen before mentioned, to whose care it was committed to make the Bridges, had provided all the materials required thereunto. *Lope Martin* in a day's time, laid the first three Strannes on the Waters, which are the foundation of the Bridge; though he had received orders not to lay any until the coming of the President.

Howsoever *Martin*, to shew his diligence and to anticipate a day, adventured to lay them, which proved a matter of great trouble and inconvenience to the President, Officers, and to the whole Army: for the Spies of *Pizarro*, being three Spaniards and eight Indians, tracing along the banks of the River, perceived the three Strannes which were cast over to their side, and the little care there was to defend them, adventured the night following to cut them with hatchets and to set them on fire; and proceeded so far in their design, that they cut two of them before the guards could come from the other side: but what they most apprehended, was, that the Enemy would hereby receive intelligence of their design; and before they could pass the Army over, they would have time to hinder and disturb them in their passage; so that they should be constrained either to force their way with great danger and hazard; or otherwise to make their passage ragement and a loss of reputation; and on the other side it would raise much the spirits of the Enemy, who might also give them the like interruption at *Accha*, which would be both incommodious to the Army, and a discouragement and a loss of reputation; and accordingly it was ordered, that immediately after *Valdivia* and Captain *Palentino*, the General should march with the Companies of *Pablo de Meneses* and *Hernan Mexia*, (which were Musqueters) and endeavour, if it were possible, to reach the Bridge that night; and to pass over upon Floats to the other side, both to defend the Bridge, and to give assistance to the workmen employed in stretching the Strannes and fastning the Ropes. *Graviel de Rojas* was also appointed with his Cannon to hasten to the River, that his Indians which belonged to the Artillery might also lend a helping hand to the Work. Orders were also given to the other Companies to follow the General, with whom the President seeming to entertain discourse, he accompanied him so far, until he came to the Banks of the River; the Bishops soon followed after, whilst the Marshal remained to command the Camp, &c. Thus far *Palentino*.

And here we will leave the President and his Captains on their way, and employed in repairing and making their Bridge; to relate what *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Officers were contriving at the same time, and what *Francisco de Carvajal* was projecting to countermine his Enemies, with the Stratagems of War in which he was chiefly practised. So soon as the Spies brought advice of what was doing at the River of *Apurimac*, *Gonzalo Pizarro* called a Council of War, and communicated to them the News which was brought to him, desiring their opinion of what was to be done for defence of the Pass, and what advantage might be taken on the Enemy in this present Conjunction. *Carvajal*, who was the most ancient and principal Captain, first answered and said, Sir, This day it is my turn to act, nor doth it belong to any person to go upon this exploit but my self. No, Father, replied *Pizarro*, for I have need of your person and counsel to be always near me on all emergencies which may happen, we have young and stout Captains with us, any of which will be ready and fit for this Work. *Carvajal* replied again; This Enterprize, Sir, belongs to me, and I beseech your Lordship not to deny

deny me the benefit of this good fortune which now offers it self in these latter days of my life, whereby I may consummate the last of my achievements with a glorious and final Victory over all your Enemies; which petition if you are pleased to grant me, I dare promise and assure you on the faith of a good Soldier, within the space of four days to plant the Imperial Crown of this Empire upon your head. And since your Lordship hath by good experience proved the extraordinary zeal and passion I have conceived to see you exalted to a degree of Majesty (of which I have given sufficient testimonies) I beseech your Lordship again and again not to deny me the favour of this request, which I only beg for the greater exaltation of your Lordship, my own honour, and welfare of your party and well-wishers.

Pizarro repeated the same words again, and told him that he was well enough assured of his good will and affection towards him, and would never forget the signal actions he had performed, which had maintained and supported him in that station wherein he at present moved: And for that reason he could not easily spare him, or see him removed at a distance from him, who was his Father and his Parent. Upon this denial, it being put to the question who should command the Party sent upon this exploit, John de Acosta was the person who by general consent was chosen; for he was not only a favourite to Pizarro, but one, as Historians say, employed on such like actions as this, and perhaps on greater, as often as occasion offered; for he was esteemed to be stout and brave, and indeed he was so: But Courage is not the only endowment required in a Captain, but there must also be Prudence and Conduct, which were greatly wanting in this Person: and though Carvajal was endued with both, yet these Counsellors, observing the inclinations of Pizarro towards him, complied rather with the affections of their Prince than with such measures as agreed best with the necessity of the times.

Francisco Carvajal seeing that John de Acosta was the person appointed for that exploit, he turned towards him and said; Captain, Since you are so happy as to be employed on this glorious action, and to take from me the honour and fame which I should win, be pleased to receive these instructions from me, which if well observed and executed, you will certainly be victorious, and return with the Crown of this Empire, which I have so often promised to our Lord the Governour. The Rules which I would give you are these; I would have you depart from hence about nine a Clock in the morning; the Bridge I reckon to be about nine leagues from this City; and so on a moderate march, neither too fast nor too slow, you may by two a Clock in the afternoon travel four leagues, where you may stay an hour, and eat, and refresh your selves and your Horses; and from thence setting out about three a Clock, upon a slow and easie march, you may get to the top of the Hill, which borders upon the River, by nine a Clock at night; for I would not have you be there sooner than about that time; a little below the top, at a league and half distance from the Bridge, there is a pleasant Fountain of clear Water; at this place eat your Supper, and take your repose, causing your Bed to be made with four good Quilts, and a clean pair of Holland Sheets, lay your self thereupon, and put a dozen Muskets under your Pillow charged with Powder, and without Bullets, for you will have no need of shot. The President and his Souldiers, let them make what haste they can, will not be able to reach the Bridge untill such an hour the next day; and though all the Devils in Hell assist them they will not be able to lay the first Stranne untill the evening, and the second they will endeavour to lay in the night. After which they will begin to pass about nine a Clock at night, and such as are got over will begin to climb the Hill without Rank or Order, having no jealousy or suspicion of an enemy, believing it impossible for us to have made so speedily a march thither as we have done. Such as have been the first to pass will immediately make to this Fountain, with desire to quench their thirst with this pleasant Water, and may be come near your Bed about twelve a Clock at night, at which time cause the Muskets to be fired which you laid under your Pillow, which having done, without other delay, or so much as seeing the enemy, I would have you return to the City, and then we will immediately plant the Crown on the Head of our Lord the Governour. These Instructions and Rules Carvajal, who was wife and experienced in the War, gave to Captain John de Acosta, who acted so contrary thereunto that he not only missed of the Crown but

but lost the lives of all those who belonged to their Party, as we shall see hereafter.

To perform this action two hundred choice Souldiers were detached and mounted on Horse-back, and with them thirty Lances; and to march with the less incumbrance, they were to carry no Baggage but such as was necessary for the Men, his Bed with four Quilts and a pair of Holland Sheets, and that the Muskets should be charged with Powder onely and without Shot, his meaning was, that he should make all haste possible, and that onely by giving the Enemy a true alarm, without farther action they should overcome and defeat them. And as to his saying, that though all the Devils in Hell should help them, &c. it was to express the diligence and expedition the Enemy would use in framing the Bridge; the which was the usual form and manner which this great Captain used in expressing his mind.

C H A P. XXXII.

The President comes to the River of Apurimac. The difficulties and dangers they find in the passage. John de Acosta defends the Pass. The little care and ill Conduct he shewed in all this action.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the haste and diligence the President and his Captains could make they could not reach the Bridge that night, but were forced to stop two leagues short; by reason that it was dark; but so soon as the Moon arose they began their Journey again, being forced to walk a great part thereof on foot, by reason of the ruggedness of the way. About eight a Clock in the morning they arrived at the Bridge, and with all the diligence they could use they could not lay the first Stranne before noon. The second was fitted and laid about seven a Clock in the evening, over which they cast boughs and thin boards fastened together with split Canes. About ten a Clock at night the first Ranks began to pass; and some few Souldiers were ferried over in a float hewed out of a piece of Wood, which they call *Maguey*, which is very light, and something like those *Garas* or *Calabagu* which grow in those Countries, and may be as thick as a man's Leg: these Boats are drawn with Cords from one side of the River to the other. The Horses swam over with great danger of being drowned; for on the sides of the River there being no place made for them to enter in gently, they forced and carried them down and cast them against the Rocks, where the stream was so rapid that it plunged them in from the side of the Bank, where the stream was so rapid that it carried them down and cast them against the Rocks, where, meeting with whirlpools, they were turned quite round, and therein (as Carate reports, Book the second Chapter the fifth) above sixty Horses were drowned, and many others were lamed. And though that Country was not a place for Horses to fight in, by reason of the Rocks and mountainous ways, yet they hastened over with all diligence possible, lest the Enemy should surpris them before they had finished their passage. And indeed there was good ground to apprehend the coming of the Enemy; for the passage was very dangerous in the time of War, which Carvajal so well knew that he desired no other advantage over the Enemy than that. And indeed the difficulties of that River are such, and the Mountains on each side are so rocky and high, that they are at least two leagues perpendicular in height, the which he can attest, having seen them my self. And therefore it was not without reason that Carvajal demanded this employment for himself, and when he was denied that he complained of his hard fortune; being well assured, if case they would have intrusted the management of this action unto him, to have returned with Victory; for he knew and acquainted with the difficulty of the passage at *Caapampa*.

By means of the great diligence which was used half the Army was passed over by midnight: The first that were over, putting themselves into the best order they could, began to climb the Mountain, being desirous to possess themselves of the top before the Enemies were come (which was the greatest danger they feared) for having seized that Pass, they might secure the way, and facilitate the ascent of the whole Army. Those in the Van having gotten half way up the Mountain, a false alarm was given, no man knows how nor from whence, which caused such a general consternation and confusion, that many of those who were not as yet passed over, both Horse and Foot ran away as if they had been pursued; and so general was the affrightment and terror, that the Captains *Porcel* and *Paradane*, and *Gabriel Rojas* Captain of the Ordnance, and divers other Souldiers of note, who were in the Rere Guards and in the main Body, seeing with what confusion and disorder the Souldiers were put into flight, said one to another, if this alarm be true we shall all be lost and defeated this night. But as good fortune would have it, the alarm proving false, the disturbance and noise was quieted, and those that fled rallied again, and every one made the best of his way that he could. Those who were in the Van, and were the first to climb the Mountain, were likewise struck with the same terror, and ran away with their Arms: but the alarm appearing to be false, they proceeded on their way, and came to the Fountain before break of day; which was the place where *John de Acosta* was to have lain in wait for them, had he observed the Orders of *Francisco de Carvajal*, in performance of which the whole fortune and success of that day depended. Those who came to the Fountain, having quenched their thirst with those pleasant Waters, proceeded on their way, and having got to the top of the Mountain, they put themselves into a Body; but they were so few, and those without any Commander, that fifty men might easily have defeated them: howsoever in a short time after their numbers increased, for the General *Pedro de Hinojosa*, and the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, who had passed the Bridge, and remained at the foot of the Mountain, animated the Men, and encouraged them to make good their ascent: The other half of the Army, being affrighted with the late alarm, did not pass the Bridge with their Ordnance until nine a Clock in the morning; which having done, they marched after their companions with all diligence imaginable; and here we will leave them to see what was become of *John de Acosta*, who was departed from *Cozco* to hinder the Enemy from passing the River.

This Captain having received his Instructions and Dispatches from the Lieutenant-General, departed from the City with two hundred Musquetiers mounted on Horse-back, and thirty Lances; all choice men; and having marched the first four leagues, he there staid and lodged all night, contrary to the orders and directions which had been given him; and so negligent and careless he seemed to be, that two of his Souldiers took an opportunity to leave him, and give advice unto the Enemy of his coming: The next morning about seven a Clock he began his march again, and that day another of his Souldiers ran away, called *John Nunez de Prado* a Native of *Badajoz*, who gave intelligence of the distance, the Enemy was from them, and of the Orders given by *Carvajal*, which were so exact and regular that every thing was measured by hours and leagues; which gave the President and his Captains some thoughts and apprehension of matters which were to succeed: for when they understood, that an alarm was to be given at such an hour in the night, they were extremely fearfull lest it should cause some great disorder; for if the late false alarm had put them into the confusion before mentioned, what could they imagine would be the effects of a true alarm, caused by a surprise in the night? but by the negligence and unactive spirit of *John de Acosta* none of these matters were put in action, but all the methods and rules failed; which was objected to *Gonzalo Pizarro* as a failure in his conduct, as *Augustine Carrate*, Book the seventh Chapter the fourth, intimates, where speaking of the Squadron which the President formed of *Indians* and *Negroes*, he adds farther,

That when *John de Acosta* sent his Spies to survey the number of the Enemy's Camp, and receiving a report that they were very numerous, he durst not engage with them, but returned again for a greater force; by which over-sight and default the President gained time to finish his Bridge, and transport his Souldiers. And here it is that *Pizarro* was much blamed for his conduct, for had he placed only a hundred men at each of these Passes, it had been impossible for the Enemy to have made good their way over the Water: with which saying *Carrate* ends that Chapter.

Chapter. And indeed he had much reason for this Assertion; for certainly that passage is so difficult and horrid as cannot be expressed or described. When *John de Acosta* understood by his Scouts that he was not far from the descent of that ill way, he advanced with six Horsemen to take a view of the Enemy, and finding that they had already possessed themselves of the top of the Mountain, and were so very numerous, he durst not engage with them: the truth is, they deceived him much in their numbers, and made him believe they were many more than in reality they were; for, as Historians say, they mounted their *Indians* and *Negroes* on Horses and Mules, and put Lances and Partisans into their hands, and drew them up into a martial posture; and that the Enemy might not discover the quality of this Rabble, they placed three or four Files of *Spaniards* in the Front well appointed and armed, to cover the *Negroes* and *Indians* in their disguise; and then of the Infantry they formed another Squadron of the like condition. The Historians add farther, that *Acosta*, to amuse *Pizarro* and make him believe that he would do something, sent for a recruit of three hundred Musquetiers; but he having not acted according to any of those Rules which *Carvajal* had given him, the design was lost; and when the Recruits came to him, finding himself unable to engage with the President, he retreated to *Cozco* without any action, to give an account to *Pizarro* of what had passed, and that the President approached near unto the City.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Gonzalo Pizarro publishes his Orders for the Army to march out of Cozco. Carvajal dissuades him from it, and puts him in mind of a Prophecy relating to his life. The President marches towards Cozco. The Enemy goes forth to meet him.

THE design of *John de Acosta* failing, *Pizarro* resolved to march forth and meet the Enemy, and give him Battel; for having formerly had success against *Indians* and *Spaniards*, he took the greater confidence to adventure all his fortunes on the hazard of War. In order hereunto he made Proclamation that in four days time every man should put himself in a readiness to march to *Sacabana*, being four leagues from the City; but *Pizarro* having made this publication without the knowledge or privacy of his Lieutenant-General, *Carvajal* was much troubled at it, and told him, that it was by no means proper, or agreeable to the welfare of his affairs to go forth to meet the Enemy; for that was to ease the Enemy of a trouble and take it upon himself; I beseech you, Sir, said he, to believe me in this matter, and leave the conduct of it to me. To which *Pizarro* answered, that at *Sacabana* he had made choice of a spot of Land very advantageous for him, and where the Enemy could only attack him in the Front, and that he doubted not to gain a Victory with his Cannon only. Sir, replied *Carvajal*, in this Countrey we cannot miss every where of strong and fast places, and I know particularly, (if you will be pleased to leave it unto me) to chuse you such a place where you may be assured of Victory. My meaning is, that whereas you design to march four leagues to meet the Enemy, that you rather change your course to the contrary way, and expect their coming at *Orcoz*, about five leagues from hence on the other side; which if you are pleased to do, you shall then see the trouble and confusion this farther march of five leagues will cause amongst the Enemy, and the difficulties they will have to pursue you: And then having leisure to survey the ground, you may make choice of the most advantageous situation to give Battel. And I do again and again beseech you to retreat back, rather than proceed forward to meet the Enemy, the which I would persuade you unto though there were nothing more in it than merely what some judicial Astrologers have prognosticated concerning your life; namely,

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that such a year you shall run a great hazard to lose it, but in case you then escape you shall live long in great happiness and prosperity. The year which threatens your life according to their presages is almost expired; for not many months, or weeks remain before that time determines, which I would therefore advise you to protract by a handsome retreat from the Enemy: this I say, that you may neither have cause to complain of your own rashness, nor your Friends and well-wishers to lament your want of consideration in making too slight an account of such predictions: for though there be no certainty in judicial Astrology, yet at least it will be good to spend out the time, if possible, to see whether such presages prove true or false. I am well assured that the Enemy cannot force you to fight; and perhaps there may be many reasons which may persuade you to avoid it, until some greater advantage offers than at present appears. Why should we adventure that which we may easily avoid, in case we intend to travel from one Country to another with pleasure and ease, whilst the Enemy in pursuit of us endure all the inconveniences of a long march and hardships which famine and want must bring upon them; and in this manner we may spin out the time until the bad influences are past which threaten you, and till the days return which the Astrologers assure you will be more propitious. *Pizarro* answered in few words, that he was resolved not to make a retreat either far or near, it not being consistent with his honour and reputation; but to follow his fortune, and expect the Enemy at *Sacahuana*, and be his destiny what it would, he determined to give the Enemy Battle at that place, without regard either to the Moon or Stars. Herewith the discourse ended, at which *Carvajal* was greatly troubled and complained amongst his friends and familiar acquaintance, that his Lord the Governour resolved upon a most pernicious course, especially at this critical time of his life, which was more dangerous than any other: In this opinion all others did concur, and were much afflicted to see him thus resolute and without regard to his safety or condition to deliver up himself (as it were) into the hands of his Enemies: there was no doubt but he was a man of great understanding; and therefore we may attribute this violent transport to the influence of the Stars, which carried him beyond his reason, and caused him (as it were) to offer the Knife to his own Throat, and reject the reasonable counsel of his Major-General.

But we must return again to the President, and often change our hands from one party to the other. The passage being now made free and open by the retreat of *Juan de Acosta*, the Royal Army had liberty to march without fear or danger of an Enemy; but by reason of the great incumbrances of Cannon, Ammunition and Provisions, four days were spent before they could clear themselves out of that uneasy passage, of which three days were required to march from the River to the top of the Mountain, where the Army was drawn up: from which place the President gave command to march the Army with great order; howsoever the ways were so narrow and rugged, and the Baggage so great that the Officers could not observe that rule they desired, and notwithstanding all their endeavours, the longest march they could make in a day was not above two leagues, and sometimes but one, and then perhaps they were forced to stay a day or two until the River could come up.

In the mean time *Gonzalo Pizarro* hasted his Men out of *Cuzco*, and to march unto *Sacahuana*, where he designed to expect the Enemy and give them Battle. His Captains were all young and stout, and such as depended most upon their own bravery and courage, in confidence of which they cheerfully hastened out of *Cuzco*, to anticipate the day which should make them Lords and Masters of all *Peru*. But *Carvajal* and those of his opinion, who were the most sober and considerate, were very unwilling to meet the Enemy, not having men in whom they could put any confidence; for amongst their own Party were three hundred of those Souldiers which belonged to *Diego Centeno*, who had been lately overcome, and many of them as yet not cured of their wounds: and therefore in reason ought to be esteemed for such who desired their overthrow and destruction; or at least would run away in the day of Battle, and discourage those who were faithful Friends to *Pizarro*.

These considerations administered just cause of fear and danger; to divert which *Carvajal* often turned to dissuade *Pizarro* from that fatal Counsel, which would inevitably betray him to a loss of his life, estate, honour and every thing that was dear unto him. But so God ordained it (as those of the contrary party said) that

that *Pizarro* having completed the measure of his iniquity was blindly carried to receive the punishment he deserved. The which obstinacy so displeased several of his people, that they purposed to have left him if possibly they could: and I can confidently aver, that after the Battle of *Sacahuana*, and when all things were quieted; I have heard some principal Officers who belonged to *Pizarro* say, that if he had followed the advice and counsel of his Major General, they would never have left him, but have died with him: for they esteemed *Carvajal* as an Oracle, and entertained such an esteem of his knowledge and experience in War, that they doubted not of the success in all matters where his counsel was followed. But *Pizarro* persisting in his fatal resolution, marched out of *Cuzco* towards the latter end of *March* in the year 1548, and in two days came to *Sacahuana*, being greatly hindered by his Carriages, Artillery and Baggage, for he was well furnished with all provisions for War, so as not to want any thing in case the Enemy should stay or linger in their coming. And though (as we have said) this action was concluded in the sense and opinion of most men; yet, finding *Pizarro* fixed and resolute in his determination, none durst to dissuade or endeavour to alter his mind: and in regard these men evidently saw that he went positively to sacrifice himself and them to manifest destruction, every man began to provide for his own interest and safety; and to abandon *Pizarro* whom they saw plainly offering up himself to death in the most flourishing station of his life, being in the two and fourth year of his age, during which time he had been victorious in all the Battles he fought either against *Indians* or *Spaniards*, and had not above six months before obtained that famous Victory at *Huarina*, which gave him a character above any in this new World: all which fortunes and successes were changed, and buried in the Valley of *Sacahuana*.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The two Armies meet in Sacahuana. Gonzalo Pizarro shows a diffidence of those Souldiers which belonged to Diego Centeno; and the expectation the President had, that those men should revolt to his side. The Offers and Protestations which were made by Pizarro. The Answer given by Gasca. It is resolved to decide the Difference by Battle. The Order of the Royal Army.

Gonzalo Pizarro drew up his Army in a certain place of that Valley, having a River behind not very broad, and a craggy Mountain, and both so met together, that the situation was naturally strong, and covered the Army on all quarters in such manner that it could not be attacked in the rear nor on either side, but on the front only. This River, towards the Mountain, is fortified with great Water-galls, caused by the streams which fall from above: between which and the River *Pizarro* pitched his Tents, leaving the Plain between the Water-galls and Mountain free and open for drawing up the Army. The President (as we have said) making short marches, arrived in this Valley three days after *Pizarro*; and three days passed with small skirmishes and piqueering between small parties; which were of no great moment; by which time all the Imperial Army was come up. The Armies faced one the other for two days afterwards, without engaging; all which time *Pizarro* and his Captains kept a strict eye and watch on their Souldiers, that none of them should run over to the President. And now one would think, that a Commander, who voluntarily marched to meet his Enemy, should have great confidence in the fidelity of his Souldiers; and not do as *Pizarro*, who too late began to distrust *Centeno's* men, of which there were no less than three hundred in the Army; and began to approve the Counsel of *Carvajal*, who

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persuaded him long since to dismiss those men, of whom there being no assurance, they were unfit to be entrusted with so great a concernment; wherein Estate, Life and Honour did confist. This particular is also noted by *Lopez de Gomara*, Chap. 186. in these words:

Pizarro, says he, marched out with above a thousand *Spaniards*, of which two hundred were Horse, and five hundred and fifty Musquetiers; but he was very doubtfull of four hundred who had served under the command of *Centeno*, which caused him to keep a strict guard over them; and to kill some of them with Lances who attempted to make an escape, &c. Thus far this Authour.

But on the contrary, The President remained with assurance of the faithfulness of those who revolted over to his Party: particularly (as that Authour reports in the same Chapter, which is very long) he was well satisfied in the Promise which *Licenciado Cepeda* sent him by Friar *Antonio de Castro* of the Order of Preachers, who was Prior at that time of *Arequipa*, that in case *Pizarro* came not to terms of agreement with him, he was resolved upon breaking off the Treaty, to pass over to the Emperour's Service.

With this assurance the President held a Consultation with his Captains, whether it were best immediately to engage or decline Fighting for some time: And though they were all of opinion, that to avoid the effusion of blood it were better to forbear; yet, considering the necessities they should be speedily forced into for want of Provisions and of Wood, and more especially of Water, which they brought from far, whilst the Enemy was abundantly supplied therewith; it was resolved to engage the next day; lest these inconveniences happening by such delays, the Souldiers being enforced by hunger should run to the Enemy: but on the same *Pizarro* sent some Articles and Protests to the President, as the same Authour expresses in these words.

Pizarro sent two Priests one after another, to require *Gasca* to shew to him in writing, his Commission and Command of the Emperour: and that in case it did appear in the original writing that his Majesty did enjoin him to leave the Government, he was ready to yield all obedience thereunto, to resign up his Power and to abandon the Countrey. But in case he refused so to doe, he then declared, that he was resolved to give him battel, protesting against him for all the blood and miseries which should thence ensue. *Gasca* being informed that these Priests had been dealing with *Hinojosa* and others, to subvert them from their duty, he caused them to be detained, and sent word to *Pizarro*, that he was ready to grant free Pardon to him and all his Followers; adding how great honour he had gained in being the principal instrument to procure a revocation of the late Ordinances which would now be completed in case he would accept of the grace and favour of his Majesty, and enter into the number of his faithfull Servants: that all those who were engaged on his side would have eternal obligations to him for obtaining a Pardon for them, and putting them into a condition of safety and riches, without the hazard of Battel, wherein they may be slain or be taken Prisoners, to receive the punishment of their Rebellion. But all these words were wind, and they might as well be preached in the Desert to the Woods and Rocks as to minds so obstinately inclined, or to desperate men, and such as believed themselves invincible; and the truth is, their Camp was well fortified by the situation of the place, and was well furnished with all Provisions, and attended by the services of *Indians*. Thus far are the very words of *Gomara*. And whereas he says, that the *Indians* were very serviceable to them is most true; for generally the *Indians* served *Gonzalo Pizarro* with more affection than others; by reason that he was one of the first Conquerours whom they called Children of the Sun, and Brothers to their Kings the *Incas*; and therefore gave them the title of *Inca*; and particularly they bore a singular love and respect to *Gonzalo Pizarro* for being the Brother of the Marquis *Francisco Pizarro*; they bewailed his death with much tenderness and compassion.

The night before it was resolved to give the Enemy Battel, *John de Acosta* was appointed to attack them with a body of four hundred men, in which he was the more forward, in hopes to recover the Credit he had lost in the late Design; by his miscarriage in which, he was taxed of negligence and want of knowledge in War: and it was well known how much *Carvajal* lamented his misfortune, by being denied the conduct of that Affair whereby he hoped to have crowned all his former Actions, and consummated the glorious exploits of his old age. But whilst

John

John de Acosta was just ready to make an Attempt of Surprize upon the Enemy, news was brought, that one of *Centeno's* Souldiers was fled to the other Party; whereby fearing that the design was discovered, that resolution was laid aside, much to the satisfaction of *Pizarro*, who was of opinion that his advantage was greater in a full engagement with the whole Body, than to skirmish and fight in small parties: and thus much *Gomara* confirms, and says, that *Pizarro* told *Acosta*, that there was no need to adventure his person where the Victory was secure and already certain. And indeed the confidence of *Pizarro* and his Officers was grounded on a belief, that every individual Souldier would fight as valiantly as themselves, which certainly, if they had, it would have gained them the Victory: but their error soon appeared; for neither did those who were reputed valiant, fight like such, nor men of less esteem shew themselves cowards.

The Advice which the Souldier brought who fled from *Pizarro*, that *John de Acosta* was designing to surprize them and beat up their quarters; caused the President to draw out his men and put them into array, in which posture they continued the whole night, and endured so much cold, (as the Historians *Gomara* and *Carate* write) that they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands. But so soon as it was day, being the ninth of April 1548, the King's Army drew farther out into the open field, and into a larger quarter than the night before. The Infantry were all joined in a Body conducted by their respective Captains, and supported on each hand with wings of Musquetiers; and flanked on the left with two hundred Horse, whose Captains were *Diego de Mora*, *John de Saavedra*, *Rodrigo de Salazar* and *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, whom *Carate* calls *Aldana*: on the right were the Captains *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Don Pedro Cabrera*, and *Alonso Mercadillo*, with other two hundred Horse appointed to defend the Royal Standard, which was carried by the *Licenciado Carvajal*, in the same rank with these Captains. On the right hand of these (at some distance from them) Captain *Alonso de Mendoza* and *Diego de Centeno* were ranked with sixty Horse under their command, all which, or the greatest part of them, consisted of those who escaped from the Battel of *Huarina*; who would have no other Captain than *Mendoza*, because he had been their Companion and fellow Souldier in all their travels and sufferings; and these drew up near the River to succour and receive such as should revolters of the Army; and on this quarter especially there appeared most difficulty and danger. Captain *Graviel de Rojas* was industriously employed in planting his Cannon in the field, which he with much labour performed by reason of the Rocks and ruggedness of the way. The General *Pedro de Hinojosa*, the Lieutenant General *Alonso de Alvarado*, and the Serjeant Major *Pedro de Villa-vicencio*, and the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, disposed the other Troops and Companies in their due Places. In the Rere of all was the President with three Bishops, viz. of *Cusco*, of *Quito* and *Los Reyes*, with the principal persons of the Order of Preachers, and Friars of the Order of our Lady of *Merced*, with a very great number of Church-men and Friars, who followed the Camp; for guard of whom a Party of fifty Horse were appointed, and to defend them in case any misfortune should happen.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Success of the Battel of Sackfahuana, to the time of the total defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro.

SOON as it was day *Gonzalo Pizarro* commanded them to beat a march, and drew out his men into the Plain which lies between the River and the Mountain: he also commanded a Plat-form to be raised and the Cannon mounted. It is said also, by *Gomara*, that he committed the charge of drawing up the Army to *Licenciado Cepeda*, because that *Carvajal* was so angry and displeased that

his

his Counsel was not followed; that giving all for lost he refused to take any charge of the Army, but entered himself into the ranks of the Infantry, to fight like a private Captain: for which reason Historians make no mention of Carvajal in all this action.

Whilst the Officers were thus busily employed in disposing the Army in their several Stations, *Garcilasso*, my Lord, came out from amongst them, and upon pretence that his *Indian* had neglected to bring him his Lance, he descended down towards the River, calling out with a loud voice to his *Indian*; and so soon as he was got below the Cliffs of the Water-galls, he fastned with all speed possible towards the Royal Camp, and having passed the wet ground which was between the two Armies, and which drains it self in the River, he then ascended into the upper grounds, and in the view of both Armies, he presented himself before the President, who received and embraced him with open Arms; and said to him, *Seignieur Garcilasso*, I have long expected that you should render this service to his Majesty: To which *Garcilasso* replied, That he had long been a prisoner without liberty, and refrained from making this open demonstration, but still had a heart and good will thereunto. *Pizarro* was much troubled at the departure and loss of *Garcilasso*; yet, not to discourage his own men, he seemed to make light of it; and meeting with a Cofin German of my Father's called *Gomez Suarez de Figueroa*, he said, *Garcilasso* hath left us, and do not you think now, that he will be in a fine condition, in case we should get the Victory? and thus did he still flatter himself with hopes of success, which in a short time after failed, and he undeceived. My Father's escape was, as now related, though the Historians tell us first of the flight of *Licenciado Cepeda*, and then of my Father and others, as if they had all gon away together, but their information was not so particular as mine: but there is another Writer, who relates the matter as I have done, and names my Father in the first place, and then a Cofin of mine, and others, and that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was greatly afflicted and troubled for it: And then proceeding on with his Story, he says that *Licenciado Cepeda* soon followed after them. The truth is, *Garcilasso de la Vega* fled singly without other company, and that he contrived his escape in those three days that *Pizarro* was in the field before the Enemy was come up, during which time he surveyed the ground and places over which he might pass with most safety; and then it was that he plotted, that his *Indian* should not bring his Lance, that he might have an excuse to depart from his company; and that he passed under covert of the Cliffs, by the River side; the which Particulars I heard from himself, together with the several passages and successses of that great action, when he had leisure freely to discourse thereof in the times of peace and settlement. I have also heard *Garcilasso*, my Lord, say, that after *Gonzalo Pizarro* had taken away his horse *Salimillas* at the Battel of *Huarina*, as is before mentioned, that he purposely omitted to buy himself another, that so *Pizarro* observing him on foot, might be moved either to return his horse to him again, or supply him with some other: and accordingly it happened, for that four days before *Pizarro* marched out of *Cusco*, to fight the Battel at *Sacahuana*, he returned him his horse *Salimillas*, which was so welcome to him, that when he saw him in his Stable, he thought that some Angel from Heaven had brought him thither. I have not repeated these Particulars to excuse my Father, for all those matters are already past, but to relate the truth of things, with the circumstances of days, hours and moments; for I intend neither to accuse nor reflect on any man, but like a plain Historian to lay down matter of Fact. And so accordingly let us return to the successses of that Battel.

Pizarro Forces were drawn up according to the direction of *Licenciado Cepeda*: and by the side of the Mountain a Parry of Musquetiers were detached to skirmish with the Enemy: to oppose which the Captains *Hernan Mexia de Guzman* and *John Alonso Palomino* were commanded out with their Companies, and caused them to retreat without loss or hurt on either side. In the mean time the Cannon plaid on both sides: but that of *Pizarro*'s did no execution, because the President's Forces being drawn up in a low ground, they shot over: but the President's Cannon being planted to more advantage, commanded the Enemy's Camp on all sides, so that two men were killed with the great shot, one of which was *Page to Pizarro*. Whilst *Licenciado Cepeda* was drawing up the Forces his eyes were still towards the way where he might best escape to the Enemy; and feigning, as if he looked for a more advantageous ground, so soon as he found himself at some convenient distance

distance off he set spurs to his Horse, which was a very comely Beast of a dark Chestnut colour, having his neck, breast and hinder parts covered with a thick Bull's Hide dyed black, that it looked very handsomely, and was a new sort of ornament and covering which I never remember to have seen before, nor since to very dangerous to the Master, being particularly noted and known thereby; for he no sooner began to run towards the Enemy but he was known and pursued by *Pedro Martin de Don Benito*, mounted upon a large Horse thin and lean, but in good breath, and as I remember he was of a bayish colour, and so swift that he ran three foot for the other's one, and so fetched upon him that he came up with *Cepeda* just as he entred upon the wet ground, which was near the President's Camp, and there he gave his Horse such a stroke with his Lance on the hinder parts that he bore him down into the mire, and gave another wound to *Cepeda* in the right Thigh, and had certainly killed him, had not four Cavaliers under the command of *Alonso de Mendoza*, placed there on such occasions, come in to his rescue. Had not the Horse been overcharged with the weight of his Bull's Leather, he had certainly out-run and escaped the Lance of *Pedro Martin de Don Benito*, who was mounted on an old lean Jade; and having performed this piece of bravery he returned again to the main Body of his Forces; but *Licenciado Cepeda* being relieved by the timely succours which came to his assistance, he was taken out of the mire into which he was fallen, and conducted to kiss the President's Hand, who received him with great joy, and, as *Gomara* saith, kissed him on the Cheek; looking upon him for so considerable a person, as that by his desertion *Pizarro* was overcome. Thus far *Gomara*.

After his example many other Souldiers both Horse and Foot came flocking in from all sides; amongst them was *Martin de Arrieto*, of whom we formerly made mention in the Battel of *Huarina*, and promised to relate several things of him, of which this particular shall serve for one. He was well mounted on an excellent Horse, carrying his Lance in his Wrist, which sort of Weapon began to be out of use in those days; this *Martin Arrieto* was accompanied by a Souldier called *Pedro de Arenas*, born at *Colmenar de Arenas*, he was little of stature, but a neat nimble fellow, and esteemed honest, and a good Souldier; he was mounted on a pretty dapper Mare of a brown Bay, with white streaks, but small and fit for the Master, and was more proper to ride about the streets than for an engagement in Battel; and because *Arrieto* had taken him under his protection, he held his Horse in with a stiff hand, that he might not leave his Companion; which *Pedro Martin* observing, who had already run four or five Footmen thorough with his Lance, immediately pursued after them: *Martin de Arrieto* who led the way, passed easily over the moorish ground, but *Pedro de Arenas*'s Mare floundered in it, and after two or three plunges she threw her Rider into the mire and dirt, and after the Saddle broke. *Arrieto* turning about and seeing his Comrade in the dirt, interposed between him and *Martin de Don Benito*, which when *Benito* saw, and that *Arrieto* intended to fight him, he stopped his Horse and stood still: whereupon *Martin de Arrieto* called upon him, and said, Advance Rascal, and let us try which of us hath sucked the better milk: but *Benito* accepted not the challenge, but returned again to his companions. *Pedro Martin* made many of these sallies, and at last a shot took him on the right hand, with which his Lance falling, he came to *Pizarro* without it, and told him, Sir, I am now disabled, and unfit farther for your service, and thereupon he retired into the Rere of the Horse. During which time all the Souldiers that could, as well Horse as Foot, fled over to the Royal Camp; which when *Francisco de Carvajal* saw, and that by reason of *Pizarro*'s obliquity, who persisted still in his own humour, all was brought to destruction and ruine, he began to sing with a loud voice; *Thus, Mother, doth the wind carry away my hairs two by two*; and in this manner continued singing, and jesting upon those who rejected his counsel, untill there was not one man remaining. At length the tight Wing of Musquetiers, pretending unto great Faith and Loyalty, desired leave to be admitted, and they drawn out, so soon as they found themselves at some distance off, they all set to running, and came over to the President; which when he and his Officers observed, they relolved to decline fighting, in expectation that in a very short time all the Forces of *Pizarro* would come over to them; the which accordingly succeeded; for a party of thirty Horse being drawn out to pursue the

Foot,

Foot, followed the same example, and surrendered themselves likewise to the President: in like manner forty Musquetiers of the left Wing took the same way without any pursuit made after them; for marching off in a Body they often faced about, intending to defend themselves in case they should meet any opposition: And moreover by this time *Alonso de Mendoza* and *Diego Centeno*, with a party of sixty Horse, had placed themselves between the Enemy and the Bog, to succour such as should make their escape. *Carvajal* all this time continued his Song, roaring it out aloud as he saw the parties run away. The Pike-men, finding themselves naked, and forsaken on both sides by their Musquetiers, and no possibility for them to make their flight, upon pretence of skirmish with the Enemy, all on a sudden threw down their Arms and fled by several ways, which put an end to all *Pizarro's* Forces. This was the success of the Battle of *Sacabambá*; if so it may be called a Battle; in which there was neither blow with a Sword, nor push with a Lance, nor Musket shot of Enemy against Enemy, nor nothing more than what is before related: and so sudden was the destruction of *Pizarro*, that if we should enlarge thereupon it would take up more time in the reading than there was in the transaction thereof. On *Pizarro's* side, as *Gomara* reports, ten or twelve were killed; all which dyed by the hand of *Pedro Martín de Don Benito*, and other Officers in pursuit of the Fugitives, but by the Forces of the President not a man was slain: though Historians say both Parties were within shot of each other, and whole Volleys were interchanged; yet it is certain they were above five hundred paces distant each from the other: On the other side but one was unluckily killed by the mischance of a shot from his Companion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Gonzalo Pizarro surrenders himself, judging it less dishonourable so to do than to turn his back and fly. The discourse which passed between the President and him. The imprisonment of Francisco de Carvajal.

THE Pikemen having thrown down their Arms, *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Captains were surpris'd with a strange astonishment, being an Act contrary to all expectation: And then *Pizarro*, turning his face to *John de Acosta*, said, Brother *John* what shall we do? *Acosta*, presuming on his valour more than on his own discretion, answered, Sir, let us fight and dye like old Romans. No, said *Pizarro*, it is better to dye like Christians. *Gomara*, upon this occasion, Chap. 186, saith, that his words were like a good Christian and a valiant Man, for he judged it more honourable to surrender than to dye, for that he had never turned his back to his Enemy, &c. And he adds farther, that *Pizarro* still kept himself in a very excellent garb, mounted on a brave Horse of a Chestnut colour; he was armed with a Coat of Mail, and over it a Waistcoat of Sattin well beaten with many doubles, and on his Head he wore a Helmet and Bever of Gold, &c. *Augustine Carvajal* says, that the Coat which he wore over his Arms was of an incarnation Velvet, covered almost all over with bosses of Gold; and that he said to *John de Acosta*, since all people are going over to the King, I also am going likewise, &c. Having said this, he proceeded to the Royal Camp, with those Captains who were contented to follow him; namely *John de Acosta*, *Maldonado*, *John Velez de Guzmán*, and as he was going in this manner, he met with *Pedro de Villavicencio*, whom he observing to be well attended, asked who he was, and understanding that he was the Serjeant-Major; he said to him, I am *Gonzalo Pizarro* and am going to render my self to the Emperour: having said this, he yielded up to him his Dagger which he carried in his hand, for that (as *Carate* saith) he had broken and spent his Lance upon his own people which fled from him. *Villavicencio* was very proud of this his good fortune, and with many fair words returned him thanks for the great favour

he had done him; and therefore in complement would neither require his Sword nor his Dagger which was girt about him; which was of considerable value, the Hilt being all of beaten Gold: proceeding a little farther, he met with *Diego Centeno*, who said, my Lord, I am heartily sorrow to see your Lordship in this condition: *Gonzalo Pizarro* smiled hereat a little, and replied, Captain *Centeno*, there is nothing to be said more upon this matter, my business is finished to day, to morrow you your selves will lament my fall; and without interchanging more words, he ascribed directly to the President's Quarters, who received him in such manner as the three Authours agree; whose words we will faithfully repeat. *Carate*, Book the seventh Chapter the seventh, saith; And so he was carried before the President, between whom some speeches passing which were judged to be bold and seditious, he was committed to the custody of *Diego Centeno*, &c. *Gomara*, Chapter 186, saith, *Villavicencio*, being proud of such a Prisoner, conducted him forthwith to the presence of *Gasca*; who, amongst many other questions, asked of him, whether he thought he had done well in raising War against the Emperour? to which *Pizarro* replied, Sir, I and my Brothers gained this Countrey at our own cost and expence, and therefore I thought it no crime to aspire unto the Government, having his Majesty's word and Commission for it. *Gasca* in anger twice committed that he should be taken from his presence, and the custody of him was committed to the charge of *Diego Centeno*, who petitioned for the same. *Palentino*, Chap. 90th, relates the discourse which passed on this occasion, as follows; *Gonzalo Pizarro*, saith he, was carried before the President, and being alighted from his Horse, he made his humble obeisance to him; the President laid his faults before him, and would have comforted him; but *Pizarro* continuing still inflexible and obstinate; answered, That it was he who had gained that Countrey, and putting a smooth gloss on his actions, endeavoured to justify whatsoever he had done, which so provoked the President that he retorted very severely upon him in presence of many standers-by, and told him plainly that whatsoever he could pretend had not sufficient force to cause him to swerve from the duty he owed to his Prince, much less to become ungratefull and obdurate; for granting that his Majesty had conferred the favour and honour on his Brother the Marquis to govern this Countrey, yet considering that thereby he had raised both him and his Brothers from a mean and poor to a rich and high condition, and advanced him from the dung-hill to a considerable degree, it ought to be so owned and acknowledged; especially since in the discovery of that Countrey there was nothing due to him: it is true his Brother might pretend to some merit therein, but he understood so well the favours his Majesty had conferred upon him as to esteem himself obliged for ever to continue loyal and within the terms of duty and respect: *Pizarro* would have made some reply, but the President commanded the Marshal to take him away, and deliver him into the custody of *Diego Centeno*. Thus far *Palentino*, and with him the other two Authours agree; but all of them are so short in the relation they give of this matter, that we think it necessary to recount the story more particularly as it passed, which was this;

When *Gonzalo Pizarro* came to the place where the President was, he found him alone with the Marshall; for the other Commanders, ashamed to see him whom they had denied and sold, retired at some distance from them: the ceremonies of respect which were made passed on Horseback, for *Pizarro* did not alight seeing that every man kept himself on his Saddle, as did also the President; and the first thing he asked him was, Whether he thought he had done well in raising the Countrey against the Emperour, and making himself Governour thereof in contrary to his Majesty's will and pleasure, and in killing his Vice-king in a venour, but was raised thereunto by the Judges, who, at the request and desire of all the Cities of the Kingdom, had given him a Commission in pursuance and confirmation of that Act of Grace which his Majesty had conferred on his Brother the Marquis, empowering him to nominate a person to succeed him after his life; and that it was manifest and notoriously known to all the world that he was the person nominated by his Brother; and that having gained the Kingdom, it was but just that he should be made Governour of it. And as to the Viceroy's and peace of the Empire, and to his Majesty's service, to drive out a person from amongst them who was so little fit and qualified for Government; and as to

his death he was not concerned in it; but he having oppressed the people, and put many to death without either Reason or Law, was in revenge thereof killed by those whose Kindred, Friends and Relations were murdered by him. If those Messengers and Ministers he sent to his Majesty to render him an account of the state of his Affairs here (who were the Men who sold and betrayed him) had been admitted and impartially heard, no doubt but his Majesty would have accepted his services, and taken other counsels and measures than what now appear: for whatsoever he acted then was at the persuasion and with the concurrence of the Inhabitants and Representatives of the several Cities; and was able to be lieve by Judges and learned Counsellours, that what he acted was agreeable to Law and Equity.

To which the President made answer, That he had shewed himself very ungratefull and undeserving the gracious favour of his Majesty towards his Brother the Marquis, whom he had enriched, and, with all his Relations, had raised from the dust to eminent degrees of Wealth and Honour; and that as to the discovery of the Country, he himself had contributed nothing thereunto. Well, replied *Pizarro*, then let my Brother have the sole honour of this Discovery, yet it cannot be denied but that he had need of the help and assistance of all the four Brothers, together with the aid of all our Family; and of such as were allied to it. The favour which his Majesty shewed to my Brother consisted onely in a bare Title without Estate or Revenue thereunto belonging: and if any one shall say the contrary, I desire them to assign the place where such Estate or Revenue remains. And to say that we were raised from the dust, seems something harsh and strange, for it is well known that we entered *Spain* with the *Goths*, and have been Gentlemen for many Ages of an eminent and ancient Family. His Majesty according to his will and pleasure may bestow Offices and places of Trust on men of obscure originals, and raise them from the dust who were born in it: And if we were poor we sought our fortune through the world, and by our industry we acquired this Empire, which we have presented to his Majesty, though we might have appropriated the same unto our selves, as others have done who have been the Discoverers of new and unknown Countries.

The President, angered at these sayings, cried out twice with a loud voice, Take him away, take him away, This Tyrant is the same to day as he was yesterday: then *Diego Centeno* came and took him into his custody, having (as we have said) desired that Office of the President. The other Captains were sent to different places, to be kept under safe Guards; but *Francisco de Carvajal*, though an aged man of eighty four years, out of a natural desire to prolong life, made his escape and fled: he was mounted on a Horse of a light Chestnut colour, and something old; I knew him, and that he was called *Boscanillo*; he was a well-shaped Horse, and had been excellently good in his time: and being now to pass over a narrow Stream or Brook (as there are many in that Countrey) he hastily plunged down a Bank of eight Foot deep to the Water, and on the other side it was as high to get up, and very rocky, so that having passed over he laboured much to ascend the Bank: *Carvajal*, being old and corpulent, could give no help to his Horse; for if he had onely held by his Main he had got over, but swaying too much upon one side, he pulled the Horse upon him, and both of them fell together into the Brook, and he under his Horse; in which condition his own Souldiers seized and took him and carried him away prisoner to the President; in hopes by such a present and piece of service to obtain their own Pardons.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVII.

What passed between Francisco de Carvajal, Diego Centeno, and the President. The imprisonment of the other Captains.

UPON the rumour that *Carvajal* was taken prisoner, the Souldiers came flocking to see a person so famous as was this *Francisco de Carvajal*, and instead of comforting him in this affliction, they but lighted Matches to his Neck, and endeavoured to thrust them down between his Shirt and his Skin; and going in this manner he espied Captain *Diego Centeno*, who had newly placed *Gonzalo Pizarro* in his Tent under a safe Guard, and committed him to the charge of six faithfull and trusty Friends; and being come out into the field, *Carvajal* seeing him, cried out aloud, Captain *Diego Centeno*, you ought to esteem it as a particular service that I come to render my self into your hands, the meaning of which was, that he having been the Lieutenant-General of an Army, and one who had often overthrown him in fight, and particularly at *Puigara*, did now in respect to him yield himself his Prisoner rather than to any other; which, according to the ceremonies of War amongst Captains and Souldiers, is esteemed a high complement; and that now he might satisfy his revenge upon him, and triumph over his Enemy. *Diego Centeno* turning his face about, and seeing that it was *Carvajal* who called upon him; Sir, said he, I am sorry to see you in this distress: I believe you, said *Carvajal*, to be a Christian and a Gentleman; and that you will deal with me accordingly, and that you will command these Gentlemen here not to treat me as they have done; meaning the lighted Matches; which when *Centeno* understood, and that the Rabble was not ashamed to persist and own the fact in his presence, thinking to please him by this usage of his Enemy, he banished them with his Cane, being a sort of Seamen and Clowns who followed the Camp, and acted according to their breeding. *Centeno*, having freed him from that vile sort of people, delivered him into the custody of two Souldiers, who were to guard him, and not suffer any injury or affront to be done him; and as they were carrying him away they met with the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*, who desired of *Centeno* to grant him the honour of conducting the Prisoner before the President; which was assented unto, conditionally that he should afterwards send him to his Tent, being desirous to be his keeper, because he believed that in what place soever else he should be committed, he would be ill treated and subjected to many insolences and affronts, in revenge of the former cruelties he had done to others. And being brought by *Valdivia* before the President, he reproached him with the tyrannies and cruelties he had committed upon his Majesty's Subjects against the publick peace, and the allegiance he owed unto his Sovereign. To all which *Carvajal* answered not one word, nor submitted himself, nor seemed to give any attention to what was said to him; but turned his eyes on each side of him, with a grave and majestick look, as if he had been Lord Paramount of all those people who were about him; which when the President perceived, he commanded him to be taken and carried to *Diego Centeno*, who placed him in a Tent apart from *Pizarro*, where they might have no society or converse together, nor see each other any more.

All the other Captains and Officers were likewise taken, some the same day, and others afterwards, so that not one of them escaped, excepting Captain *John de la Torre*, who lay concealed four months at *Casco* in a poor straw Cottage of an Indian Servant of his, without any knowledge or tidings of him, as if he had been sunk under ground, untill such time as a Spaniard unluckily made a discovery of him, not knowing that it was he, and then he was taken and hanged, though a long time after the others.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Of the many Visits which were made to Carvajal in Prison, and the Discourse which passed between him and those who went to make their Triumphs over him.

ALL the Particulars which we have related concerning the Battel of *Sacahuana* were acted and performed by ten a clock in the morning upon the ninth of April 1548. for matters beginning very early, all was ended and quiered by that hour: immediately hereupon the President dispatched away two Captains by that hour: both to apprehend and seise those who were fled, and to prevent the Disorders of such who intended to plunder and sack the City. In the Evening many principal Persons and Captains went to make their Visits to the Prisoners, some out of friendship to them, others because of their relation and alliance, and others for the sake of their Countrey: some went to comfort them, and others out of interest and design to discover their Estates and Riches which they might inherit: onely those who made their Visits to *Carvajal*, could have none of these Considerations, for he had neither Friend, nor Kinsman, nor Countrey-man; and indeed it was no time then for any man to make known his friendship towards him. Howsoever many Gentlemen of quality made their Visits to him, especially young men who were free, and airy, and curious, and went rather to triumph over him than to console with him. But *Carvajal* was too wise and knowing of the World to regard them, but scorned and contemned them; as we shall shortly relate, when we come to repeat his several apt sayings, which I heard from those who were present that day, of which the Historians make mention of some; but in a different manner; and I shall add some others which they have omitted.

Carvajal being in prison, a certain Merchant came to him, and with much commendment told him, that some Souldiers under his command, had at such a place robbed and taken from him the value of many thousands of Ducats in merchandise; and I expect, said he, to receive satisfaction from you who was their Captain and Commander, and since you are shortly to dye, I charge this debt upon your Conscience. *Carvajal* looking about him, and seeing the Scabbard remaining in the Belt after they had taken away his Sword, he took it, and gave it to the Merchant; Here, Brother, said he, take this in earnest and in part of what I owe you, for there is nothing more left me: the which he said to convince the man of his simplicity and folly in demanding the restitution of thousands of Ducats from him, who had nothing remaining besides the Scabbard of a Sword: so soon as this fellow was gone out, in comes another with the like demand: and having not wherewith to satisfy him; he answered, that he did not remember he owed any man a farthing, unless it were three pence to a Tripe-woman, who lived near the Gate of *Arenall* at *Seville*: And thus he answered one folly with another, to convince Fools who came to demand restitution of vast Sums from him, whom they saw without Hat or Cloak, and almost quite stripped by those who had taken him Prisoner: And indeed *Carvajal* himself was the richest Prize of any that was taken that day; for he always carried his wealth with him, which was in Gold, and not in Silver, for the better convenience of its carriage: we might add divers other sayings which passed that day between him and men of mean condition, but we shall leave them, to recount other Stories between him and persons of greater quality: Amongst which there came in one who was a man of fashion and a Captain, very chearfull and brisk, and a great Courtier, and very quick in his Repartees; and amongst the rest of his virtues, he was much addicted to whoring and drinking, and made open profession of them. And having discoursed some time with *Carvajal*, at the conclusion of all he told him, that he had managed many weighty things wherewith he had defiled his conscience; and that since he was speedily to dye, he exhorted him to examine himself, to repent of his Sins, to confess them, and ask pardon of God. Sir, answered *Carvajal*, you have spoken like a Christian and a Gentleman as you are: and pray also ap-

ply the same Counsel to your self, which will be as wholesome for you as for me: And now pray do me the favour to reach me a cup of that liquor which the Indians are drinking: the Gentleman presently arose from his Seat, and without other reply, went and fetched a Dish of that liquor, and brought it to *Carvajal*, who received it; and to show his compliance with the Gentleman's kindness, drank it, and threw the dish from him: And thus this Spark was repaid for his good Counsel; by which he was put so out of countenance, that when he afterwards jests with any of his friends, and that any of them found him too nimble in his Repartees, they would say, Away, away, Let us goe to *Carvajal*, and he will set us all at rights. Another Gentleman of good quality, younger than the other, but loose and extravagant in the vices of his youth, and who took pleasure to publish and boast of them; began to preach to *Carvajal* in the same manner as the other had done, seeming very zealous for his Repentance, being shortly to dye. To which *Carvajal* made this answer, You have spoken, Sir, like a Saint, but we have this Proverb, *A young Saint, and an old Devil*: with which this young Gentleman was put to silence. But another Gentleman received severer language from him, being known to come with intention to scorn and triumph over him, rather than to admonish or comfort him: for his Salutation was this; I kiss your Worship's hands, Good Seigneur Lieutenant General: For though your Worship would have hanged me at such a place; yet, (having now forgotten it) I come to know wherein I may serve you, which I shall readily perform without remembrance of my late ill usage. Sir, replied *Carvajal*, What is it you can doe for me, which you offer with such mighty ostentation and gravity? Can you save my life? If you cannot doe that, you can doe nothing; When, as you say, I would have hanged you, I could have done it if I had pleased: but perhaps you were so much a Rascal, that I did not think you worth the hanging; and now, forsooth, you would sell me what you have not. Go your ways, in the Name of God, before I say worse to you. In this manner did he scorn and triumph over his Enemies, and never did he carry himself with that constancy of mind, authority, gravity and steadiness as he did that day when he was taken. I was acquainted with all those three Gentlemen whom I have here mentioned, but it is not reason to name any man, but on occasion of some great action; but they all afterwards became Citizens of *Cuzco*, and had the best quarters of that City assigned to them.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Of the Captains who were executed, and how their Heads were sent into divers parts of that Kingdom.

TO the preceding Discourses we shall add this one of a different nature to all the rest. There was a certain Souldier called *Diego de Tapia* whom I knew, and of whom I have made mention in our History of *Florida*, lib. 6. chap. 18. and who had been one of *Carvajal's* Souldiers, and much esteemed by him, because he was a good Souldier, active and fit for business. He was of little stature, but well shaped and had revolted over to *Carvajal* before the Battel of *Huarina*; this poor fellow, coming to *Carvajal*, wept, and shed many tears with great tenderness: alas, Sir, said he, Father, how much am I troubled to see you in this distress; I wish to God, that my life might satisfy for yours, for it could never be better offered than for you. Alas, Sir, how much am I grieved for you! had you fled, and made your escape with me, it had fared otherwise with you. To which *Carvajal* replied, I do not doubt of the sorrow and sense you have of my condition; and I am much obliged to you for the expressions you have made of your good will to me, offering to exchange your life, to purchase mine. But tell me, Brother *Diego*, since we were such great and intimate Friends, why thou didst not tell me of thy intention to be gone, that we might have fled away together? With which Answer the Standers-by were much pleased,

pleased, and laughed; wondering to see such presence of mind and readiness of spirit in a man of his condition to reply so aptly on every thing that was said to him. All this and much more passed between *Carvajal* and others, on the very day of this Battle, or rather a Day after without a Battle. But as to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, he remained alone, and no company admitted to see him; because he so desired it: unless *Diego Centeno* and his or seven principal Souldiers more, who were set over him for his guard.

The day following *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Lieutenant General, with all the Captains taken, were brought to Execution, as *Gohmara* relates, Chap. 187. and particularly nominates *John de Acosta*; *Francisco Maldonado*; *John Velaz de Guevara*, *Dionisio de Bovadilla*; *Gonzalo de Las Nidas*; and says that of the last of them, they drew his Tongue out at the Nape of his Neck; but he alleges no reason for it, only we may believe, it was for treasonable words spoken against his Imperial Majesty: all these and many others were hanged; and though they were Gentlemen, yet they lost their privilege by becoming Traitors and Rebels to their King. After they were executed, their Heads were cut off, and sent into divers parts and Cities of the Country. The Heads of *John de Acosta* and *Francisco Maldonado* were pitched upon Iron Spikes in the Market-place of *Cuzco*, which I saw there; though *Palentino*, Chap. 94. saith, that *Acosta's* Head was set up at *Los Reyes*: the Head of *Dionisio de Bovadilla*, and another with his, was carried to *Arequipa*; and thereby that which the good Lady *Joan de Leyva* prized of this *Bovadilla*, was accomplished, saying, when he carried the Head of *Lope de Mendoza* to be set up in that City, that they should in a short time take that Head down, and set up his in the place thereof. The several Authours write, that they hastened the execution of *Gonzalo Pizarro* and of his Officers concerned with him, with all expedition possible: for they conceived that the Country could not be safe and in peace whilst they were living. *Pizarro* received sentence to have his Head cut off for a Traitor, his houses in *Cuzco* demolished; and the ground sowed with Salt; and thereon a Pillar raised with this Inscription, *These are the Dwellings of that Traitor Gonzalo Pizarro, &c.*

All which I my self have seen performed and acted, and those very houses razed to the ground, which were once the lot of *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Brothers, when the Country was divided: that place in the Indian Tongue was called *Cacaraca*, which is as much as to say, *The Herb-garden*. *Pizarro*, as we have said, was detained a Prisoner in the Tent of Captain *Diego Centeno*, where they used him with the same respect as had been given him in the time of his greatest Prosperity: all that day he would eat nothing, though invited to it, but walked up and down the whole day very pensive and full of thoughts. After some hours in the night he called to *Centeno*, and asked him whether he was secure for that night? his meaning was, whether they would kill him that night, or let him live until the next day; for he was not ignorant that his Enemies thirsted after his blood in such a manner that every hour seemed a year to them until he was dispatched out of this World. *Centeno* answered, that he might rest secure as to that, howsoever his mind was unquiet; he lay down after Mid-night and slept for about the space of an hour, and then arising again, he walked untill break of day; and so soon as it was light, he desired to have a Confessour; with whom he remained untill Noon: where we will leave him for awhile to entertain our selves with a Narrative of the manner how *Carvajal* behaved himself that day, which in reality was not so wild and extravagant as one of our Authours reports it to have been; but in a far different manner, as I shall relate with great truth and impartiality. Nor am I moved to speak favourably of him in respect to former benefits and engagements which I have received from him; but rather the contrary, for he designed to have killed my Father after the Battle of *Huarina*, and sought for some pretences for it, arising from jealousy and his own vain suspicions. Howsoever an Historian ought to lay aside all prejudice and malice against any person, nor speak out of favour or affection, but clearly to relate matter of fact for information of posterity in after-Ages: And accordingly I protest as a Christian, that I have abbreviated many particulars, and omitted divers circumstances of things that I might not seem biased towards any person, or plainly to contradict the allegations of the aforesaid Authours, and particularly *Palentino*, who came late into this Country; and took up many Fables which the common People reported for Truths, according to the several Factions and Parties which they followed.

The

The things which I have said already, and what I shall hereafter add more distinctly, I took up at first in the time of my youth, as I heard them accidentally discoursed amongst men: for indeed about that time, and for some years afterwards, there was scarce any meeting of Persons of Quality but where these passages were the common entertainment: Afterwards, in my more ripe years, I received a farther information thereof from those who had been Guards to the persons of *Carvajal* and *Gonzalo Pizarro*: for the Tents wherein these two persons were lodged were near to each other; so that the Souldiers who were appointed to be their Guards, being Persons of Note, did often change their stations, and pass from one Tent to another: and upon their Testimonies who have seen and heard these Matters I ground my Relation.

And now to shew the difference between the particulars related by this Authour touching the behaviours of *Carvajal* and *Pizarro* after their imprisonment: and that which we have written and shall write hereafter, we shall extract some few sayings of them, which indeed are nothing but vulgar talk and street-news, and not received by Persons of Quality and understanding. That which *Palentino* saith, Chap. the 90th, is this: Then they carried *Francisco de Carvajal* before the President: who was taken in the pursuit as he was fallen in a Bog; and as he was conducted by *Pedro de Valdivia*, the Commonalty was so incensed against him, that they would have killed him; which *Carvajal* perceiving, desired the President not to hinder them, but suffer them to kill him in that very place. It happened at that time, that the Bishop of *Cuzco* came to him, and said, wherefore was it, *Carvajal*, that thou killedst my Brother? for he had hanged his Brother *Ximenez* after the Battle of *Guarina*: To which he answered, that he had not killed him: Who was it then, said the Bishop? His own destiny, said *Carvajal*: with which the Bishop growing angry, and laying before him the crime he committed in the murder of his Brother, he bore up to him, and gave him three or four blows over the Face with his Fist.

In like manner much People flocked in upon him, giving him opprobrious language, reviling him for the many ill and cruel actions that he had done; to all which *Carvajal* was silent, and made no reply: At that time *Diego Centeno* coming in, reproved the people for their rude treatment of him; which caused *Carvajal* to look earnestly upon him; and ask him, who he was, that dealt so civilly with him: *Centeno* replied, Sir, do not you know *Diego Centeno*? In truth, Sir, said *Carvajal*, I have seen your back parts so often, that coming now to see your face; I scarce knew you: meaning the pursuits he had made after him: Howsoever *Centeno* was so little offended at this reply, that he followed him into the Tent, where he was detained prisoner, and still continued to offer him all the services which were in his power to do for him, though he was well assured, that if he were in his condition, he would not shew the like to him; which when *Carvajal* heard, he made a little pause and stop, and said, Seignior *Diego Centeno*, I am no such Child or Fool, as with the fear and apprehension of death, to be moved unto so much folly and vain hopes, as to request of you any kindness or good Office; nor do I remember at any time, in the best days of my life, that ever such a ridiculous proposal was made to me as this formal offer of service which you make me; which having said, they carried him into the Tent.

In all the Royal Army there was but one man killed, of *Pizarro's* there were fifteen; which happened according to the disposition of Divine Providence; that his Majesty might have occasion thereby to exercise his mercy and clemency towards *Pizarro* and his Souldiers. And thus did God out of his infinite compassion put an end to these troubles, with so little effusion of blood as this which happened: which indeed was very strange, in case we consider, that on both sides there were fourteen hundred Musketeers, seventeen pieces of Cannon, above six hundred Horse, with a great number of Piques and Lances: for when the King's party perceived in what manner their Enemies were lost and defeated, they had nothing to do, but to receive them, and give them quarter when they surrendered, &c.

In the following Chapter, which is the ninety first, having related the sentence which was passed upon *Gonzalo Pizarro*; he there adds, that when several gave their Votes to have his quarters set up in the publick places of the City, the President, out of respect to the Marquis, his Brother, refused to give his consent thereunto: and that at his death he shewed himself very penitent for the sins he had committed.

committed against God, the King and his neighbours. The same day *Francisco de Carvajal* was executed: he was drawn and quartered; and his quarters disposed of in divers places about the City of *Cusco*: but his Head with that of *Pizarro's* was carried to *Lima*: and *Pizarro's* house likewise in that City was demolished, and the ground strewn with Salt, with a Motto or Inscription set thereupon. This *Carvajal*, from the time that he was taken, to the time that he was executed, shewed as little fear and apprehension, and was as little concerned at the approach of death, as he had been at any time of his greatest prosperity: for when the sentence was declared to him, he received it without any alteration or change in his countenance; and said, 'Tis no matter, I can but dye.' That day in the morning *Carvajal* asked how many had been executed; and when it was told him, that none had been as yet; he said, your Lord President is a very mercifull Prince, for if the fortune of the day had been ours, I should at one sitting have disposed of the quarters of nine hundred men. He was hardly persuaded to come to confession, for he told them, that he had confessed lately; and when they talked to him of restitution, he laughed aloud; saying, that he had nothing to say as to that point; and swore that he owed nothing to any person, unless half a Royal to a Tripe-woman who lives at the Gate of *Arenal* in *Seville*, which debt he made at the time when he remained there in expectation of a passage into the *Indies*; being on the hurdle to be drawn and crouded into a Hamper instead of a large Flasket; he said, Children and Old men are put into Cradles: and being come to the place of execution, the people crouded so to see him, that the Hang-man had not room to doe his duty; and thereupon he called to them, and said, Gentlemen, pray give the Officer place to doe Justice. In fine, he died more like a brave Roman than a good Christian. Thus far *Palentino*, whose relation seems to be grounded on the report of some persons who hated *Carvajal* for the evil he had done them, and not being able to wreak their anger on his person, would satisfy their revenge upon his fame and reputation.

CHAP. XL.

What Francisco de Carvajal said and did on the day of his death, and what account Authours give of his condition and skilfulness in War.

BUT now to return to what this Authour said. It is not to be believed, that a Bishop so religious as he of *Cusco* was, should either in publick or in secret strike an old man of eighty four years of age; nor is it probable that *Diego Centeno* who was a discreet and judicious person should offer his service with so much complement as is reported, to a man whom he knew would be executed in a few hours. Nor can we think that *Francisco de Carvajal*, of whom all Writers give the character of a sober, discreet person; and in testimony thereof publish many of his wise and sententious sayings, should utter such vile and unseemly expressions as are before related: Nor yet are these stories to be fathered on the Authour, who no doubt heard and received them in the City, where they were framed and vented, and may properly pass for Shams, which are lyes formed and coloured to pass for truths. For *Francisco de Carvajal* did not dissemble his knowledge of *Centeno*, but discoursed with him, as is mentioned; and I am well assured thereof from the testimony of those who that very day were present at the meeting of these persons. And though *Gomara*, in Chap. 187. confirms almost the same, yet it is with so little difference, that 'tis probable *Palentino* took it from his Narrative. For so it was, that a Souldier of principal rank amongst those of *Peru*, coming into *Spain*, soon after *Gomara's* History was published, accidentally met with this Authour in the Streets, and having some discourse with him upon several passages, he asked him, how he durst adventure to print so manifest a lye, when no such thing passed; and thereunto

thereunto added several other affrontive words, not convenient to be reported here. For which *Gomara* could make no other excuse, than that he did not frame the Story himself; but received it from others whose passion might cause them to speak maliciously: to which the Souldier replied, that it was the part of a discreet Historian not to take up reports upon common hearfay, but to weigh every thing with mature deliberation, so as neither to praise men who are worthy of commendation, nor yet defame such who deserve honour and high esteem; and hereupon *Gomara* departed from the Souldier greatly troubled, that he should say in his History, that *Carvajal* did not know to *Centeno*. And as false it is, that *Carvajal* should say, that he would have dispersed the quarters of nine hundred men through those fields, for certainly he never was so vain and inconsiderate to utter such matters. And now I shall tell what I heard from those who were in company with him all that day; and I much depend upon their Relation, having been educated with them from nine years of age untill I came to be twenty, when I left my own Countrey, and went into *Spain*: The truth of which Story is this; So soon as it was day, *Francisco de Carvajal* sent to call to him *Pedro de Lopez de Cagalla*, Secretary to the President *Gasca*; and after he had discoursed with him for some time in private, he drew out three very fine Emeralds, with a hole drilled through them to hang on a string; two of them were of an oval form, and the other round, which he tied upon his left Arme: and taking the biggest of them apart from the rest, he said, Mr. Secretary, this belongs to the Heirs of *Antonio Alamarino*, and is valued at five thousand pieces of Eight, which make six thousand Ducats: I desire the favour of you, to see it restored to the true Proprietor: the other belongs to such an one (whose name I have forgot) which is valued at four thousand pieces of Eight; and in like manner I desire you to see it given to the right Owner. This, which is the least, is my own; which I desire you to sell for me, and whatever it produces, to employ it in Masses, to be said for my Soul, that God may accept thereof, and pardon my Offences. The Secretary, not pleased with this offer, told him, that he expected from him some larger offers of restitution, and that if he were disposed so to doe; he would add ten thousand pieces of Eight of his own, to make up his a greater sum, and that he would bestow it, as he should direct. Sir, said *Carvajal*, I never raised therein, I was upon my Voyage into *Spain*, and advanced several leagues on the way: but being disappointed of means to escape; I took the side which fell to my Lot, as Souldiers of fortune use to doe; and as I did when I served the Emperor in quality of Serjeant Major, under *Vaca de Castro*, who was Governour of this Kingdom. If there have been Robberies and Plunderings on either side committed, we must attribute them to the natural effects of War: for my own part, I took nothing from any man, but contented myself with what was given me out of free-will: and at the conclusion of all, they have taken every thing from me, I mean, what was given me, and what I possessed before the beginning of this War. All which I refer to the infinite mercy of God our Lord, whose pardon I beg for all my Offences, and that he would prosper and preserve you, and repay you the charity you have offered me; for the Good-will ought to be esteemed for the Deed. And thus ended this Discourse with the Secretary. In the afternoon the Secretary sent him a Confessor, as he desired, whom he entertained with his Confession untill towards the Evening; and in the mean time the Officers of Justice sent two or three times to hasten his dispatch, that the sentence might be executed: but *Carvajal* was desirous to protract the time till night, that he might suffer in the dark. But it was not granted him, for the Judge *Cinca* and the Major General *Alonso de Alvarado*, who had passed sentence upon him were very importunate to have him dispatched, untill which time every moment seemed weeks and years. At length being brought out of the door of the Tent, he was crouded into a sort of Basket in nature of a hurdle, drawn by two great Mules which had not gone above three or four paces before he was overturned, with his face on the ground; and lifting up his head, as well as he was able, he called out to those who followed him, Gentlemen, consider, that I am a Christian, which was no sooner said, than he was raised up again by at least thirty of the Prime Souldiers belonging to *Diego Centeno*: and one of them particularly told me, that when he came to the Basket, he thought it had been one of the largest size, but when he came to put his hand under it, he found that he was so thrust and crou-

ded into it, that he could not get out one of his Armes, he was so penned within, so that they were forced to carry him to the foot of the Gallows, which was erected on this occasion. All the way he went he said his prayers in Latin, which the Souldier, who gave me this relation, did not understand; the two Priests who went along with him did ever and anon put him in mind to recommend his Soul unto God; to which *Carvajal* made answer, So I do, Sir, and said no more: in this manner being come to the place of execution, he submitted with all humility to his death, without speaking a word, or shewing any mildemeanour. Thus dyed the brave *Francisco de Carvajal*, of whom at his death *Gomara*, Chap. 187. gives this Character:

He was eighty four years of age when he died, he had been an Ensign at the Battel of *Ravenna*, and Souldier under a very great Captain; he was the most famous Warriour of all the *Spaniards*, who had passed into the *Indies*, though he had no great parts, nor great experience. But I know not what *Gomara* means in so saying; for what greater testimonies can a chief Officer give of his abilities and experience than to overcome in Battel, and know how to gain Victories over his enemies. Some Historians say of him, that he was born in a certain Village of *Arcvalo*, called *Ragama*; it is not known of what Family he was, onely that he had been a Souldier all his life, and was an Ensign at the Battel of *Ravenna*; and, as hath been said, he was present when the King of *France* was taken prisoner at *Pavia*: he was also at the sacking of *Rome*, but got nothing there, it happening to him, as to other good Souldiers, that whilst they are fighting the Cowards run away with the booty. Three or four days after the Town was taken and sacked, *Carvajal* finding that no share of the prey fell to him, he entred into a Notary's or Scrivener's Shop, where he found great numbers of Writings, Bills, and Bonds, and Conveyances of Estates, all which *Carvajal* seized upon, and carried away four or five Mules lading thereof, and lodged them at his own Quarters: so soon as the fury of the plunder was over, and that things began to be quiet, the Scrivener returning to his Houle perceived that all his Writings were carried away, and considering that no man could make any benefit thereby, he hunted up and down all the Town for them, and at length finding them in *Carvajal's* hands, he agreed for a thousand Ducats to have them restored; which enabled him to make a Voyage to *Mexico*, with his Wife *Donna Catalina Leyton*; though some, as we have said, will not allow her to be his Wife: howsoever it is certain he was married to her, and she was generally esteemed for his Wife over all *Pern*, and for a virtuous Woman of noble extraction; for the Family of the *Leytons* is very ancient in the Kingdom of *Portugal*. From *Mexico* (as we have said) *Carvajal* passed to *Pern*; and in all the course of his life the War was his delight, and the thing which he loved and adored, availing himself more on the reputation of a Souldier than of a good Christian: and this is the character which all Authours give of him; though generally speaking, he was not so bad as is reported, for he esteemed it the principle of a good Souldier to be a man of his word, and he was very gratefull for any benefit, gratuity, or kindness given or shewn to him. *Augustine Carate*, speaking of *Carvajal*, Book 5. Chap. 14. hath these words;

He was a man of a middle stature, very corpulent, and of a ruddy and sanguine complexion; he was very skillful in military affairs, having always been practised in War: he was very patient of labour and hardship, much more than was agreeable to his age: for it is strange to consider, that neither day nor night he put off his Arms, nor did he lie on a Bed when it was necessary for him to take his natural rest, but onely repoted himself on a Chair with his Arm under his Head. He was so great a lover of Wine, that when he found no *Spanish* Wine he would drink of that Liquor which the *Indians* use, which never any *Spaniard*, that I have seen, did ever delight in. He was very cruel in his nature; for he put many people to death upon very slight causes, and some without any fault or cause at all; onely for reasons of State, or conservation of the military Discipline: and when he put them to death he did it without any remorse or compassion, passing upon them jeers and sarcasms, and shewing himself pleasant and facetious at that unseasonable time. In short, he was a very bad Christian, as he shewed both by his words and actions. Thus far *Augustine Carate*.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Cloaths which *Francisco de Carvajal* wore, and of some of his quaint Sentences and Sayings.

Francisco de Carvajal did much value himself on the trade and formalities of a Souldier; he commonly wore, instead of a Cloak, a Moorish *Bornoz*, or Plad of a brown Colour, with a Fringe and a Cape to it; in which habit I have often seen him. On his Head he wore a Hat, having the brims lined with black Taffaty, and a plain Silk Hatband, with a plume of white and black Feathers taken from the Wings and Tails of common Cocks or Hens, twined one within the other in form of an X, the which piece of gallantry he affected, that his Souldiers might follow his example, and wear any Feathers whatsoever; for he would often say, that Feathers were the proper badge of a Souldier and not of a Citizen, for that which was the dress of one was a sign of fantastical lightness in the other: and that he that wore this Device did thereby promise great valour and bravery; that is, *That he would fight with one singly and kill him, stay for two, and not fly from three*: and though this was not *Carvajal's* saying, but an old Proverb amongst the Souldiery relating to their Feathers, yet he was a man who, on all occasions, uttered many quaint Sayings and Sentences full of wit and pleasantness: I with I could remember them all for divertisement of the Reader, but such as I can call to mind, and are modest and civil, I shall repeat; for he used much liberty in his speech, and some undecencies which are not fit to be mentioned.

Carvajal meeting upon a certain time with a Souldier who was crooked in his Body, and very ill shaped, asked him, Sir, What is your name? to which he made answer, that it was — *Hurtado*, which is as much as a thing itolen. *I for my part*, said *Carvajal*, should be troubled to find you, much more to steal. *Carvajal* marching one day with his Troops, chanced to meet with a Friar, who was a Lay-brother, and as there were no Lay-Friars at that time in the Countrey, and I know not whether any of them are come thither since, he suspected that he was a Spie, and would have hanged him; but to be the better assured thereof, he invited him to dinner; and then to make an experiment whether he was a Friar or not, he ordered his Servants to give him drink in a Cup something bigger than ordinary, to try if he took it with both hands, or with one; and seeing that he took it with both hands, he became assured that he was a Friar, and so called to him, *Drink it up, Father, drink it up, for it will give you life*: meaning that if he had not drank it in that manner he should have been confirmed in his supposition, and would most certainly have hanged him.

Carvajal having one of his greatest enemies in his power, and intending to hang him; the Prisoner asked him in a kind of menacing way what reason he had to put him to death, and said, Sir, Pray tell me plainly what reason you have to kill me? *Oh*, said *Carvajal*, I understand you well, you are desirous to be esteemed a Martyr, and lay your death at my door: Know then that I hang you for being a loyal Servant to his Majesty; go your ways then, and take your reward for your faithfulness and allegiance, and with that he sent him to the Gallows.

Carvajal travelling in *Collao* met with a Merchant who had employed about fourteen or fifteen thousand pieces of Eight in Merchandise, which he had brought from Spain to *Panama*, and said to him, Brother, according to the custome of War, all these goods belong properly to me. The Merchant, who was a cunning fellow, fitted and ready for such replies as suited best with Souldiers and his humour, answered him cheerfully, Sir, Whether War or Peace this Merchandise is yours, for we are Partners, and in the name of both of us I traded at *Panama*, and intended to have divided the gains between us; and in token thereof I have brought with me from *Panama* two Barrels of red Wine, and two dozen of Iron Shoes, and Nails for your Mules; for in those times (as we have before mentioned) every Shoe for Horse or Mule was worth a Mark in Silver; which having said, he sent for the Wine and Horse-shoes, and in the mean time produced the Writing of Partnership between them. *Carvajal* received the Wine and the Horse-shoes very kindly, and

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to shew how well he accepted them, he gave him Commiſſion to be a Captain, with a Warrant requiring the *Indians* to ſerve him upon the way, and to furniſh him with neceſſaries for his Journey; and farther commanded, that no Merchant in *Potosi* ſhould open his Shop or ſell any thing untill his Partner had cleared his hands of all his Merchandize. The Merchant, proud of theſe favours, went his way and ſold his Goods at the rates he pleaſed; and having gained above thirty thouſand pieces of Eight, he returned to *Carvajal*, and to ſecure himſelf of his favour, he told him, that he had gained eight thouſand pieces of Eight in Partnership with him, and that four thouſand, which was the moiety thereof belonged to him: *Carvajal*, to make his Souldiers merry, began to ſpeak in the Merchant's phraſe and ſtyle; and told him that he could not be ſatisfied with a general account untill he ſaw his Book. The Merchant readily drew it out, and read the ſeveral parcels; as, *Imprimis*, for ſo many pieces of Cloth of Gold; *Item*, ſo many pieces of Sattin, ſo many of Velvet, ſo many of Damask, ſo many fine Cloaths of *Sigovia* Wool, ſo many pieces of fine Holland and Cambrick, and ſo ſeveral of them with their prices, which he brought from *Spain*; the laſt parcel of all was three dozen of Combs, which amounted to ſo much. *Carvajal* was ſilent untill he came to this parcel; and then he cried out, hold, hold, read that parcel once again; which when he had done, he turned about to his Souldiers, and ſaid, *Do not you think, Gentlemen, that he charges me over much in this parcel of Combs?* The Souldiers laughed heartily to hear him ſtop at this matter of the Combs, and to paſs by all the groſſer ſums preceding. Thus was the Partnership diſſolved, and *Carvajal*, having taken his ſhare of the gains, diſpatched away his Partner well treated and favoured by him; as he did all thoſe who brought him any benefit.

This paſſage, or ſome other very like it, a certain Authour relates in a different manner, which was this: *Carvajal*, purſuing after *Diego Centeno*, happened one day to take three of his Souldiers, two of which being the moſt conſiderable, he hanged up preſently; and coming to the third, he found him to be a ſtranger and a native of *Greece*, called Maſter *Franciſco*, and pretended to be a Chirurgeon, though in reality he knew nothing of that Profeſſion; and this fellow, as the greateſt Miſcreant of the three, he ordered ſhould be hanged on the higheſt Gibbet: *Franciſco*, hearing this Sentence, ſaid to him, Sir, Why will you trouble your ſelf to hang ſuch a pitiful Rascal as I am, who am not worth the hanging, and who have never given you any cauſe of offence; and, Sir, I may be uſeful to you in curing your wounds, being a Chirurgeon by my profeſſion: Well, ſaid he, go thy ways, and I pardon thee for whatever thou haſt already done or ſhalt do for the future, on condition that thou careſt my Mules; for I am ſure thou art more a Farrier than a Doctour. Maſter *Franciſco*, having got free by theſe means, in a few months time afterwards he made his eſcape, and ſerved *Diego Centeno*, and after the Battel of *Huarina* being again taken, *Carvajal* ordered that he ſhould be hanged; but Maſter *Franciſco* deſired his Worſhip's excuſe, for that at ſuch a time he had pardoned him both for what was paſt and what ſhould be hereafter: and hereof I challenge your paroll, as becomes the honour of a Souldier, which I know you highly eſteem. The Devil take thee, ſaid *Carvajal*, and doſt thou remember this now? I'll keep my Promiſe, go, look after my Mules, and run away as often as thou wilt; if all the enemies of my Lord the Governour were like thee we ſhould ſoon be Friends. The ſtory of Maſter *Franciſco* is told of a certain Priest in the ſame manner onely with change of Perſons.

In his purſuit after *Diego Centeno* he took three perſons of thoſe which he called Weavers or Trimmers; who, as their neceſſities urged them, ran from one ſide to another; and of this ſort of people he pardoned none, but hanged as many of them as he could catch: and having hanged two of them, the third thinking to plead ſomething for his pardon, told him, that he had been his Servant, and had eaten often of his Bread; his meaning was, that often times, as a Souldier, he had eaten with him at his Table. Curſed, ſaid *Carvajal*, be that Bread which hath been ſo ill employed: and turning to the Executioner, take me this Gentleman, and hang him up on the higheſt branch of yonder Tree, having had the honour to eat of my Bread. And laſt this Chapter ſhould be over long we have thought fit to divide it into two parts.

CHAP.

C H A P. XLII.

Of other paſſages like the others; and what happened by a Boy who touched one of the Quarters of Carvajal.

WHEN he marched out of *Cuzco* to go to *Collao* with three hundred Souldiers after him, all drawn up in form of Battel; for he was much pleaſed to ſee his men well exerciſed and marching in good order. A little more than a league from the City, he obſerved one of his Souldiers to ſeparate from the reſt of the Company, and to retire behind a Rock in the way for his natural eaſement: *Carvajal*, who remained always in the Rere, the better to obſerve the march of his Troops, ſeemed very angry and much diſpleaſed with the Souldier for leaving his Rank; the Souldier excuſed himſelf, being urged by his natural neceſſities. How, ſaid *Carvajal*, a good Souldier of Peru, who is the beſt Souldier in the world, ought to eat his Loaf of Bread at *Cuzco*, and caſt it out again at *Chuquifaca*, which are two hundred leagues diſtant each from the other.

At another time *Carvajal* travelling with five or ſix Companions, they brought him a roasted Leg of Mutton of that large kind of Sheep which are in that Country, and which are half as big more as thoſe are in *Spain*: One of thoſe in the company called *Hernan Perez Tablero*, who was a familiar Friend of *Carvajal*, offered to be Carver, and as a bad Husband in his Office cut out large ſlices: What doſt thou mean, ſaid he, to cut out ſuch great pieces? I give every man, answered he, his proportion; it is well done, ſaid *Carvajal*, for the Devil is in his Gut who comes for more.

When *Carvajal* was returned victorious from the purſuit he had made after *Diego Centeno*, he made a Banquet at *Cuzco*, and invited all his Captains and chief Officers thereunto: and though Wine was dear at that time, and worth three hundred pieces of Eight the *Arrobe*, or twenty five pounds weight, being about ſix Gallons Engliſh meaſure, yet the Gueſts drank freely of it, and not being accuſtomed to drink Wine, they were all ſo diſordered that ſome fell aſleep in their Chairs, others on the Floor, ſome tumbled down, and every one was ill accommodated and in diſguiſe; which when *Donna Catalina Leyton*, coming forth from her Chamber, ſaw, ſhe, in a ſcornful manner, ſaid, alas for poor Peru, that thou ſhouldeſt have the miſfortune to be governed by ſuch people as theſe; which when *Carvajal* heard, Peace, ſaid he, you old Jade, and let them ſleep but two hours, for there is not one of theſe fellows but is able to govern half a world.

At another time, having impriſoned a rich man for ſome words which he was accuſed to have ſaid againſt him, and having detained him in priſon for want of due evidence and proof of matters againſt him, though he ſeldom ſtood upon thoſe niceties to diſpatch his Enemies: The poor man finding that his Execution was delayed, he imagined, that the onely way to ſave his life was to ranſome himſelf with money; for it was well known that *Carvajal* had on the like occaſion taken the preſent and been reconciled: upon this ſuppoſition, he ſent for a Friend of his and deſired to bring him two Ingots of Gold, which he had laid in ſuch a place, which being brought to him, he ſent them to *Carvajal*, deſiring him to hear his Cauſe, and his Answers to the Accuſations of his enemies: *Carvajal* having received the Gold, went to viſit the Priſoner, whoſe lodging was in his Houſe: And the Priſoner pleading that he was ſaſily accuſed, deſired him to be ſatisfied with the miſery he had already ſuffered, and that he would pardon him for God's ſake, promiſing for the future to become a true, faithful and a loyal Servant to him, as he would find in time. *Carvajal*, taking his Ingots of Gold, ſaid with a loud voice (that the Souldiers in the yard below might hear him) Why, Sir, having ſo authentick Writings and Papers to ſhew as you have, did not you produce them before: Go your ways in God's name in peace, and live ſecurely, for though we are againſt the King, it is not reaſon that we ſhould likewiſe be enemies to the Church of God.

We have formerly in another place related how *Carvajal* ſtrangled *Donna Maria Calderon*, and hanged her out at a Window of her Lodgings; we were then very brief in this narrative, and did not plainly ſpecifie the particular words and reaſons, not

not to interrupt, by a long digression, the proper current of the History, we shall now supply that defect in this place. *Donna Maria Calderon*, though residing in her enemies quarters, and in their power, yet made it her common discourse in all companies, to speak openly against *Gonzalo Pizarro*; and notwithstanding *Carvajal*, to whom the informations were brought, did twice or thrice admonish her to be less liberal in her language, and to be more prudent and cautious in her speeches, as did other Friends who wished her well; howsoever she made no use of this good counsel, but vented her passion with more liberty and indifference than before: whereupon *Carvajal* went one day to her Lodgings, and told her (*Lady Gossip*) *I am come to cure you of your too much prating, and I know no other remedy for it than to choke you*: but she, following her pleasant humour, and thinking that *Carvajal* was in jest; away, said she, you drunken Fool in the Devil's name, for though you jest, I will stop my ears to you, and not hear: in earnest, said he, I do not jest; for I come to cure you of too much loquacity: for that you may not prate as you have done, I come to streighten the wideness of your Throat; and to shew you that I am in earnest, behold here are my *Ethiopian* Souldiers at hand who are to doe you this service; for he always carried three or four *Negroes* with him for such Offices as this: hereupon he went his way, and his *Africans* immediately strangled her, and hanged her Body out at a Window looking to the Street; and as he was under, he cast up his eyes and said, *Upon my life, Lady Gossip, if this be not a remedy to affright you from too much talking, I know not what other means to use*.

Carvajal being at a certain City where his Souldiers were quartered upon the Inhabitants, and having occasion to march from thence, two months afterwards he returned again to the same City; where an Officer of the Town, fearing that they would quarter the same Souldier upon him which formerly had been with him, went to *Carvajal* and desired him that that Souldier might not be put upon him: *Carvajal* understanding him, gave him a nod instead of other answer: And coming to the place where quarters were to be assigned to the Souldiers, he said to every one of them particularly; Go you to such a place, and you to such a place, and so disposed of every one of them as if he had carried a list of the Inhabitants names in writing; at length coming to the Souldier before-mentioned; and you, Sir, said he, go to such a House, which was far from the Chamber where he formerly quartered: Sir, replied the Souldier, I desire to go to my old Landlord, where I am well known; No, said *Carvajal*, I would have you go to the place which I assign you: but the Souldier would not be so answered, saying, that he had no need to change his quarters, where he was so well entertained before; and then *Carvajal*, moving his head with great gravity, *I would have your Worship go*, said he, *to the place I have appointed for you, where you will be very well treated; and if you want any thing more, my Lady Catalina Leyton will be near at hand to serve you*: and then the Souldier, understanding that he should be well provided for, accepted his offer, and said no more.

The Head of *Francisco de Carvajal* being cut off, was carried to the City of *Los Reyes*, and there fixed upon the Gallows in the Market-place, in company with the Head of *Gonzalo Pizarro*; his Quarters, with those of other Captains concerned in the same condemnation were set up in the four great Roads which lead to the City of *Cuzco*. And in regard that in Chap. 33. of the fourth Book, we have promised to give an account of the poison with which the *Indians* of the Island of *Barlovento* did usually infect their Arrows, by sticking them in the flesh of dead men: I shall, in confirmation thereof, relate what I saw experienced on one of the Quarters of *Carvajal*, which was hanged up in the High-way which leads to *Collasuya*, which is to the South-ward of *Cuzco*. The thing was this:

One day, being Sunday, ten or twelve Boys of the same School with me, whose Fathers were *Spaniards* and Mothers *Indians*, all of us under the age of twelve years, walking abroad to play, we espied the Quarters of *Carvajal* in the Field, at which we all cried, let us go and see *Carvajal*; and being come to the place, we perceived that the Quarter hanging there was his Thigh, very fat, stinking and green with corruption. Hereupon one of the Boys said, that none of them durst go and touch him: Some said yes, some said no; with which they divided into two parties, but none durst come near it, untill one Boy, called *Barbolomeu Monedero*, more bold and unlucky than the rest, How, said he, dare not I? and with that ran and thrust his middle Finger clear through the Quarter; upon which we all ran from him,

him, and cried, Oh the stinking Rascal, Oh the stinking Rogue, *Carvajal* is coming to kill you for being so bold with him; but the Boy ran down to the water, washed his finger very well, and rubbed it with dirt, and so returned home; the next day, being Monday, he came to the School with his Finger very much swelled, and looked as if he wore the Thumb of a Glove upon it; towards the evening his whole hand was swelled up to his very Wrist; and next day, being Tuesday, the swelling was come up to his very Elbow, so that he was then forced to tell his Father of it, and confess how it came: for remedy of which, Physicians being called, they bound a string very strait above the swelling, and scarified his Hand and Arm, applying other Antidotes and Remedies thereunto; notwithstanding which, and all the care they could use, the Boy was very near death: and though at length he recovered, yet it was four months afterwards before he could take a Pen in his hand to write. And thus as the temper of *Carvajal* was virulent and malicious in his life-time, so was his flesh noxious after his death, and gives us an experiment in what manner the *Indians* empoisoned their Arrows.

CHAP. XLIII.

In what manner Pizarro was executed. Of the Alms he desired might be given for his Soul after his death, with some account of his disposition and natural parts.

AND now in the last place we are to give a relation of the dolefull end of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whom we left in confession all that day, and untill noon of the next day, untill the Officers were called to dinner, but he refused to eat, and remained alone untill the Confessour returned, and so continued in confession untill it was very late: in the mean time the Officers of Justice being impatient of delay, were still going and coming to hasten the dispatch; and one of the most grave and severe amongst them, being troubled to see the time thus pass away, cried out with a loud voice; what will they never have done, and bring forth this man? at which saying all the Souldiers were much offended, and uttered many scandalous and reviling words against him, most of which, though I well remember, yet I am too modest to repeat them here, or name the person: for he retired without replying one word, lest he should provoke the Souldiers to farther anger, whose displeasure he much feared for what he had already expressed: but presently afterwards *Gonzalo Pizarro* came forth and was set upon a Mule purposely provided for him; he had his Cloak on, and his hands loose, though some Authors write, that his hands were bound; yet about the Mule's neck, a halter was tied to comply with the formality of the Sentence: in his hands he carried the Image of our Lady (to whom he was greatly devoted) praying her to intercede for his Soul. Being come half way to the place of Execution, he desired a Crucifix (which one of the Priests who attended him, of which there being about ten or twelve) gave into his hands; which he exchanged for the Image of our Lady, kissing first with great humility the hem of her Garment: upon the Crucifix he fixed his eyes so steadily that he did not remove them from that object untill he came to the Scaffold, which was purposely erected for his execution; and being mounted thereupon, he went to one side of it, and from thence made his Speech to the Souldiers and Inhabitants of *Peru*, who flocked from all parts thither, few being absent, unless those who had been of his party, and were revolted from him; and of them also some were present in disguises, and not to be known, and then he spake with a loud voice in this manner;

Ye know, Gentlemen, that my Brothers and I have gained this Empire, and that many of you are possessed of Lands and Baronies, which my Brother the Marquis conferred upon you; and many of you here present have received them from me. Moreover many of you owe me money, which I have freely lent to you; and others have received them as a gift and no-

as a debt. I for my part dye poor and without any thing, that not so much as the cloaths upon my back are my own, but the fees belonging to the Executioner, for the service he doth in cutting off my Head; so that I have nothing to give for the good and benefit of my Soul, wherefore, I beseech you, Gentlemen, as many of you as owe me money, to bestow the same in Masses: to be said for my Soul, having full assurance in God, through the meritorious blood and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, and with the assistance of your charity, that he will pardon my Offences and receive me to Mercy. And so Farewell.

Scarce had he ended his request for Charity, before the Sighs and Groans of the People were loudly heard; and many Tears were shed by all those who heard those dolefull and sad expressions. Then Pigarro kneeled down before the Crucifix which was placed on a Table set upon the Scaffold. Then came the Executioner, John Enriquez, to bind a Handkerchief about his Eyes: but Pigarro deftly drew his Hanger to cut off his Head; he said, Honest Jack, doe thy Office handsomely, meaning that he should doe his business at one blow, and not in a mangling manner, as some have done: then said the Executioner, I promise your Lordship that it shall be so done as you desire: and having so said, he lifted up his Beard with his left-hand, being above a Span long, and cut round, as they use to wear them in those days; and with a back-swoak cut off his Head at one blow, as if he had sliced a leaf of Lettice; and holding his Head in his hand, the body remained some time before it fell. And this was the end of this great Man. The Executioner would afterwards have stripped him, but that Diego Centeno, who was come to lay him in his Coffin, redeemed his Cloaths by promising a recompense for them to the Executioner: so his Corpse were carried to be interred at Cosco in his own Cloaths, for want of a winding Sheet, which none would bestow, and were buried in a Convent of our Lady of the Mercedes, and in the same Chapel where lay the bodies of the two *Diegos de Almagro*, Father and Son, whose Fates had been the same; for they had been equally concerned in gaining the Countrey; and all three were put to death and buried upon Charity; and after all this, as if there had wanted Earth or Land in the Countrey, they were all three buried in the same Grave: And that none of them might have cause to boast of his fortune above the other; all their conditions were made equal; and all three may be compared with that of *Francisco Pigarro*, who was Brother of one and Companion of the other who was put to death (as before related) and buried afterwards upon Charity: and thus may these four Brothers and Companions be compared and made equal in every thing. So that now, if a man soberly and impartially considers the course of this World, he will see how well and in what manner it rewards those who serve in their generation; since this was the recompence of those who gained and conquered the Empire called *Peru*. None of the three Authors make mention of the Charity which *Pigarro* begged at his death; perhaps because they would not grieve the Readers with so melancholy a Story; but, for my part, I write all things plainly and without any disguise.

The fury of the War being over, the Inhabitants of the Empire caused Masses to be said in their respective Cities for the Soul of *Gonzalo Pigarro*, both in compliance with what he requested of them at his death, as also from a Principle of gratitude to him who had saved their liberties, and laid down his life for the publick welfare. His Head with that also of *Francisco de Carvajal* was carried to the City of *Los Reyes*, (which was built and founded by his Brother the Marquis.) And here, being pitched upon Iron Spikes, they were set upon a Gallows in the publick Market-place.

Gonzalo Pigarro and his four Brothers (who have supplied us with matter for a long Discourse in this History) were born in the City of *Truxillo*, which is in the Province of *Estremadura*, which we mention in honour thereunto, for having produced such Heroick Sons, who conquered the two Empires of the new World, namely, *Mexico* and *Peru*; for *Don Hernando Cortes*, Marquis *Del Valle*, who subdued *Mexico*, was also born at *Medell*, which is a Town in *Estremadura*. Also *Alfo Vasco Nunez de Valboa*, who was the first Spaniard that discovered the South-Sea, was a Native of *Xerez de Badajoz*; and *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, who, after the Conquest of *Mexico*, passed into *Peru* with eight hundred men, of which *Gargilasso de la Vega* was one of the Captains, and *Gomez de Tordoya*, were Natives of *Badajoz*; to which we may add *Pedro Alvarez Holguin*, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro*

Barro

Barro his Companion, with many other Gentlemen of the Families of *Alvarado*, and *Chavez*, and other persons of Quality engaged in the Conquest of those Kingdoms, who were all, or the most of them, Natives of *Estremadura*; and for that reason many Souldiers born in that Province, following their Countrey-men of note, were employed in that Enterprize: wherefore, in honour thereunto, we ought not to cover the names of such Sons in obscurity, who have signalized themselves to the World by such Heroick Actions. *Gonzalo Pigarro* was of the name of the *Picarro's*, which is a Family of ancient blood, illustrious and well known over all Spain; *Don Hernando Cortes*, who was Marquis *Del Valle*, was by the Mother-side of that Family, called *Donna Carlina Pigarro*; so that this Lineage is worthy of honour, being entitled to the Conquest of two Empires.

Besides the Antiquity of this Family, *Gonzalo Pigarro* and his Brothers were the Sons of *Gonzalo Pigarro*, a Captain of the Guards in the Kingdom of *Navarre*; which is an Office of great reputation in that Countrey, for that all the Souldiers thereof are to be Gentlemen of ancient Families, or such as have obtained this Honour by some great and heroick Action: the which Office is of so great esteem, that, to my knowledge, a Grandee of Spain, called *Don Alonso Fernandez de Cordona*, and *Figueras*, Marquis *De Priego*, Chief of the House of *Aguilar*, availed himself much on the Honour of being Captain of Horse in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which Office he continued until the day of his death, and was much honoured by all the Souldiers of those parts.

Gonzalo Pigarro was a very comely person in the shape of his Body, of a pleasing countenance, of a confirmed health, and one who could endure all hardships, as hath been proved by this History: He was an excellent Horseman in both Saddles, either riding short, or with long Stirrups; he was an excellent Marksmen, either with Gun or Cross-bow: with a black-lead Pencil he could draw any thing in the Wall which he desired; and was the most dexterous with his Lance of any man that ever passed into the new World, of which many famous men of those times give testimony. He was a great lover of good Horses, and kept many of them in his Stables. At the beginning of the Conquest he had two of a Chest-nut colour, one of which he called the Clown, because he was not well shaped, but very good for service, the other he called *Zaynillo*. Some Gentlemen of that time being in conversation together, one of them who had been a Companion with *Gonzalo Pigarro* gave this Character of him, which I heard from his own mouth. When *Gonzalo Pigarro*, said he, was mounted on his *Zaynillo*, he no more valued a Squadron of *Indians*, than if they had been a swarm of Flies: he was of a noble nature, clear and sincere, without malice, fraud or designs: he was a man of truth, confident of his friend and of those whom he thought to be so, which proved his mine. And because he was a man without cheats or fraud, he was judged by Writers to be weak in his understanding: but they doe him wrong, for certainly he was of a clear head, and naturally inclined to virtue and honour, he was of an affable disposition, and generally beloved both by friends and enemies; and, in short, was endued with all the noble Qualities, which become a great Person. As to riches gained by his own industry; we may properly say, that he was Master of all the wealth of *Peru*, which he possessed and governed for a long time, and with so much justice and equity, that the President did him the right to praise and commend his Government, as we have before declared. He conferred upon others great and large proportions of Land, and jurisdiction over *Indians*, that many of them amounted unto ten, others to twenty and thirty thousand pieces of Eight of yearly revenue: he was a very good Christian, and zealously devoted to our Lady the Virgin *Mary*, Mother of God, as the President gave testimony in the Letter which he wrote. He never denied any thing which was asked for the sake of our Lady, though of never so great an importance: which being known to *Francisco de Carvajal* and his Officers; when they had a mind to put any man to death, they would never suffer his Petition to come to the ears of *Pigarro*, lest they should ask a thing in the name of our Lady, for whose sake he was resolved to deny nothing. He was much beloved for his moral Vertues and military Exploits: And though it was convenient for the Service of his Majesty to take away his life, yet generally his death was lamented for the many Excellencies with which he was endued; so that I never heard any that spoke ill of him, but all well and with great respect, as became a Superiour. And whereas *Palentino* saith, that many gave their opinion; and did earnestly insist, that he

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should be quartered, and his Limbs hanged up in the common high-ways leading to *Cusco*, is a most false relation: for never was any such thing either imagined or contrived: for if ever any such thing had been intended, it would certainly have been discoursed of in the times of peace and settlement, as many other things were, which were at first great Secrets, and afterwards made known and divulged to all the World: Nor indeed can it be believed that such a thing could be, for all those of the Council (excepting the President himself) had many and great obligations to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, having received signal honours and benefits from his hands: and therefore it was not likely they would pass an infamous sentence against him, though it was necessary for the service of his Majesty and the peace and quietness of the Empire, that they should give their assent unto his death.

The End of the Fifth Book.

Royal

Royal Commentaries.

B O O K VI.

C H A P. I.

New Orders published by the President for suppressing Rebels. The Offences which the Indians took to see Spaniards whipped. The great Trouble the President had to answer the Demands of Pretenders; and how he went from the City to make a Division of Lands.

NOR did the Troubles end here in this Empire called Peru, nor were all the Insurrections suppressed by the Defeat of *Gonzalo Pizarro* and his Captains, but rather were the Spirits of men more furiously inflamed than before, as will appear by the sequel of this History: for we must know that after the Victory obtained at *Sacabambana*, the President dispatched that very day to *Cusco* two of his Captains, *Hernando Mexia de Guzman* and *Martin de Robles*, with some Souldiers in whom they most confided, to seize those of the Enemies Party who were fled thither after the Defeat, and to prevent their own Souldiers from plundering or doing spoil in the City, and from taking private revenge by bloud or otherwise, under the pretence of Liberty of War, as it was said some designed to doe. The day following, after the execution of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Associates, the President raised his Camp from that famed field, and marched towards the City, which though but four leagues from thence, yet he was two days on the way; and in that time he detached a Party of trusty Souldiers under the command of Captain *Alonso de Mendoza*, with Instructions to march into the *Charcas* and *Potosi*, and to seize and take the Captains which *Gonzalo Pizarro* had sent into those parts, namely, *Francisco de Espinosa*, and *Diego Carvajal*, the Gallant, of whom we have formerly made mention; and *Licenciado Polo Honderado* received a Commission to be Captain General of those Provinces; with Orders to punish those who had favoured the Cause of *Pizarro*, and likewise those who did not engage themselves in the service of his Majesty, but stood neutrals; neither acting as Traytors, nor professing themselves loyal; and therefore were severely fined for their cowardise and want of duty. With *Licenciado Polo* Captain *Graviel de Rojas* was also dispatched in quality of Treasurer for his Majesty, to collect the Fifths and Tribute of the Royal revenue, with the Fines which the Governour should inflict on Traytors and Neutrals. Out of which, as *Augustine Carate* saith, Book the seventh, Chapter the eighth. *Licenciado Polo* in a short time raised a million and two thousand pieces of Eight, for that *Graviel de Rojas* dying on his journey to the *Charcas*, *Polo* was forced to execute the Office of Treasurer in his stead: And in the mean time, whilst these things were acting in the

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Charcas, the President remained in Cozco, entertained with sumptuous Banquets and Sports, to testify the Joy they conceived for the late Successes; and to see the Feast of Bulls and other Divertilements of like nature, he had a Seat erected in the Court-yard of my Father's house; on which occasion I had an opportunity to see his person, as I have before mentioned. And, moreover, he gave a Commission to Judge *Andrés de Cienfuegos* and to Major General *Alonso de Albornoz* to punish Rebels according to Law. Many Souldiers of note, who had been of *Pizarro's* Party were hanged, many quartered, and above a hundred Spanish Souldiers whipped by four and six in company; of which I was an eye-witness myself, when being a Boy I went amongst the rest to see this punishment. At which the Indians were greatly offended, and wondered to see Spaniards inflict a chastisement so infamous as that on their own Nation, for though they had seen many of them hanged, yet they had seen none whipped until that time. And for the greater disgrace they called them to ride upon Sheep, which are Beasts of burthen in that Country, and not on Horses or Mules; and in that manner take their whipping; after which they were condemned to the Gallies. At that time the President caused a general Pardon to be proclaimed, clearing and acquitting all such from fault and punishment who had come in and revolted to the Royal Standard at the Battel of *Sacabambas*; and absolved of all Crimes during the Rebellion of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, though they had been guilty of the death of the Vice-king *Blasco Núñez Vela*, and other Ministers of his Majesty: which Pardon did extend only as to Life and criminal Matters, reserving still a right unto the King to fine them as to Goods, and to proceed against them in civil Cases: for that *Carate* saith, Book 7. Chap. 8. that *Gonzalo Pizarro* had made satisfaction for them by his own death. And now, since the Victory was gained, and things reduced to peace and quietness, the President found himself in much more trouble, and with a greater weight of business on his Shoulders than in the time of War, for that then the Officers concurred with him to support part of the Burthen; but now in Peace, he was singly engaged, to sustain the Importunities and solicitations of above two thousand men, who challenged Pay, and Rewards for their past Services; in which every one of the meanest sort pretended to so much merit that he thought he deserved the best Plantation in all Peru. And as to those persons who had really been serviceable and usefull to the President in the Wars, they became infinitely troublesome and importunate in their Petitions, so that the President, to ease himself a little of these urgent addresses, resolved to take a journey of about twelve leagues to the Valley of *Aprimac*; to have more leisure at that distance to make the Divisions which were required of him; and with him he took the Arch-bishop of *Los Reyes* for his Companion, and also *Pedro Lopez de Castañeda* his Secretary; and that he might not be interrupted in this business, he commanded, that neither Citizen nor Souldier, nor any other person whatsoever should attend or follow him to that place. Moreover he commanded, That no Inhabitant of all Peru should return to his own home until he had set out and allotted unto every man his Division; by which continuance of the people in Cozco, he imagined that he should secure the Commonalty from making any Mutinies or Insurrections: but his chief design and care was to disperse the Souldiers in divers parts of the Kingdom, and to employ them in new Conquests, as had been the Maxim and Policy of those who first conquered this Empire: but the President being obliged in haste to leave those Kingdoms, had not time to disperse his Souldiers, as was designed; by which means new Troubles arose from Male-contentments, who thought they had reason to complain.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The President, having made the several Assignments of Land, went privately to the City of Los Reyes: And writes a Letter to those for whom no Provisions were made, which caused great Disturbances amongst them.

THE President being retired into the Valley of *Aprimac* was employed there for the space of three months and more, about dividing to every man his proportion of Lands, during which time he received Addresses and Petitions from many persons, setting forth their services and sufferings; of which little or no notice was taken, because that the scheme of all matters was already drawn, and a repartition of the Lands was resolved upon and made amongst the principal Officers under the command of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, as was capitulated and agreed when the Fleet belonging to *Gonzalo Pizarro* was surrendered to the President, as is confirmed by the Historians of that time. The President having made the Division on no better grounds, nor with other measures than those which he and the Arch-bishop *Don Jeronimo de Losya*, (who were both Strangers to the Country) had contrived, he went to the City of *Los Reyes*, and ordered the Arch-bishop within ten or twelve days afterwards to repair to Cozco, and then to publish the Distributions which he had gratuitously made: and in regard some were so unfortunate as to have no provisions made for them, he wrote them a consolatory Letter, signifying his hearty desires and his real intentions to gratify them as occasion should offer. The Letter which he wrote to them was this; extracted verbatim from the History of *Valentin*; the Supercription whereof was this;

To the Right-noble and Right-worshipfull Lords and Gentlemen and Sons of Gentlemen who are Servants to his Majesty in Cozco.

Right-noble and Right-worshipfull SIRs,

WHEREAS it often happens that men are so blinded with affection and love to their own Affairs, that they oversee all others; and cannot make free use of their reason to render thanks to those who have highly merited their gratefull acknowledgments; I have resolved to write these lines to you, whereby to justify my self; beseeching you to conserve them as a memorial in my behalf; and to let them remain with you as a testimony of that esteem which I have already gained with you; and which I promise to improve by the services I design for every one of you, so long as I shall live in Peru, or in any other parts whatsoever. But not to insist on any private or particular service which I have rendered to any single person amongst you; I shall only say in general, that I have not omitted any thing wherein I might have been instrumental to promote that service. For I dare boldly say, that in all the Wars made in Peru, or out of it, I was never heard or seen that ever such vast charges were made in so short a time, and expended on so few people: and what Lands were vacant or without Proprietors, I have divided amongst you with as much justice and equality as I have been able; with consideration both day and night of every man's merit, which hath been the measure and standard upon which I have proceeded; and which shall ever be my rule so long as I stay in Peru; and I shall be carefull to divide and distribute amongst you only his Majesty's loyal Subjects, according to your services and loyalty to the Crown, whatsoever remains undisposed with exclusion of all others, untill you are fully satisfied. And that you may enjoy the sole benefit of this rich Country to your selves, I will not only endeavour to banish those out of it who have been actually in rebellion, but such also who have stood Neuters, and have not acted as you have done: and that untill you are fully repaired and made easie in your fortunes, I will not suffer any new Guests either out of Spain, or the Continent, or from Nicaragua, Guatemala or New Spain, to enter into this Country, or to possess any part or share thereof to your prejudice or disadvantage. And since I protest that all which I say is true, and that I have not been able to do more for

for your service and advantage, than what I have already done, I earnestly entreat you to follow the example of God himself herein, that is; to accept of the real endeavours and good-will of the person: and on this consideration let every one satisfy himself with his lot, which though not so large perhaps as he expected; yet it is as great as the division and thing would bear, and less than the Distributor desired, and which he will increase when enabled by any fortunate opportunity. And now after all my travels and labours both by Sea and Land which I have sustained in this last period of my life, I pretend to no other reward than the satisfaction of having acted according to that Talent which God hath given me, by which I have discharged my conscience towards God as a Christian, towards the King as a faithful Subject, and towards your selves as became a good neighbour and a true servant. And indeed, if you take not things, and understand them in the same manner, you will require the love and affection I bear you, and the care and labours I have sustained for your interest, considering that on my part there hath been no failure or omission to advance the same. And since, for the better settlement of the Courts of Judicature and the Affairs of Lima, it is necessary for me to be there present, I have desired the most Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop to supply my presence with you in the City, and in my name to offer to you what I can do at present, and what I shall be able to do for the future. And having not farther to add; I beseech God, that I may live to see you all in great prosperity and plenty, and employed in his holy service as fully and as happily as you your selves desire,

Given at Guaymarima, on the 18th day of August, 1548. Subscribed,

Your Servant,

the Licenciado Gasca.

Besides this Letter and Instructions given to the Archbishop, he gave it in charge to the Father Provincial, Friar Thomas de San Martin, that he should make a Sermon on the day of the Publication, and therein exhort the Pretenders to be contented every man with his portion allotted; and to deal with them in private, and persuade them thereunto. All which Hernandez Palentino writes more at large, which we have abbreviated, to avoid prolixity and tediousness to the Reader; and is as followeth:

When it was known in Cuzco that the President was retired privately to avoid the troublesome importunities of the People; one Captain Paredes, being in discourse with other Captains, on my Conscience said he, this Madalena de la Cruz is retired some where privately to put an Harana upon us, for in Peru they call that Harana, when a man who hath lost his money at gaming plays some Trick or Sham to avoid payment. And amongst other Nick-names given the President, they called him Madalena de la Cruz, which was as much as Cheater or Sorcerer, and was the name of that Woman who was punished by the Officers of the Inquisition in Cordova: And the truth is, the President, not to hear such insolent Speeches as these, retired from Cuzco that he might have liberty to make the Distributions, and removed farther from it when they were published, as Palentino saith in the second Part, and Chapter the first of his History, in these words:

It was well known that the President absented himself from Cuzco, that he might not be present at the time when the Distribution of Lands was published; for he was prudent and subtle, and understood by good experience the nature of the Country; and feared much the Insolences of the Soldiers, and to hear their Complaints, Oaths and Cursets: And indeed herein he was not deceived; for when the Arch-bishop was arrived at Cuzco, where almost all the Inhabitants and Soldiers were assembled, expecting to receive great proportions of Lands and Government: they appeared quiet and orderly: but so soon as the publication was made, on the 24th of August, being the Festival of Saint Bartholomew, whereby finding themselves much disappointed of their hopes, they began to curse and swear, and to utter many seditious expressions against the President and his Government, to that high degree, that all things seemed to tend to mutiny and a new rebellion. Hereupon they began to enter into Cabals and secret Consultations, how in the first place they might kill the Judge Andres de Cianza, and the Arch-bishop, whom they esteemed the Authors of the Distributions. The cause and ground of their fury and rage they alleged to be the allotment made of principal Places and Lands to those who had been the Followers and Abettors of

of Gonzalo Pigarro, and who had favoured that party which had been in Arms against the King: but the relation of these matters is more fully made by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 188. in these words:

The President, said he, went to Apurima twelve leagues distant from Cuzco, where he consulted with the Archbishop of Los Reyes, and his Secretary Pero Lopez about the division of Lands, which were to be made and distributed amongst several persons, to the value of a million and a half of yearly rent, with a hundred and fifty thousand Ducats in Gold, which he had raised from divers who were in present possession: he married many rich Widows to such as had well served the King; he increased the Revenue and Estate of others who were already possessed of Lands, so that some had a yearly Revenue made up to them of a hundred thousand Ducats; which was an Estate for a Prince, if the Inheritance had been theirs; but the Emperour would allow no other Estate but for life: but he who had the greatest Estate assigned to him was Hinojosa.

Gasca himself went to Los Reyes to avoid the complaints, curses and damning of the Soldiers, and perhaps for fear of worse: And to make publication of the Lands allotted and divided, the Archbishop was sent to Cuzco; and to take those off to whom nothing was given, a smooth Letter was wrote to nourish them with future hopes and expectations; but the furious Soldiers were neither appeased with the air of smooth words, nor the gentle exhortation of the Archbishop. Some complained of Gasca for giving them nothing; some because they had less allotted than what was expected; and others, because those who had dis-served the King had the greatest proportion; swearing that they would accuse him before the Council of the Indies: of which number were the Marechal Alonso de Alvarado and Melchior de Verdugo, who afterwards drew up a formal accusation against him; and presented it to the chief Baron of the Exchequer. In short, their whole discourse tended to Mutiny and Sedition: the Archbishop and Judge Cianza, Hinojosa, Centeno and Alvarado were to be apprehended and imprisoned: and a Petition was to be made to the President Gasca, that he would be pleased once again to revise the allotments that were made, and to divide them into lesser parcels, or to grant Pensions to such as wanted them; and in case their expectations were not answered, they then resolved to take them by force. But the Plot being discovered before it came to maturity, Cianza the Judge apprehended the chief Leaders, and punished them; wherewith the troubles were appeased. Thus far Gomara.

C H A P. III.

Some Marriages were made up between rich Widows and the Pretenders. The allotments assigned to Pedro de Hinojosa and his Companions. The novelty which these things caused amongst themselves.

THIS Authour makes a large discourse concerning the Widows of those times; for we must know, that in the late Wars many Husbands being killed who had great Estates in Land, and commands over Indians, their Estates fell to their Widows: and lest these Women should marry with those who had been Rebels to the King, the Governour thought fit to make matches for them, and to appoint them Husbands with whom they should marry; many of which lived happily with them; but others, who had the ill fortune to be joyned with old men, were not so well contented as they had been with those they had lost. The Wife of Alonso de Toro, who was Major-General to Gonzalo Pigarro, and had great Possessions, was married to Pedro Lopez, Cagalla, Secretary to the President Gasca. The Wife of Martin de Bustancia, who was the Daughter of Huayna Capac, who held the Estate in her own right, and not of her Husband, was married to a good Soldier and a very honest man, called Diego Hernandez, of whom it was reported, but falsely, that in his younger days he had been a Taylor; which being known

to the *Infanta* or Princeſs, ſhe reſuſed the marriage, ſaying, that it was not reaſonable to marry the Daughter of *Huayna Capac Inca* with a *Ciracamayo*, that is, in the *Indian* Tongue, a *Taylor*; and though the Biſhop of *Cusco*, and Captain *Diego Centeno*, and other perſons of Quality preſſed the marriage, they could not prevail: wherefore they engaged her Brother *Don Chriſtopher Paullu* to uſe his intereſt, and perſuade her to it, who accordingly, taking her aſide into a corner of the Room, told her, that it was not convenient for her to reſuſe that marriage; for that the would ſo diſoblige the *Spaniards* that for ever after they would become mortal enemies to their Royal Family and Lineage and never more be reconciled to them. At length ſhe, aſſenting to the advice of her Brother, though with a very ill will, was brought before the Biſhop, who was pleaſed to honour the marriage by celebrating the Office himſelf: and, aſking the Bride by an *Indian* Interpreter, whether ſhe would marry that man; the Interpreter aſked her whether ſhe would be the Woman of that Man, for in the *Indian* Tongue they have no word for Marriage or Wife; to which the Bride made anſwer in her own Language, *Tchach Amanani*, *Tchach Amanamunani*; which is, Perhaps I will have him, and perhaps I will not have him: howſoever the marriage went forward, and was celebrated in the Houſe of *Diego de los Rios* a Citizen of *Cusco*, and both the Husband and Wife were alive, and cohabited together when I left *Cusco*. Many other Marriages like this, were contracted all over the Empire, being deſigned to give Eſtates to Pretenders, and to ſatiſſie them with the goods of other men: and yet this way could not give full contentment, for ſome eſteemed the Eſtates that came by their Wives to be too ſmall and inconſiderable; and others whoſe luck it was to have ugly Women loathed them, and complained of their fortune; and thus it ſared with theſe men as with others in this world, wherein is no entire ſatiſſaction. The unequal diviſion of the Land, as Authours ſay, was the cauſe and ground of all the enſuing troubles and mutinies; for unto *Pedro de Hinſoſa* they gave all the *Indians* which belonged to *Gonzalo Piſarro* in the *Charcas*, which yielded an hundred thouſand pieces of Eight every year, beſides a rich Mine of Silver, which made the Revenue of this Gentleman to amount unto two hundred thouſand pieces of Eight a year: for it is incredible to think the vaſt quantities of Silver that are every year digged out of the Mines of *Potosi*, which were ſo great, that Iron was become more valuable than Silver. *Tapacri* ſell to the lot of *Gomez de Sola*, which was worth forty thouſand Crowns yearly; and *Martin de Robles* had an Eſtate of the like value given him. But *Diego Centeno*, though he had ſuſtained all the labours, and performed the ſervices before related, yet having not been concerned in the ſurrender of the Fleet at *Panama*, he was excluded from all other Eſtate than that onely with which he had formerly been inveſted, called *Pucuna*; nor were others of his Companions in the leaſt conſidered: but *Lorenzo de Aldana* had an addition granted to his former Eſtate in the City of *Arequipa*, which both together were valued at fifty thouſand pieces of Eight yearly rent. To *Don Pedro de Cabrera* a diviſion was made of ſome Lands in the City of *Cusco* called *Cotapampa*, the Revenue of which was reckoned at fifty thouſand pieces of Eight yearly rent. Another to the value of forty thouſand in Gold was conferred on *Don Baltaſar de Caſtilla* in the Province of *Paribuanacocha*, which yields moſt Gold. *John Alonſo Palamino* received an additional increaſe to his former Eſtate, which both together might make up a rent of forty thouſand Crowns. *Licenciado Carvajal* had a like Eſtate given him, though he enjoyed it but for a ſhort time; for being Recorder of *Cusco*, he was unfortunately killed by a fall from a Window, from whence he threw himſelf headlong out of deſpair and love to a certain Lady. I remember I ſaw him buried on St. *John Baptiſt's* day: but *Hernan Bravo de Laguna* was to content himſelf with a meaner lot of eight thouſand pieces of Eight Revenue, not having the merit of thoſe to pretend who ſurrendered the Fleet to the Preſident at *Panama*, who were all, ſome more and ſome leſs, very conſiderably rewarded; and indeed thoſe Gentlemen did juſtly deſerve a recompence, being the firſt who gave a turn to the ſcale, and the principal Inſtruments to reduce the Empire of *Peru* to the obedience of his Maſteſty, which was entirely loſt when the Preſident at firſt entred into it, as is apparent to thoſe who have read this Hiſtory. The Lots given to the reſt in other Cities of *Peru* were not ſo advantageous as thoſe before mentioned: for ſome which were poor were improved with the adjuſtment of thoſe more rich; and ſome were divided and given to others; but how poor ſoever they were eſteemed, the meanest of them was valued at eight, nine, and ten thouſand

land pieces of Eight of yearly Revenue: ſo that the ten lots and diviſions which we have mentioned to have been aſſigned in the *Charcas*, in *Arequipa* and in *Cusco*, did in the total amount unto five hundred and forty thouſand pieces of Eight coined, which make Ducats of *Caſtile* near ſix hundred and fifty thouſand. So ſoon as the Archbiſhop *Loſa*, and the Secretary *Pero Lopez de Caſalla* came to *Cusco* they publiſhed the lots and diſtributions which were made; and read the Preſident's Letter to thoſe unhappy men for whom no proviſion was found: and the Father Provincial made a Sermon perſuading them to patience, which operated little upon them; for they flew out in oaths, curſes and opprobrious ſpeeches againſt the Government, as all Authours confirm: admiring at the wonderfull profuleneſs and prodigality which was uſed towards thoſe men who in reality deſerved nothing: for it is moſt certain, that amongſt thoſe to whom diſtributions were made of forty or fifty thouſand pieces of Eight of yearly rent, there were ſome, who, being conſcious of their engagement on *Piſarro's* ſide, and their evil actions in denying the Vice-king *Blaſco Vela Nunnez*, againſt whom they raiſed Arms, perſecuted him to the death, and afterwards fixed his head upon the Gallows; theſe men, I ſay, and others, as Hiſtories record, who having impiouſly rebelled againſt his Imperial Maſteſty, expected death, or at leaſt baniſhment; would have been ſufficiently contented and thought it a mercy to enjoy onely the benefit of the general Pardon, without other rewards or proviſions made for them: an example whereof may be given of *Martin de Robles*, who, when he underſtood what allotment was made him, was ſurpriſed with the exceſs of ſuch abundant favour: and in ſenſe thereof, ſaid to thoſe who ſtood by; *'Tis well, 'tis well, but ſo much good is no good;* meaning that it was not good for thoſe who deſerved ſo little to be rewarded ſo much. Some few months afterwards this *Martin de Robles* was fined by Sentence of the chief Juſtices in the ſum of twelve hundred Ducats, for having been acceſſory to the imprifonment of the Vice-king *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, and engaged in the cauſe of *Gonzalo Piſarro*; the which Fine was adjudged to be given to *Diego Alvarez Cueva*, who was Brother-in-law to the Vice-king, and who profecuted *de Robles* and others of *Piſarro's* Party. And when this Sentence was notified to him: *What*, ſaid he, *no more, I that was the man who took the Vice-king?* No, ſaid the Clerk, your Fine is no more. *Well*, answered he, *I could have been contented with ten times as much.* And thus preſumptuous and boaiſting they were of the exploits they had done that they valued themſelves much upon them, and adventured to utter theſe and many other bold Sayings on this matter, in preſence of the Preſident himſelf, of which we ſhall ſpecifie ſome few particulars hereafter, and omit others, which are not fit to be here mentioned.

CHAP. IV.

Franciſco Hernandez Giron, without any reaſon, ſhews himſelf greatly diſpleaſed for the diviſion which was allotted to him: a Commiſſion is given him to make a new Conqueſt. The puniſhment of Francisſco de Eſpinola, and Diego de Carvajal.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe rich and large diſtributions of above two millions and a half of yearly Revenue; which one Authour ſays was but a million, and another a million and forty odd thouſand pieces of Eight; yet the Pretenders were not ſatiſſied; and generally complained, ſome becauſe they had no ſhare allotted, and others were ſcandalized to ſee thoſe rewarded with ſuch exceſs of prodigality who never had been concerned in the Conqueſt of the Country; nor rendered other ſervice to his Maſteſty than onely to riſe in Rebellion againſt him, to kill his Vice-king, and afterwards to ſell and betray the Tyrant unto the Preſident, whom before they had ſoftred and maintained: but he who appeared publickly

the most discontented of any was *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, who having not served formerly in *Pern*, but in *Paslo* onely, where (as *Palentino* faith) he never had more than an Estate of six hundred pieces of Eight a year; And now there being a proportion set out to him of about ten thousand pieces of Eight a year, called *Sacahuana*, which was in *Cuzco*, and formerly belonged to *Gonzalo Pizarro*; this Gentleman so disdaind the meanness of it, that he could not forbear publickly to express his dislike; and, conceiving a high esteem of his own merit, he grew angry that any man should be preferred or rewarded above himself: and to that excess and disorder did his passion lead him, and transport to those indecent expressions, that his words were esteemed seditious, and not less than favouring of Treason: in this humour he asked leave of the Arch-bishop to goe unto the President and complain of his hard usage; for that he, who had served the best of any, and therefore deserved the best share, was turned off with the meanest allotment. The Arch-bishop reproved him for his insolent language, and denyed him leave. But *Francisco Hernandez* made bold to take that which was refused him, giving out abroad, that he was going to the City of *Los Reyes*, to make his complaints unto him, who ought to consider them: which being made known to *Licenciado Cianca*, who was by joint Commission with the Arch-bishop made Governour and chief Justiciary of *Cuzco*; he wrote him a Letter, advising him to return, and not augment the Troubles and Mutinies which were in the Kingdom, and which were apt to be inflamed by the Discontents of many persons, who had much more reason to complain than himself; that he would doe well to consider and take care how he forfeited all other his former Services by such mutinous practices as this, which would render him odious to all his Majesty's Officers and Ministers. The Messenger who carried this Letter, overtook him in *Sacahuana*, being about four leagues distant from the City, which when *Hernandez* had read, he made this Answer, That he thought fit to be absent in that conjuncture, not to be concerned in the Mutinies and Troubles which he saw were coming; for he knew that the Souldiers would press him to be their Leader and Commander in chief; and moreover, that he was going to communicate many other matters unto the President for his Majesty's Services; to which he added divers other importunities, displeasing to *Cianca*: at which the Judge being greatly moved, he presently dispatched Letters to Captain *Lope Martin*, (whom *Palentino* calls *Alofo de Mendoza*) and who, as we said before, was sent to the *Charcas*, to suppress Insurrections, that with half a dozen of his most faithfull Souldiers he should intercept *Hernandez* in his journey or cause him to return back again to *Cuzco*. The day following *Lope Martin* with his six Souldiers accordingly set out, and taking the ordinary journeys of four or five leagues a day, he overtook *Hernandez* in *Cavampa*, about twenty leagues from the City, who intended now to play a double game; for on one side, he was willing to shew his readinesse to serve his Majesty; and on the other side, he designed to give contentment to the Souldiers, by whom he was desirous to be esteemed a Favourer of their pretensions and reasons of complaint; as will appear by the Answer he gave at his return to the Judge *Cianca* when he was brought before him. For in excuse he alledged, that he absented himself from the City, that the Souldiers might not engage him in the Mutinies they intended, and force him to be their General; Upon which Allegation the Judge committed him to prison in the House of *John de Saavedra*, who was one of the principal Citizens of *Cuzco*; and having made Process against him, he remitted him to the farther censure of the President, and suffered him to go upon his paroll, and upon Oath taken, that he would proceed directly and present himself before his Superiours. Accordingly *Hernandez* went to the City of *Los Reyes*, but was detained three months on the way, because the President at first would not see him, nor give him admittance into the City, untill at length he received licence and the favour to kiss the President's hand: some days after which, the President, being desirous to comply with his Martial Spirit, and to clear the Kingdom of a sort of insolent and mutinous Souldiers, conferred the honour of a Commission on him, impouring him to make a Conquest of the *Chuncho*, with the Title of Governour and Captain General of all that Countrey, which he should conquer at his own cost and hazard, excepting out of his Commission those Frontiers which bordered on his Conquest, namely, *Cuzco*, the City of *La Paz*, and the City of Plate: *Francisco Hernandez* was much pleased with his Commission, intending thereby to gain an opportunity to rebell against his Majesty;

lesty, which had been long in his mind; and which he at length put in execution, as we shall find by the sequel; and in order thereunto he remained in *Rima* untill such time as the President embarked for *Spain*, as shall be declared hereafter. During the time that the President was employed in the Valley of *Apurimac*, in sharing unto every man his proportion and lot; the Judge *Cianca* received intelligence, that the *Licenciado Polo*, who was sent to be Judge in the *Charcas*, had taken *Francisco de Espinosa*, and *Diego de Caceres* the Gallant, and sent them prisoners; who were the two persons employed by *Gonzalo Pizarro* in *Arequipa* and the *Charcas*; after the Battle of *Huarina*, and there committed those disorders which we formerly mentioned: but these men, before they came to *Cuzco*, wrote a Letter to *Diego Centeno*, intreating him to intercede for them, and at least obtain a remission of their Crimes, as might not extend unto life, but unto banishment out of the Kingdom. In answer hereunto *Centeno* replied, That he should gladly comply with their request, in case the enormity of their Crimes were capable of so much mercy; and could admit of excuse and alleviation before the Lords, the Justices; but since they had been so cruel as to burn seven *Indians* alive without any cause or provocation, he feared that the Gate was shut to all mercy, nor durst any Man appear with arguments of intercession in a cause so vile and dark as theirs. Some few days after this Answer was given, these Offenders were brought to *Cuzco*, where they were hanged and quartered, and their quarters disposed in several ways, to the great satisfaction both of *Indians* and *Spaniards*, who rejoiced to see a Cruelty so justly revenged.

CHAP. V.

The Government of Chile is given to Pedro de Valdivia. The Articles which his own People prefer against him; and by what means he is freed by the President.

AMONGST the many great Divisions and Distributions made by the President *Gasca* in the Valley of *Apurimac*, the Government of the Kingdom of *Chile* was conferred on *Pedro de Valdivia*, with Title of Governour, and Captain General of that great Kingdom containing five hundred leagues in length; and moreover, he received a full Commission to divide the Countrey amongst the Adventurers and such as had deserved well of the Crown. The benefit of which Commission *Pedro de Valdivia* enjoyed a long time with great prosperity and affluence of fortune, untill his Riches became his snare, and were the cause of his ruine, together with a hundred and fifty *Spanish* Gentlemen more who were all slain with him; as we have already related in the first part of this History, in the Life of *Inca Tupacqui*; and have there anticipated this Story, which was memorable and worthy observation, and inserted it out of its due place, in regard the Successes of that Kingdom were impertinent to our purpose: but the present passages belonging to the Dominion of *Pern* fall within the verge of our History, and are the proper subject of our Discourse, of which *Diego Hernandez*, a Citizen of *Palentino*, gives this account in one of his Chapters, the Title of which is this:

That by the same humane Laws some men may be condemned and put to death, and others guilty of the same Crime may be freed and acquitted.

The same Authour hath another Chapter, number 94. the Title of which is this:

In what manner the President sent to take Pedro de Valdivia. The Articles which the People of Chile preferred against him, and in what manner the President brought him off.

It hath been already mentioned in this History how *Pedro de Valdivia* came out of *Chile*, and how afterwards the President made him Commander of the Provinces he should conquer. And to prepare himself for that undertaking, *Valdivia* went from *Cuzco* to the City of *Los Reyes*, with intent to furnish himself there with all necessaries, and what might be required for that Conquest. And having raised his men, of which some were of those who had been banished out of *Pern*, and others condemned to the Gallies for having been concerned in the late Rebellion; and having provided all other matters, he caused them to embark on some Ships which set sail from the *Collas de Lima*; but *Pedro de Valdivia* went himself by Land to *Arequipa*. And whereas at this time several Complaints were brought against him to the President; accusing him to have carried with him several condemned persons, and that many outrages were committed on the way by People who had his command and authority so to do; Orders were sent to *Pedro de Hinojosa* to intercept him in his way, and by some dexterous management to bring him back to the President. *Pedro de Hinojosa* accordingly met him, and asked him civilly, whether he would not return again, to give satisfaction to the President, for what was alledged against him; which *Valdivia* refusing to do, *Hinojosa* accompanied him in a friendly manner for a whole day's journey; when watching his opportunity he seized upon him with six Musketeers; and brought him back to the President; by which time several of the Plaintiffs from whom *Valdivia* had taken the Gold, as before mentioned; were come from *Chile*; and had preferred Articles in writing against him, wherein they accused him for having taken the Gold from them, for having killed many persons unjustly, and that he lead a dissolute life with a certain woman; that he was in confederacy with *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and went from *Chile*, with design and intention to join with him, besides many other treasonable things of which they impeached him; and in conclusion, they desired, that he might be condemned to pay and return the Gold he had taken from them.

The President found himself much perplexed and strained in this matter, for in case he condemned *Valdivia*, he absolutely destroyed his voyage, which tended to the quiet and benefit of *Pern*, by clearing the Country of so many leud and insolent Souldiers as were to accompany him. And in case the taking away the Gold were proved upon him, and he not compelled to make restitution, it would be such a piece of injustice, as would tend much to the disreputation of the President, and make a great noise and out-cry in the Country: And being in this strait, a contrivance was made to avoid the restitution, which was in this manner. Before it was ordered, that Copies should be given to *Valdivia* of the Accusation and Articles preferred against him, or any summary information; a rule was given, that first a solemn Inquisition should be made in the Office of the names of all those persons who were concerned in the Bill against the Defendant; the which was to be done in that slight manner, that the reason for which it was required might not be discovered. And when it appeared by the Bill, that all the People of *Chile* were concerned as Plaintiffs, and were all Parties and interested in the Demand; none of them could lawfully be made a Witnesses or give legal testimony in their own Cause; he then ordered, that *Valdivia* should have a Copy of the Bill, and give in a speedy Answer; the which he accordingly did; denying every thing that was alledged against him: it then lay upon the Plaintiffs to prove all by their Witnesses. The Cause coming to a trial, and no testimony produced, besides that of the Parties interested; the President proceeded, *ex officio*, to sentence in favour of *Valdivia*. And though something was proved of his intention towards *Gonzalo Pizarro*, yet the President declared, that neither for that, nor other matters, he found sufficient reason to divert *Valdivia* from his intended Conquest; howsoever he took security from him, not to entertain any of those who were banished for their Rebellion: And also that he would send a Judge upon the place, to make a strict inquisition concerning the Gold, and gave *Valdivia* particularly in charge to give satisfaction for the same: which he promising to perform, the suit was dismissed, and he permitted to proceed to *Chile*. Thus far *Valentin*, who therewith concludes this Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The unfortunate death of Diego Centeno in the Charcas, and of Licenciado Carvajal in Cozco. The foundation of the City of Peace, the Courts of Judicature are settled in Los Reyes.

AFTER that the President *Gasca* had finished the Distribution of Lands as he designed in *Apurimac*, and was gone to *Los Reyes*; the Inhabitants and chief Lords of *Pern* took their leaves of him, in order to return to their own homes; Cities and Places of abroad; some to take possession of their new Estates, and others to repair their old, which were gone to ruine and decay by the miseries of the War. Amongst the rest, *Diego Centeno* went to his Estate, in the Village of Plate, now called the City of Plate, by reason of the vast quantities of Silver which they daily dig out of that Hill adjoining to it, called *Panosa*; where his intention was to get what Silver and Gold he could, and therewith transport himself into *Spain*, to render an account unto his Majesty of all the Services he had done for his Imperial Crown; which his Majesty taking into his gracious consideration might gratify him with some reward, which the President had omitted to do, for which neglect he esteemed himself highly affronted. This resolution being discovered to some friends with whom he consulted; his intention presently took air and was divulged through the whole Kingdom, being wrote in all Letters and Papers of advice, which greatly offended the Government, to hear that a person so considerable as *Centeno* was preparing to carry his Complaints into *Spain*: some of the great Officers then in power being jealous of his Design, would have persuaded him not to go, on pretence of friendship to him; but finding that they could not prevail, they resolved on another course more certain and secure than the former, which was this; Some of the Neighbours thereabouts out of malice, and some out of ignorance, wrote a Letter to *Diego Centeno*, desiring him to come to the City of Plate, where they might consult amongst themselves concerning his Voyage into *Spain*, and other matters of their own, which they would recommend to be communicated by him to his Imperial Majesty. *Centeno* accordingly prepared for his journey to the City; which being known to his Indians, they earnestly persuaded him not to go, having received some private intimation, as they said, from their familiar spirits, of an intent to kill him: but *Centeno* was the more resolved, because he would shew how little he valued the superstitious witchcrafts and presages of the Indians. Great was the joy which those who invited him shewed at his arrival, but some Souldiers, who had been his friends and companions at the time when he was pursued by *Francisco de Carvajal*, and in the Battels of *Huarina* and *Sacabambana* privately suggested their fears for his appearance there; telling him, that the prediction which his own Indian servants had made known to him, the same was also confirmed by those of that City, and signified to their Masters: the which his friends interpreted for a sinister omen, though in reality there appeared no outward cause or reason to suspect it. But *Centeno* carried the matter high; and slighted the vain superstition of the Indians; saying that their conversation was with the Devil, who was the Father of Lyes, and therefore no credence was to be given to their presages: but a short time shewed the vanity of his confidence, for having been four days in the City, he was solemnly invited to an entertainment in the house of a certain Gentleman, whose name it is not necessary to specify here, but only to recount the matter of fact like an Historian, without other reflexion; seeing that the persons themselves are now in place, where they have given an account of this action. In short, at this Banquet such a dose of poison was prepared, and given to *Centeno* so privately and undiscovered, without any present symptoms or torments in the Bowels, as did his business; and dispatched him in three days. His death was greatly lamented by all sorts of People in the Kingdom, for he was a Gentleman of much goodness and affable deportment; which had gained him a general affection and esteem. He had been concerned in all the exploits

and

and achievements of that Countrey, having been one of those who had entred with *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and engaged with him in the Conquest of the Empire: the news of his death being come into *Spain*, his Brother gave a relation of the manner of it to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and that he had left two natural Children, a Son and a Daughter, who were poor and destitute; because the Estate which their Father had from the services of *Indians*, ended with his death: in consideration of which his Majesty graciously conferred for a portion to the Daughter the sum of twelve thousand ducats of *Castile*, and settled upon the Son *Gaspar Centeno*, who was a School-fellow of mine, an Estate of four thousand pieces of Eight of yearly rent, to be paid out of his Majesty's Royal Treasure in the City of *Plate*. I have heard that this Estate was made an inheritance for ever, but I know not how to believe it; because I did never hear that any Estate of inheritance was ever charged on the King's Treasury but for one Life or two at most. Some few months after the death of *Cuzco*, *Licenciado Carvajal* came also to an unfortunate end in *Cusco*, as we have hinted before, by a fall from a high Window; for without any respect to his Office, as Judge, they cut the Cords of the Ladder by which he came up, and went down. Many other men died, and came to unfortunate ends in divers Cities of *Peru*, by which Lands and Estates over *Indians* became void, and places made for other Pretenders; by which the President had opportunity to gratifie many who were aggrieved to have been left out of the last Division: but men were not satisfied herewith; but as discontented and complaining as before, as will appear by what follows: for every man fancied that his Services merited the whole Empire of *Peru*.

Now in the mean time, whilst these violent Deaths and Misfortunes happened in the City of *Plate* and in *Cusco*, the President *Gasca* was intent to the repairs of the City of *Los Reyes*, and to erect a new Court of Chancery there, which continues to this day. He also contrived ways to people the City of Peace, as *Diego Hernandez Palentino* declares in the second Book of the first Part of his History, in these words:

Don Jeronimo de Loaysa (says he) was dispatched away with this Letter, which he was to carry to the City of *Cusco*, and was that which the President wrote to the Souldiers who were left out of the distribution and had no Estate allotted to them, as before mentioned, which caused great disturbances; as that of *Francisco Hernandez*, whose rebellion proceeded from that cause alone. The President *Gasca* departed from *Guanarima*, and went to the City of *Los Reyes*, and in his journey he gave a Commission to *Alonso Mendoza* to be Governour of the New Colony which was founded in *Chuguabato*, and called our Lady of Peace; which name was given to it by the President, because it was founded in the time of Peace, after so much War which had harassed that Countrey; and because it is the middle way between *Arequipa* and the *Charcas*, which are a hundred and seventy leagues distant from each other; and is also the mid-way between *Cuzco* and the *Charcas*, being in like manner a hundred and seventy leagues, and being the road between such considerable Cities, it was conceived necessary to have a City founded there, for the convenience of Travellers, and to prevent Robberies and Violences which were committed in those parts. And having ordered all things in this manner, he proceeded in his journey to *Los Reyes*, and made his Entry into that City on the seventeenth day of September, being there received with all the signal demonstrations of joy that could be expressed with Sports and Dances, Feasts and Revels. The President entered with the Royal Seal before him, to signifie his intention to erect a Court of Chancery in that City. The Seal and the President had a rich Canopy over them; the Seal was on the right hand inclosed in a rich Case, and carried on a white Horse covered with a Foot-cloth of Tissue to the very ground, and which was lead by the Reins by *Lorenzo de Aldana*, the Chief Justice, and the Mule of the President was lead by *Jeronimo de Silva*, the Mayor of the City. *Lorenzo de Aldana* and the other Officers who bore up the Sticks of the Canopy were clothed with Garments of Incarnation Sattin, and went bare-headed. The Guards who were appointed to attend the Seal and the President had Liveries bestowed on them at the cost of the City; as had all the Dancers and Actors cloaths and properties given them of Silk with divers colours. And the Dancers came forth in their several Orders, representing the Cities and principal People of *Peru*; every one repeating a Distich or two signifying the fidelity of their People towards the Emperour:

L I M A.

L I M A.

I am the City of Lime,
Who came the first in time,
All happinest to bring
Unto our Lord the King.

T R U X I L L O.

I'm called the City of Truxillo,
Who with true Loyalty
Came with my men to serve his Majesty.

In like manner,

Piura, *Quito*, *Guanuco* and the *Chachapoyas*; also *Guananca*, *Arequipa*, *Cusco* and the *Charcas*, presented themselves before the President with Verses to the same substance as before; which being all in Dourerithm, were scarce worthy of a Translation into *English*; and indeed the Author is of the same opinion, for he saith, that they were so dull and infipid, that they favoured more of *Indian* than *Spanish* composition.

But to return now to the Reasons which *Palentino* gives for the foundation of the City of Peace, which we have already mentioned; we cannot allow that the prevention of Robberies could be any motive or reason for the building of that City: for such hath been the generosity of that Empire called *Peru*, of which may be said what cannot be said of any other Kingdom of the World, namely, that from the Conquest thereof, which was in the year 1531 to this very time, which is towards the end of 1610, it was never known or heard that either publicly or privately any Robberies had been committed; nor have any Merchants and Dealers ever been assaulted on the highway, though they have been known to carry with them vast quantities of Gold and Silver over Deserts and Mountains for the space of three or four hundred leagues; and have travelled with such security, that they adventured to lye in the fields day and night without other defence or guard than their mere Tents, which is a thing so commendable, as is spoken of both in the *Indies* and in *Spain* greatly to the honour and praise of this Empire. We mean, that such security as this, is in time of Peace, and not in the time of War; for then, as we have said before, there is nothing but spoil and robbery where Violence and arbitrary Power, and not Law, prevail.

C H A P. VII.

The Cares and Troubles which the President *Gasca* sustained.
How he punished some People that were in a Mutiny.
With what Patience he endured several insolent Speeches
of the Souldiers; and how he pacified and satisfied the
Pretenders.

THE Courts of Judicature being now established in the City of *Los Reyes*; the President applied himself to order such matters as tended to the quiet and security of the Empire, and appointed that the Gospel and Christian Doctrine should be taught and preached to the Natives. He commanded also, that a general survey should be made of all the Divisions which had been made, and of the Tributes which the *Indians* were to pay to their Lords, which were moderately imposed and registred, so that it should not be in the power of the Lords at any time to raise that Rent or Tribute. In which affair *Licenciado Ciano*, one of his Majesty's Judges was employed, and to that purpose he was sent to the City of *Los Reyes*, having first suppressed a small mutiny caused at *Cusco* by the Divisions lately

lately made, and punished the Authours of them. For he hanged a Souldier and banished three others; but not to make any greater combustion, he proceeded no farther in the Examination, nor in the punishment. But the President, whose Maxim it was to govern with gentleness and moderation, was pleased to take off the Sentence of Banishment and interdiction, before it was demanded; for considering the nature of the People, and the just reason which most of them had to complain, he thought it not convenient to be over severe and rigorous in his justice. The Judge *Cianca*, by order of the President, appointed and substituted *John de Saavedra* to be Deputy in his Office, who was a Gentleman of Noble birth, born at *Seville*, and had a considerable Estate in *Indians* allotted him in that City of *Cusco*. Also the Marechal *Alonso de Alvarado* was by Commission from the President made Governour of the new Plantation, and was especially to take care to People and the City of Peace: for at the beginning that City had both those Names, and *Alvarado* had a particular interest to take care thereof, because his Estate was adjoining thereunto. At this time the People flocked from all parts of the Empire to the City of *Lor Reyes* to kiss the President's hands and return him thanks for the distributions he had allotted to them. In like manner many principal Souldiers who had long served his Majesty came with their Address to demand a reward for their services, and satisfaction for the late injury and injustice which was done them; in that their Friends and Companions to whom pay was due, were put to death for demanding the same; and that Act of asking their Pay was interpreted as a piece of disobedience and treason against his Majesty. At the same time came the News of the death of *Diego Centeno*, *Gravriel de Rojas* and of *Licenciado Carvajal*, and of other Inhabitants deceased. And though the President was sufficiently informed of their just demands and reasons of complaint; yet the Souldiers with much importunity would lay their cases before him; beseeching his Lordship with much passion, that he would be pleased to cause a new review and inspection to be made into the late Divisions; that some parts thereof might be clipped and lopt off from the excessive and exuberant allotments of some men, and conferred upon them; whereby they might be enabled to eat and not starve with hunger, whilst those who served the late Rebel, were plentifull and easie in their fortunes, and died with extreme gluttony and luxury. The same is confirmed by *Gomara*, chap. 188. in these words. Lastly, saith he, they resolved to desire the President to review the late Divisions made, and to give them their share thereof or grant them Pensions; and if not, then they were resolved to take them by force, &c. Thus far *Gomara*.

The President was troubled and wearied out of his life with the importunities of so great a number of Pretenders; every one of which was so opinionated of his own Merits; that if in one day all the wealth of *Pern* had been vacated, and to be distributed, it would have been too little to answer the expectation of so much arrogance and pride which appeared in these blustering Souldiers who exalted their merits above all expression. Notwithstanding which the President, by his prudence and dextrous management, entertained them for a year and a half in that City, without trouble or mutiny: howsoever this sort of insolent Souldiers could not be so well contained within their bounds of moderation and duty, but that sometimes they broke out into mutinies and rebellious Speeches; all which, as Historians say, the good President sustained with great patience and moderation, and thereby gained a greater Victory, by subjecting his own passions, than he had done by the Conquest of that whole Empire; some particulars of which I have heard in that Country, and others since I came into *Spain*, the less provoking and insolent of which I will repeat here, and omit the most insolent and abominable, as not fit to be expressed.

The President being in perpetual trouble and inquietness, caused by the daily importunities of the Pretenders; thought fit to make use of a certain Captain, whom I knew, to ease him of the many solicitations and addresses which were made to him; and therefore said, Captain, pray help me to undeceive this People, and let them know, that the King hath not wherewith to relieve them, nor I to order or distribute to them. To which the Captain made answer, pray, Sir, undeceive them your self, who have been the person that deceived them; for, for my part, I know not what to say to them; to which the President made no reply; seeming not to have heard him. Another Souldier of meaner degree desired him to reward his services: Honest Souldier; said the President, have

patience,

patience, for I have not wherewith to do it, all being already divided and distribution made. Sir, replied the Souldier, give me then that Cap of yours with which you have deceived so many, and I shall esteem my self well rewarded therewith. The President, looking upon him, said no more than, Go your ways in God's name.

Another person, who took upon himself the name and Title of a Captain; though in reality he was not; for I knew him well: but he had an Estate given him with Service of *Indians* to the Value of seven or eight thousand pieces of Eight a year: and he boldly required the President to better his Estate by some additions thereunto, as he had done to many others, who had not deserved half so much as he; for I, said he, have been one of the first Discoverers and Conquerors of *Chili*. And there hath no action of moment passed in all this Empire wherein I have not been concerned for service of his Majesty, for which I deserve great rewards; to which he added many arrogant Speeches and Bravadoes full of Vanity and Pride; atlength the President being over-tired and wearied therewith, said to him, Good Sir, be gone, you have enough for a person of your quality, for I have heard that you are the Son of ——— in your own Country, naming his Father's Trade. The Captain, for so I call him, presently replied, He lyes who told you Lordship so, and so doth he who believes him: and therewith he presently went out of the room, fearing lest some body should lay hands upon him for his saucy Speeches; but the President patiently endured all these affronts, saying, he was to suffer and sustain much more for the service of the King his Master; besides which gentleness, he used the Souldiers with much civility, and entertained them with hopes and assurance to provide for them hereafter. As *Diego Hernandez* confirms in the first Book of the second Part of his History, Chap. 3. in these words: We are to observe, says he, that during all the time that the President remained in *Lima*, being about seventeen months, great numbers of People flocked thither to demand relief for supply of their necessities and reward of their services: for, as hath been said, many of the King's servants, who were left out in the first division, greatly complained of their hard usage. About this time several Estates fell to the King by the death of *Diego Centeno*, *Gravriel de Rojas*, *Licenciado Carvajal*, and others; and consequently there was some more matter and substance wherewith to answer the expectation of some Pretenders; but this not being a full supply, served only to increase the troubles of the President, who by his gentle and civil Answers gave a general satisfaction to all people. Some of the Pretenders kept a secret correspondence with the Under-clerks to give them information how Estates were distributed; and those communicated all to the Captains and Souldiers with whom they had friendship; and some had a sight of the Books themselves, wherein they saw to whom such Lands were given, and to whom such a Command and Lordship: and it is now commonly believed that those Books were falsified, and that the President himself, who was a subtle, understanding person, did connive thereat, and give permission to have the particulars secretly exposed; so that every one might be the better satisfied with his Lot, especially when they saw themselves nominated and designed to such an Estate: and it is certain that there are some men, who to this day are of opinion, that they are deprived of the Lot and Portion which the President appointed for them; and one person so entertained the thought thereof in his head, that he became mad when he found himself disappointed. But the President *Gasca's* great care and incumbrance was to carry with him a good sum of Gold and Silver to the Emperour, of which he had already amassed a million and a half of *Castellano's*, which being reduced to *Spanish* Crowns, of three hundred and fifty *Maravedis* to the Crown, made two millions and a hundred thousand Crowns, besides the Treasure which had been expended in the late War. And now the time for the President's departure growing near (which was a happiness greatly desired by him) he hastned with all expedition possible to be gone, lest some dispatch should arrive to detain him longer in the Kingdom. And having finished and completed the remaining part of the Divisions, he folded and sealed them up, with order, that they should not be opened and published until eight days after he had set sail from the coast, and that the Arch-bishop should confirm the Divisions he had made, by Act and Deed from himself. After this, upon the twenty fifth day of *January* the President went from *Lima* to *Collao*, a Port about two leagues distant from the City, and upon Sunday following, be-

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fore he had set sail he received a Pacquet from his Majesty which seasonably came to his hands, and therein his Majesty's Royal Signature, to take off the personal Services.

And now, whereas he was very sensible that the Country was much unquiet and discontented, and full of ill affected men, by reason of the Divisions made of *Guaynarima*; and because many of the King's true and faithfull Servants were left destitute and unrewarded, whilst those who had taken part with *Gonzalo Pizarro* had shared amongst themselves the richest and best of all the Country: And being now resolved upon his departure, he published a Proclamation whereby he suspended the execution of his Majesty's Royal Signet for taking off personal services untill he had rendered a relation to his Majesty of the true state of that Country, and of what else he conceived appertaining to his Majesty's service, alledging his power so to doe, in regard his Commission and Authority did not cease untill he had personally appeared in the presence of his Majesty, and given him a verbal account of his Affairs, and received his pleasure therein. And so on Monday following he made sail, carrying all the Gold and Silver with him which he had been able to gather: Thus far *Palentino*, who therewith concludes the Chapter.

C H A P. VIII.

The cause of the Stirrs and Insurrections in Peru. Some Persons condemned to the Gallies are entrusted to Rodrigo Ninno to conduct them into Spain: His great discretion and wit, whereby he freed himself from a Pyrate.

NOW as to what this Author mentions touching the suspension which the President made of that Act, whereby his Majesty takes off the personal services, that is, the services which *Indians* perform to the *Spaniards*: It is clear and apparent that those late Ordinances executed, with the rigour and ill nature of the Vice-king *Blasco Nunez Vela*, were the cause of all those Commotions which harassed the Empire, and took away the life of the Vice-king, and had been the destruction of so many *Spaniards* and *Indians* as have been related in this History. And whereas the President himself brought the revocation of these Ordinances, and by means thereof and by his wife and discreet management, the Empire was again recovered and restored to the obedience of his Majesty: It neither seemed just nor decent for his Imperial Majesty, nor agreeable to the particular honour of the President to introduce those new Laws and Statutes again which were formerly rejected and made void, especially that of freeing the *Indians* from personal services towards their Lords, which was the chief cause of all the complaints and troubles amongst them: for which reason the President often said to several of his friends, that he was resolved not to put that Law in execution untill he had first by word of mouth discoursed with his Majesty of the inconvenience thereof; well knowing by experience, that that Law would never be digested by the people, but always prove a Scandal and Offence, and perhaps put all things again into confusion and embroile, whenever the same were but moved, or intreaty onely to be put in execution. But the Devil (as we have before mentioned) designing to interrupt the peace of that Country, that thereby he might hinder the propagation of the Gospel and the increase of Christianity, contrived all means to unsettle and disjoin that Kingdom, and in order thereunto he so blinded the understanding of the Lords of the Privy-council, that they persuaded his Majesty to take such measures as tended to the great prejudice and confusion of that Kingdom; and hence those Wars had their original, which succeeded to those lately suppressed, being carried on by *Don Sebastian de Castilla* and *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, whose pretence and quarrel was the same good old Cause, onely to free themselves from the uneasie burthen of those

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Statutes, which caused all that noise and effusion of so much blood. As we shall make appear in its due place, and confirm the same by the testimony of *Diego Hernandez*, whom we shall have occasion to quote in divers places.

But to turn the course of this History from so melancholy a subject to something more diverting and pleasant; we are to know, that whilst these matters were in agitation, a Letter was directed to the City of *Los Reyes* from *Hernando Ninno*, Mayor of the City of *Toledo*, to his Son *Rodrigo Ninno*, of whom we have formerly made mention in the fourth Book of the second Part, wherein his Father required him (the Wits with *Gonzalo Pizarro*, being ended) to hasten into *Spain*, to take possession of an Estate which a Kinsman of his had left him to inherit.

The departure of this Gentleman, who had always approved himself loyal to his Majesty's service in the late Wars against the Rebels, was judged by the President and the other Officers a fit and convenient opportunity for sending those eighty six Souldiers into *Spain*, who for taking part with *Pizarro* had been condemned to the Gallies: and accordingly this matter being intimated to *Rodrigo Ninno* and represented as a service acceptable to his Majesty, he accepted the same, though much against his Will, knowing that the charge of eighty six persons condemned to the Gallies could not but occasion much trouble and inconvenience to him: howsoever the hopes of a reward prevailed above the thoughts of the trouble; so that he provided his Arms and other necessaries for conducting those People, with whom he departed to *Los Reyes*, being in all eighty six *Spaniards*; amongst those, there were six Musicians, who had formerly served *Gonzalo Pizarro*, whom I knew, and as I remember, one of them was called *Augustine Ramirez*, born at *Mexico*, his Father was a *Spaniard*, and his Mother an *Indian*: they were all excellent Masters of Musick, and carried their Instruments with them, and therewith entertained company wheresoever they came; and by the liberality of some Gentlemen, who came to hear them, they received that which served them to bear the charge of their voyage.

With fair weather and wind *Rodrigo Ninno* happily arrived at *Panama*, having along the coast of *Peru* received assistance for security of his Prisoners, who were during that time submissive and humble, being conscious to themselves how much they had offended his Majesty within that jurisdiction: But being departed from *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*, some of them took the opportunity to make their escape, to avoid rowing in the Gallies; for the truth is, *Rodrigo Ninno* had not a sufficient Guard with him to secure so many; nor did the President and his Ministers supply him therewith, imagining that the sole authority of *Ninno* was sufficient to keep them in subjection; though in reality they could not find men in that Country who would be persuaded to take upon them the charge to conduct so many Gally-slaves into *Spain*. With this care and trouble *Ninno*, sailing near the Isles of *Cuba* and *Saint Domingo*, espied a French Pyrate, who gave him chase, for at that time no other Nation used those Seas but that onely. The *Spanish* Captain who was unprovided of Men and Arms for his defence, and knowing also that he carried an Enemy within his Vessel, bethought himself of this Stratagem which was as discreet as pleasant. He armed himself from head to foot, and with his Corset and Plume of Feathers in his Head-piece: and with his Partisan in his hand went and stood by the Main-mast; all his Seamen and others he commanded to be concealed under the Decks, and his Musicians with their instruments to ascend upon the Poop, and to strike up and play when the Enemy came near them: all things being thus ordered as *Ninno* had directed, the Ship sailed on her course, without fear as it were or apprehension of the Enemy, who still gave them chase, not doubting of a good prize: but so soon as they came up with them, and so near as to hear the Musick, and seeing few or none appear above deck, they began to imagin, that that Vessel belonged to some person of Quality who was banished for Treason against the King, or that was dispossessed of his Estate by some Law-suit or other device; and that being thereby become desperate, they believed he had set himself to Sea, and turned Pyrate, like themselves, to repair his fortunes with what booty and prize offered on the Seas. The French-man with this imagination left off his chase, not daring to engage with *Rodrigo Ninno*, permitting him to pursue his Voyage. This Story was told to the President, as he passed those Islands into *Spain*; which the Inhabitants received from the relation of that Pyrate, whom under assurance of a white Flag and Articles of Truce they adventured

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tured to supply with Provisions for his money, which much pleased the President when he thought how good a choice he had made of a knowing and faithfull person, for so weighty a trust as this of the Gally-slaves.

CHAP. IX.

All the Gally-slaves make their escape from Rodrigo Ninno, excepting one who remained with him, and him he drove away with Cuffs and Boxes with his Fist upon his Face. The Sentence which was passed on him in this case. The Favour which the Prince Maximilian shewed to him.

Rodrigo Ninno having got out of the hands of the Pyrate by his Strategem of Musick, proceeded on his Voyage, and came to *Havanna* where most of his Gally-slaves, having not had a sufficient Guard to secure them, made their escapes: others of them fled away at *Cartagena*, and others at the Islands of *Terceras*, so that when they came to pass the Bar of Saint *Lucar*, there were not above eighteen remaining of the whole number of eighty six; and between that and the Port of *Seville* seventeen found means to run away; so that when *Rodrigo Ninno* came to disembark, he had onely a poor simple fellow of all his company remaining; whereas, according to contract made with the President at *Los Reyes*, he was to have delivered the whole number of eighty six at this place: wherefore *Ninno* entered into *Seville* with his single Gally-slave at a Back-gate of the City called *Carbon*, which is little frequented either by those who go in or come out.

Rodrigo Ninno finding himself in the middle of a Street when no person appeared, caught hold of his Gally-slave by the Collar, and, with his Dagger in his hand, swore by the life of the Emperour, that he would give him twenty Stabbs; but, said he, I will not do it, because I will not foul my hands with the blood of so dirty a Villain as thou art, who having been a Souldier in *Pernu*, hast yet the base and poor spirit to become a Slave in the Gallies. Why didst not thou run away as the other eighty five have done? Get thee gone in the Devil's name, for I had rather goe alone, than thus ill-attended; and having said thus much, he gave him three or four good Cuffs on the Ear, and so let him goe: And therewith *Rodrigo* went directly to the Farmers of the Customs, to give them an account of the great care he had taken of the Gally-slaves; but that wanting men to guard and secure them, they were all escaped; and indeed he was in great apprehensions and fear of his own Life, lying at the mercy of so many men who had a power over him greater than his. The Commissioners of the Custom-house were much amazed to hear this Story, and knew not what to say to it, untill farther Examination.

In the mean time, this last Gally-slave, according to his own base spirit, talked at large of this matter in the first Victualling-house he came unto; and told all the particulars which *Rodrigo Ninno* had either said or done: this Story filled all the Town with discourse, and came at length to the hearing of the Commissioners, who thereupon seized upon *Ninno*; and the King's Attorney accused him with high aggravations of his fault, alledging that he had given liberty to eighty six of the King's Slaves, for every one of which he ought to pay the value and price of ranfome. The Suit against him was prosecuted, and *Rodrigo Ninno*, not being able to justify himself, he was condemned to serve the King with his Horse for the space of six years in *Oran*, and with two other Companions at his own charge, and that in the mean time he was not to return to the Indies. But *Ninno* appealed from this sentence to the Prince *Maximilian of Austria* who then governed *Spain* in the absence of his Imperial Majesty who was his Uncle: His Highness inclined a favourable Ear to the Advocates of *Rodrigo Ninno*, who gave him a large account of all the Services which *Ninno* had performed against the Rebels, and how ill he had

had been treated by those who had joyned with *Gonzalo Pigarro*, and how he had been employed by the Vice-king *Vela Nunnez* to seize on certain persons, and how ill he was treated by them, because he would not take their party, as we have at large mentioned in the eleventh Chapter of the fourth Book, and second Part. They also related the Trick he plaid the Pyrate at Sea, how the Gally-slaves escaped from him, and how he released the last of them, and what words he said to him. All which the Prince heard with his usual favour and clemency, and was sensible that the escape of the condemned men was caused by default and omission of those whose business it was to provide sufficient Guards, and that *Ninno* lay at the mercy of the Slaves, to whom he was beholding for not killing him. When the Agents observed how graciously the Prince understood the cause of *Ninno*, they begged the favour that the Offenders might be admitted to the presence of his Highness, which being granted, and that *Ninno* made his appearance accordingly, the Prince put such pertinent questions to him as any Learned Lawyer or Counsellour could have done: Art thou, said he, the man to whom eighty six Gally-slaves were entrusted? and that they all fled from you, and made their escape excepting one? and did not you beat that single fellow from you, and caused him also to run away. Most Serene Prince, answered *Rodrigo Ninno*, I could not do more than what I did, for they did not furnish me with Men and Guards sufficient to secure so many men; God knows my heart, and the World hath received sufficient testimonies of my duty and service towards his Majesty. And as to the Gally-slave, whom I drove from me, I had compassion of him, for, methoughts, it was pity to commit that poor Rascal alone to the Gallies, and force him to labour for all the others who were fled from me: nor was I willing to have his Curses, or reward him so ill as to put him into the Gallies, because he had been more true and faithfull to me than all his other companions. And now I refer my self to the justice of your Highness, to be punished in case my crimes or faults deserve your royal displeasure. No, answered the Prince, it is they who are to be blamed, and are accordingly to be punished, and not you: for as to your part, you have done like a Gentleman, and therefore I acquit you from the sentence, so that you have free liberty to return to *Pernu*, when you please. *Rodrigo Ninno* kissed his hands, and gave humble thanks to his Highness, and some years afterwards, he returned to *Pernu*, where he more at large related these matters which we onely touch upon in brief: and openly professed, that in all *Spain* he found no friend to speak in his behalf and favour, but onely the good Prince *Maximilian de Austria*, whom God preserve and maintain with increase of Honour and Dominion. Amen.

CHAP. X.

The second Division of Lands is published. The President departs for Spain. The death of Licenciado Cepeda. The coming of the President to Panama.

THE President *Gasca* with such impatience desired to acquit himself of the Government that every hour seemed a year, whilst he remained in that Office, and therefore used all possible endeavours to quicken his dispatch. And that he might not be longer detained, he left order (as *Valentin* before faith) with the Arch-bishop of *Los Reyes* to publish after his departure the second division he had made, signed with his own hand: and having (as he supposed) made a sufficient provision for all things and disposed matters in their due form and manner; he embarked with all speed, and sailed from the Port called *Callao*, making his Cross upon *Pernu*, vowing with passion never more to see it again; And after eight days were past, publication was made of the new distribution; which *Valentin* mentions in these words, in Chap. 4. Lib. 1. Part. 2.

The time being come which the President *Gasca* had allotted for publication of the second Division, and which was impatiently expected by the Pretenders, they

they all flocked to the publick Hall of Judicature: and the Judges being set up on the Bench, the Seals of the Instrument were broken up, and the writing read in publick; The issue of which was this: Those who had the least expectation were favoured with good allotments; and those who had most were entirely left out, and remained without any distribution. It was pleasant to see and hear the diversity of mens behaviour and sayings; some came out with pleasant countenances, and others frowned, and swore and cursed the President, being now become desperate and without any hope, &c. Thus far *Palentino*.

The President with all speed left the Countrey, not to hear and understand the Reproaches and Curfes which would be given him; and haind as fast as was possible to *Panama*; nor would he enter into Port by the way to take refreshment, having a perfect hatred and abhorrence to the Countrey: with him he carried *Licenciado Cepeda* prisoner, who formerly had been one of his Majesty's Justices in those Kingdoms and Provinces; and though the President had a sufficient power to hear and judge his cause; yet, in regard he had promulged an Act of Pardon to all people, he was unwilling to call those faults into question which he had formerly forgiven; and therefore remitted his case to the supreme Royal Council of the *Indies*. And being come to *Valladolid*, where the Court then resided, his cause was re-assumed and his faults opened, with many aggravating circumstances of the Attorney General: And though *Cepeda*, in defence of himself alleged that the other Judges and he had acted all things with intention to serve his Majesty and with design to qualifie and abate the fury of seditious and mutinous men, whose spirits were heated and put into fermentation by that indiscreet rigour which the Vice-king *Blasco Nunez* used in execution of those new Laws which were the cause of all those Troubles which ensued: but these Allegations availed little in his favour, nor was it possible to prevent the sentence which was passed upon him, to dye as a Traytor. And though his friends and relations used all the interest they were able to gain his pardon; yet, seeing they could not avail for his life, they then endeavoured to moderate the sentence, that he might not dye as a Traytor, and so his blood be attainted: to avoid which a contrivance was made with a dose of poison, whereby he passed more easily and quietly into the next world before sentence was pronounced formally against him at the Tribunal of Justice. All which was the common and publick discourse in *Pern*, and which I heard afterwards confirmed in *Spain* by some *Indians* who happened to enter before me into discourse about the death of *Licenciado Cepeda*. And it is farther said of *Cepeda*, that he discoursing after the death of *Gonzalo Pizarro* of the successes of the late Affairs, and of the sentence of death which passed upon himself; and that he was condemned as a Traytor, to have his Houses demolished, and the ground thereof to be sowed with Salt, and his Head to be fixed on a Spike of Iron; that he should say, he would maintain the cause of *Gonzalo Pizarro* to have been just and legal, and that he was no Traytor to his Majesty; and that he acted entirely for conservation of the Empire; and that if he did not make this good, he would pawn his Life, and offer his Throat to the Knife; provided he might have the Parliament of *Paris* or the University of *Bolonia* for his Judges, or any other Court of Justice, not subjected to the Imperial Dominion. Dr. *Gonzalo Ulscas*, in his Pontifical History speaks almost the same thing of *Cepeda*, as before mentioned, whose words are as followeth:

Amongst the many famous and renowned persons who were concerned in the Troubles of *Pern*, there was one *Licenciado Cepeda*, who acted a considerable part; he was a Native of *Tordesillas*, and one of the Judges who came over with the Vice-king *Blasco Nunez Vela*: It were not just to conceal his Name, having been very active in his Majesty's service, whilst he employed himself in that duty: and afterwards, being engaged with *Gonzalo Pizarro*, he shared a great part in his illegal practices. This *Cepeda*, at the conclusion of all, when both Armies were drawn up in the Field to give Battel, revolted over to the Imperial Camp, with some danger of his life, for *Pizarro* sent to pursue him, and he was left for dead upon a wet moorish piece of ground. Though *Gasca* received him then with great signs of affection and good-will; yet afterwards he brought him into *Spain*, and caused him to be clapt up in the King's prison, and was afterwards arraigned of High-treason. *Cepeda* made for good a defence for himself, and with so much reason, (for he knew very well the manner to defend his Cause) that it was generally believed he would have been acquitted with much honour: but dying of a sickness

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in the Prison at *Valladolid*, his Cause was never determined. I had once in my possession the reasons he produced in his own defence, which indeed are so strong that whosoever reads them must necessarily acquit him, and allow him to have been a true and faithfull servant to his Majesty: He was more happy in the goods of mind than in those of fortune; for though he had amassed vast Riches and acquired great Honours, yet I have seen him much afflicted, and necessitous in prison.

Thus far this Doctour, who giving also a relation of the death of Count *Pedro Navarro*, one of the most famous Captains of his time, says almost the same that we have done of the death of *Cepeda*, viz. That the Officer in whose custody he was, being his great Friend, did strangle him in prison to prevent an Attainder; having gained all the Kingdom of *Naples*, &c. Thus fortune produces cases of the like nature over all the World, that men comparing the miseries of others with their own, may learn to compassionate each others sorrows.

The President *Gasca* arrived in safety at the City of *Panama*, with more than a million and a half of Gold and Silver, which he carried into *Spain* for account of his Majesty; besides as much more for private men, who were passengers with him. At that place a strange accident happened which Historians mention: but in regard *Augustine de Carate* is more particular therein than any other Author; we shall make use of his relation, touching the Execution of one of those new Ordinances or Laws which have made such a noise in the World, and raised Mutinies and Rebellions in all quarters: and therefore we shall in the first place repeat what he says of the beginning of this rebellion, and then as to the Proceedings thereof, we shall refer our selves to the other Authors, as also for the quantities of Gold and Silver which were robbed by the *Contreras*; who, if they had contented themselves with the prey they had taken, and had known how to secure it, they had revenged the injuries they sustained with great advantage: but the heat of youth transported them beyond the terms of moderation; and being unexperienced in the art of War, they lost all again together with their lives: all which is specified by *Augustine Carate* in the seventh Book of his History of *Pern*, Chap. 12. the Title of which is as followeth, and which we make the eleventh of these our Commentaries.

CHAP. XI.

Of what happened to *Hernando and Pedro de Contreras*, who were at *Nicaragua*, and went in quest and pursuit of the President.

AT that time, when *Pedro Arias Davila* governed and discovered the Province of *Nicaragua*, he married one of his Daughters called *Donna Maria Pennalosa* to *Rodrigo de Contreras* a Native of the City of *Segovia*, a principal person, and one of a great Estate there: By the death of *Pedro Arias* the Government of that Province fell to *Rodrigo de Contreras*; who having been nominated thereunto by his Father-in-law *Pedro Arias*, and having deserved well for his Loyalty to the Crown, his Majesty was pleased to confirm him therein by special Commission; and accordingly he governed for some years, untill a new Court of Judicature was erected in the City of *Gracias de Dios*, which borders on the confines of *Guatemala*; and then the new Justices did not only deprive *Rodrigo de Contreras* of his Government; but likewise putting in execution one of the new Laws before mentioned, they acquitted all his *Indians*, as well those which belonged to himself as those which came to him by his Wife from their duty and services; as also those *Indians* which he had settled upon his Children during the time of his Office: of which hard usage *Rodrigo* complaining petitioned for a redress in consideration of the many services which both his Father-in-law and all his family had performed

performed to his Majesty: but neither the King nor his Council thought fit to yield to his request, but to maintain the new Law, and approve what the Court had acted in that matter. The Sons of *Rodrigo de Contreras* called *Hernando* and *Pedro* resented this aggravance with high indignation, and being young men, rash and in the heat of their blood, resolved to rise in Arms: and herein they found encouragement from one *John Bermejo*, and other Souldiers his Companions, who were come from *Peru*: most of which were highly displeased and incensed against the President, because for all the services they had done in the Wars against *Gonzalo Pizarro*, he suffered them to starve; and instead of making provision for them, he highly rewarded those who had taken part with *Pizarro* and banished such as had served the King out of the Confines of *Peru*: with these and the like Complaints they animated the two brothers to undertake some great enterprise, persuading them that in case they could once get two or three hundred Souldiers, they might adventure to invade *Peru*; and moreover, being already furnished with Shipping and all things requisite for Navigation, they might with much ease transport their men thither; where being landed they would soon be increased with all that party of men which the President *Gasca* had disobliged. Having resolved on the matter, they privately lifted men, and provided Arms, and when they found themselves strong enough to resist the Officers of Justice, they began to put their designs into execution: and in the first place they fell upon the Bishop of the Province, who having opposed their Father in all his negotiations, they in revenge thereof caused certain Souldiers to enter his house, and kill him as he was playing at Chess. And then presently they set up their Standard, and declared for Liberty, calling their Army the Keepers of the Liberty. Then they fitted such Ships out to Sea as were requisite, and sailed into the South-sea, with intention to expect the coming of the President, and to take and rob him in his passage; for they had received intelligence, that he was on his voyage towards the main Land with all the treasure belonging to his Majesty. Howsoever it seemed most advisable to go first to *Panama*, there to receive information of the state of Affairs; and besides, they were in a better post and station there, to sail from thence to any part of *Peru*, than from *Nicaragua*. And having shipped about three hundred men, they arrived at the Port of *Panama*, where before they made a descent into the Town, they informed themselves by some of the Inhabitants whom they had taken of all which had lately past; and how the President was already landed with all the King's Treasure. And now, as if their good fortune had offered this great booty to their hand, they expected until night; and then secretly entered the Port without any noise, on confidence that the President was lodged in the City, and lay secure, apprehending no harm; and therefore they doubted not but to surprize him without loss or hurt to themselves. Thus far *Augustine Carate*. And *Gomara* having almost said the same thing, adds, Chap. 193. That the *Contreras* got up all the *Pizarrists*, who were fled from *Gasca*, and other Fugitives and men of desperate fortunes, and resolved to attempt some exploits to enrich themselves, declaring that the Treasure and Dominion of *Peru* did by a lawful Title belong to them, as Grand-children descended from the *Pedraras de Avila*, who were in Partnership with *Pizarro Almagro* and *Laques*. Though this was but a weak pretence, yet it served the turn, and brought in a great number of Villains and Miscreants to side with them; and under this colour they committed much spoil and robbery, and sufficiently enriched themselves, had they known a mean and wherewith to be contented. Thus far *Gomara*.

Now the whole Story is this; The *Contreras* entered *Panama* by night and made there first attempt on the house of Doctor *Robles*. In four Ships then in Port they took eight hundred thousand pieces of Eight, some of which were for the King's and some for account of private men: in the Treasurer's house they seized upon six hundred thousand more which were ready to have been carried to *Nombre de Dios*, as *Gomara* reports, Chap. 193. And besides this quantity of Gold and Silver, they robbed the Shops of many rich Merchants, whence they plundered such vast quantities of commodities which came from *Spain*, that they were troubled how to dispose of them or carry them away. Moreover, they sent one of their Companions called *Salguero* with a Party of Musquetiers by way of *Las Cruces* to the River of *Chagva*, upon intelligence that they had sent great quantities of Gold and Silver by that road to *Nombre de Dios*; and *Salguero* overtook and seized seventy load of Silver, which was not as yet shipped aboard, being to the value of

of five hundred and seventy thousand Ducats; all which they sent to *Panama*; so that besides Merchandize, Pearls, Jewels and other Curiosities, that they plundered, they had seized almost two millions in Gold and Silver onely, which belonged to the President, and other Passengers; who having not the least suspicion of Thieves or Robbers in that way, carried part of their Gold and Silver with them, and the rest they left at *Panama*, to be brought after them to *Nombre de Dios* at seven or eight turns. For as *Gomara* saith, there belonged above three millions to the President and his Company. But all this immense Riches and Wealth was quickly consumed by the follies and debaucheries of these young men; according to the Proverb, *What was got upon the Devil's back, was spent upon his belly*. And what helped forward to this Work, was the vanity of *Bermejo* and his Companions the *Pizarrists*, who could not be contented with a less Prey than the person of the President *Gasca* himself; for some desired to take a full revenge on him in lieu of the Pay and Reward he promised for the services they had done; and others, who were *Pizarrists*, were become his inveterate Enemies on the score of the old quarrel; and all cried out, that they would make Dice of his Bones and Powder of his Flesh: for, said they, he is so fine and subtle in all his dealings, that certainly he cannot but make the best and the finest Gun-powder in the World: But these men were deceived in their vain imaginations; for though they did not seize the person of the President, yet their revenge would have been more complete in sending him away without his Gold and Silver, than if they had taken him alive, and sacrificed him to their rage and fury.

C H A P. XII.

Of the leud Practices and Follies of the Contreras, whereby they lost all the Treasure they had gained, together with their Lives. The diligence and good management which their Enemies used to bring them to condign Punishment.

BUT the good fortune of *Licenciado Gasca*, which had accompanied him in all the successes before related, and in the recovery of an Empire as great as *Peru*, would not now leave him exposed to the Attempts of a leud and villanous sort of People; for Providence still continuing her protection and favour to him; suffered these wicked Wretches to be ensnared with their own Pride and Ignorance; and those very men who had followed *Francisco de Carvajal*, and had known and learned his Discipline and Art in War, were so clouded in their understandings and reasons, that they rashly precipitated themselves into death and destruction. For in the first place, after they had taken *Panama*, and sacked and plundered the City, they seized upon many of the principal men thereof, amongst which were the Bishop and Treasurer to his Majesty, as also *Martin Ruiz de Marchena*, and the Sheriffs of the City, and carried them away with intent to hang them upon the common Gallows, which they had certainly done to the full satisfaction of *John de Bermejo*, had not *Hernando Contreras* given a stop to the execution, with which *Bermejo*, being greatly enraged, told him plainly, that since he was pleased to appear in favour of his Enemies, to the high discouragement of his friends; it would be no wonder if his Enemies another day took their turn and hanged up him and all his Associates.

These words were a clear prediction of what happened in a short time afterwards. For *Hernando de Contreras* took no other security from the Citizens for their quiet behaviour towards him than their bare Oath, swearing that they would be as true and faithfull to him, as if all the actions he had committed had tended to the service of God and of the King, and to the benefit and advantage of the Citizens. After which vain piece of confidence and folly, they divided their Forces, which in all consisted of no more than two hundred and fifty men, into four Squadrons, forty of which were remained with *Pedro de Contreras*, to

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guard the four Vessels which they brought with them, and the other four they had taken in Port: *Salguero*, as we have said, was sent with thirty men to the River of *Chagre* to take possession of the Silver which was robbed there: *Hernando de Contreras* himself marched with forty Souldiers more by way of *Capira* to seize the President and sack *Nombre de Dios*; both which exploits he thought very easie to be done by a surprise; and *John de Bermejo* with an hundred and fifty men staid at *Panama* to keep and defend that City. And besides these pieces of foolish management and miscarriages, they were so inconsiderate as to entrust the merchandise which they had robbed in the hands of the Proprietors themselves, and to other persons of reputation and note on security onely of Bonds under their handwriting to yield them up to *Hernando de Contreras*, when he should return from *Nombre de Dios*; and so far were they transported with vain confidence, that they looked upon themselves as Masters of all the new world. And accordingly they gave out their Warrants to take up all Horses and Mules that could be found, and to mount their Souldiers thereon, and to go to the relief and assistance of *Hernando de Contreras* if occasion should be. And with this Equipage *Bermejo* departed the City, leaving it to it self, and with as much assurance of faithfulness as if it had been his own House: whereas on the contrary, had they embarked all the Gold and Silver they had robbed upon their Ships, together with the Jewels, Merchandise and other Booty, and had gone away themselves therewith, they had totally destroyed and ruined the President and all his Adherents. But they neither deserv'g so much good, nor the President so much evil, the wheel of fortune turned, as we shall see by the sequel.

For so soon as it was day, those who had escaped out by night, whilst they were plundering the City, one of which was *Arias de Acevedo*, (of whom the History makes mention) dispatched away a Servant of his to *Nombre de Dios*, to give intelligence to the President *Gasta* of all that the Rebels had done at *Panama*: and though as yet the advice was imperfect, yet it served to alarm the President in such manner as that neither he nor his People were totally unprovided. On the other side, the Inhabitants of the City, whom *John de Bermejo* left with so much confidence, and reposed that Trust in as to commit a great part of his spoil to their care and custody; no sooner was his back turned than they assembled together, rang out the Bells of the Town, and fell to fortifying the City on the side towards the Sea, and to secure the passage on the way of *Capira*, in case the enemy should attack them on either side: At the sound of the Bells all the neighbouring Inhabitants came in with their Arms, being attended with their *Negroes*, that in a short time between White men and Tawny they made up a force of above five hundred men, all resolute to die in defence of the City. Two of the Souldiers belonging to *John de Bermejo*, who for want of Horses were left behind, hearing the noise and confusion amongst the people, fled away to give advice to their Commander how the City was in rebellion, and again returned to the obedience of his Majesty: Of which *John de Bermejo* sent immediate advice to *Hernando de Contreras*, giving him to understand that he was going to *Panama*, to cut those Traitors in pieces who had falsly violated their Oath and Faith to them: and so he returned thither with confidence of becoming Master of it with as much ease as formerly; but things happened out quite contrary to his expectation, for the Citizens, to prevent the burning of their City (which was all built of Timber) came forth to encounter him in the way, and met *John de Bermejo* fortified on the side of an Hill, where they attacked him with great courage; for being angry and ashamed of the late disgracefull usage, they fought with the more bravery: at the first assault it was not known which party had gained the advantage, but at the second, the Citizens fighting like desperate men, and full of revenge, overwhelmed their enemies with their numbers of White and Black men; amongst which *Bermejo* and *Salguero* were both killed with about eighty more; as many more were taken, and carried away to the City; where being put all together in an open yard, the chief Bailiff of the Town (whose name we shall not mention) came in amongst them with two *Negro* Servants, and with Daggers stabbed them to death, whilst with loud out-cries they desired time for Confession. *Palentino* saith that, dying without Confession, they were buried on the Sea-shore. The news of this misfortune was soon brought to the hearing of *Hernando de Contreras*, who upon the advice formerly given by *Bermejo*, was upon his march back to *Panama*; and considering himself now as a lost man and ruined, he

he dismissed his Souldiers, advising every man to shift for himself, and told them that their best way would be to make towards the Sea, where his Brother *Pedro de Contreras* would receive them a-board a Ship, and that he himself intended to take that way, and so they dispersed, every man shifting for himself: Some few days after which, the King's Party going in pursuit of them over Mountains, Boggs and wet places, they found the Body of *Hernando de Contreras* drowned in a Morass; the Head they cut off and carried it to *Panama*, and though it was very much disfigured, yet he was known by his Hat, being of a singular fashion, and by a Chain of Gold which he usually wore about his Neck. His Brother *Pedro de Contreras*, hearing this sad fate, with the destruction and ruine of *John de Bermejo* and all his Companions, attempted to make his escape by Sea; but the Winds and Waters, and all the Elements conspired against him to hinder his Ships from going out of Port; wherefore he endeavoured to make his escape in little Boats, not knowing where to go or fly, in regard all the World was become his Enemy. But the Inhabitants of the City armed out other Boats in chase of him, with which they recovered their own, and took also the Enemy's Ships: Another Party appointed to follow those over the Mountains, who had taken their way by Land, took some of those belonging to *Hernando*: but as to *Pedro de Contreras*, no man knew what became of him; though it was generally believed, that he was killed by the *Indians*, or devoured by Tygers or other wild Beasts, of which there are great numbers in that Countrey; for they never received news of him afterwards.

This was the end and issue of that wicked design; of which no better success could be expected, having commenced with the Murder of a Bishop; and though some men would excuse this fact by laying a blame on the Bishop for his immoderate language, whereby they were provoked to the performance of this outrageous Act; yet certainly nothing can be alledged in excuse of this heinous and abominable Murder. But at length they paid for all, as before related.

C H A P. XIII.

The President recovers the Treasure he had lost. He punishes the Offenders. He arrives in Spain, where he happily ends his days.

WHILST *Licenciado Gasta* was at *Nombre de Dios* he received news of the arrival of the *Contreras*, and of the Robberies and Piracies they had committed in *Panama*, he was much afflicted to consider, that such a strange turn of fortune should be reserved for him at the conclusion of all his affairs; and which a certain Author says was the more surprizing, in regard it was never imagined, nor possibly to be prevented by all the care and diligence that could have been contrived. But now to hinder the farther progress of this evil, he secured in the best manner he was able the Treasure which he had with him; and then with what Forces he had, and with the Auxiliaries of the Town, he prepared to return to *Panama* to recover his lost Treasure and punish the Robbers: and though he conceived little hopes of success, supposing that they had been so wise as to have carried away their prize, and provided for their own safety: howsoever, not to be wanting to his duty, or to lose an opportunity, as he had never done, when offered; he marched out of *Nombre de Dios* with such men and arms as could be provided on a sudden: and in the first days journey he received intelligence of the happy success at *Panama*, with the death of *John de Bermejo*, and *Salguero*, and of the flight of *Hernando de Contreras* over the Mountains, and of his Brother by Sea; with which the good President being comforted, proceeded on his journey with great alacrity, rendering thanks to Almighty God (as *Gomara* saith) for such a tide and current of happy fortune as would ever be recorded in future ages to his honour and fame, &c. The President entered into *Panama* with greater glory and triumph than

ever the Emperours and Grandees of the World had done into their Capital Cities: for that without arms or men, counsel or advice, and onely by the favour and air of his happy fortune he confounded his enemies, who had given him a cruel and fatal blow, had they not been fools, and not ruined themselves by their own miscarriages. In fine, he recovered the Treasure which was lost, requiring it from those to whose custody it was committed, and thereby received an increase both of the Gold and of the Silver: for in regard the Robbers had promiscuously seized on all the Treasure, as well that which appertained to the King as to private men; the President laid a Sequestration upon all in the name of his Majesty. After which license was given to particular persons to make their demands, and bring their proofs, by assigning the Marks and Numbers which were upon the Bars of Silver and Ingots of Gold: for it hath been an ancient custome amongst those who trade for *Peru*, to stamp Marks and Numbers upon the Gold and Silver shipped for their respective accounts; whereby in case of shipwreck or any other misfortune, every man may know his own, and demand it for himself: and so those who certified their Marks, and made proof that the several parcels demanded belonged to them, had their goods restored to them; but then such as could not, lost their interest, which was applied to the service of his Majesty: And by this accident the President rather gained than lost, for all things turn to the benefit of those who are favoured by fortune. The Treasure being recovered, the President entred upon examination of those who adventured to possess themselves of the Bars of Silver which *Salguero* brought to the City: and though this Party were not in combination with the *Contreras*, yet finding the City in a combustion, they made use of that opportunity to rob something for themselves: so some of them were whipped, others pilloried; and not onely Rebels but Pilferers were punished, who thought it good fishing in troubled waters.

The President ordered the Head of *Hernando de Contreras* to be set on the Gallows, and pitched upon a Spike of Iron, with his name written upon it; but no other punishment was passed by the President upon the Offenders; for when he returned to *Panama* he found that work already done to his hand, for they were all killed before he came thither. After which, with great expedition, he embarked for *Spain*, as *Palentino* mentions in the tenth Chapter of his second Part in these words:

Thus did the President *Gasca* consummate all the good fortunes which had befallen him both in *Spain* and *Peru*, by the late prosperous success in recovery of the Treasure which was robbed from him, which was signalized by many remarkable circumstances: with this Treasure he embarked for *Spain*, where being happily arrived, he travelled into *Germany* to attend on his Majesty, who had already bestowed on him the Bishoprick of *Placencia*, which was become vacant by the death of *Don Lewis Cabeça de Vaca* of happy memory; in which charge he continued untill the year 61, when *Don Phelipe* our Catholick King and Lord advanced him to the Bishoprick of *Ciçuença*, in which he remained untill the month of November 77, when God was pleased to take him out of this present world. Thus far *Palentino*, which is confirmed by *Lopez de Gomara*, Chap. 193.

Gasca, faith he, embarked at *Nombro de Dios*, and arrived in *Spain* in the month of July, in the year 1550, with great riches belonging to others, but as to himself his chief Wealth was his Reputation. In going and coming, and in his time there, he spent above four years: the Emperour made him Bishop of *Placencia*, and called him to *Augsburg* in *Germany*, to certify unto him by word of mouth all matters which had passed in the *Indies*, with the true state of *Peru*. Thus far *Gomara* with which he concludes that Chapter. And though this Author says, the President *Gasca* fought with the Rebels, and subdued them; he means, that his good fortune had delivered them into his hands by the resolution and care of others, for he never saw them either dead or alive. Thus did this worthy person most happily conclude his days, whose memory ought for ever to be celebrated; in regard that by his good fortune, excellent conduct, prudence and wisdom the new Empire containing a thousand three hundred leagues in length was recovered, and restored to the Emperour *Charles the Fifth*, with a vast Treasure which he brought with him.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

Francisco Hernandez Giron proclaims his Commission and Design for making a new Conquest, upon which many Souldiers flock to him; which causes great Disturbance and Mutinies in Cozco, but is suppressed by the Prudence and Moderation of some Citizens.

LEaving now the President *Gasca*, Bishop of *Ciçuença* entombed with Ensigns and Scutclions of honour and fame; we must in the next place make a long and speedy transition from *Ciçuença* to *Cozco*, where we shall find many sudden alterations; for so soon as the President *Gasca* was departed for *Spain*, all the Inhabitants of divers Cities returned to their respective homes and places of aboad, every one to look after his particular concerns: amongst which General *Pedro de Hinijosa* was one, and Captain *Francisco Hernandez Giron* went to *Cozco*, publishing on his way thither the Commission he had received to make a new Conquest; and in order thereunto he appointed several Captains to lift men in *Huamanga* and *Arequipa*, and in the new Plantation: whilst he himself, with great solemnity, by sound of Trumpet and beat of Drum proclaimed his Design and Commission in *Cozco*, upon which publication above two hundred Souldiers flocked to him from all parts, for he was a popular man, and well beloved by the Souldiery. Such a number being got together, took a liberty to speak of the late Transactions according to their humours, and to vilifie and contemn the President and the Governours he had left in the Empire; and so publicly scandalous and impudent was their discourse; that the Governours of the City thought it time to find ways to suppress it: and *John de Saavedra*, who was then Mayor of the Town, desired *Hernandez de Giron* to expedite his departure as soon as possible, that they might be freed from the insolence of the Souldiers. For though the Captain himself entertained several of them in his own Family; yet the rest were quartered on the Citizens in their private Houses: which though it were an aggravance to them; yet, as *Palentino* faith, they were unwilling to part with them, because this expedition deprived them of their People; so that in case his Majesty should impose any thing on them to their farther prejudice, they should be disenable from making opposition to encroachments on their Estates and Privileges, as they had formerly done with good success, &c.

For my part, I know not whence this relation should proceed; for it is well known that it had been much better for the Citizens to have the Souldiers employed in distant and remote enterprises, than to lye at free quarter upon them; being obliged to maintain some four or five, some six or seven, in their houses; and to afford them meat, drink and lodging, with cloaths and other conveniences: and how then it can be as this Author faith, I know not, since it is plain and evident, that the Inhabitants were consumed and undone by those chargeable Guests. But we must excuse this Historian in many passages related by him, for he was not personally present when they were acted, but received his informations from others which are often doubtful and contradictory, and so full of mutinies, that every page is filled with them, whereby all the Inhabitants, as well as Souldiers are rendered Traytors and disloyal to the Government: All which we shall lay aside, as not pertinent to this History, and shall onely insist on the most material passages, of which I my self was a Witness, having been present in *Cozco*; when *Francisco Hernandez* and his Souldiers made their first disturbance: And I was also present at the second mutiny which passed about three years afterwards: all which I observed, without any notice taken of me; for I was a very boy, and had not attained the age of a young man; howsoever, I had so much understanding as to see and observe the discourses which my Father made of the several affairs which passed in that Empire: And therefore I can truly aver, that these Souldiers carried themselves so proud and insolent, that the Government was forced to take notice of it, and consult a remedy: which when the Souldiers understood, they applied

applied themselves to their Captain, desiring him not to suffer them to be trampled upon by those who had no authority over them: For that the President *Gasca* having given him a Commission to make a new Conquest, and that they were his Souldiers, they knew no other power nor authority but his; and that they esteemed themselves free and independent on the Jurisdiction of the Mayor or others.

And so far did this mutiny proceed, that the Souldiers assembled together with their Arms in the house of *Francisco Hernandez*: and on the other side, the Mayor and Citizens cried out to arm; upon which the Inhabitants and their Relations, with divers Souldiers who were not of the Faction, and rich Merchants, and others of Quality, met in the Market-place with their Arms, and drew up in a formed body: In like manner the contrary Party drew up in their Captains Street, being not far from the Market-place, in which posture both sides continued two days and two nights, being every moment ready to attack each other: which had most certainly happened, had not some more moderate men, who were sensible of the late ruinous distractions, interposed between them, and addressed to the Mayor and *Hernandez Giron*, desiring them to enter into a Treaty; that things might be brought to a right understanding. The chief men employed herein were *Diego de Silva*, *Diego de Maldonado* the rich, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Vasco de Guevara*, *Antonio de Quimones*, *John de Berrio*, *Jeronimo de Loaysa*, *Martin de Adenese*, and *Francisco Rodriguez de Villa fuerte*, who was the first of the thirteen that passed over the Line which *Francisco Pizarro* drew with the point of his Sword. With these several other Citizens joyned, to persuade the Mayor to quiet this disturbance, which would prove the destruction of the City and the whole Kingdom. The like was alleged to *Francisco Hernandez*, desiring him to consider that thereby he would forfeit the merit of all his former Services, that he would destroy his design of Conquest, whereby he was to gain honour and make his fortune. At length it was agreed, that he and the Mayor should meet in the great Church; but the Souldiers of *Hernandez Giron* opposed it, unless Hostages were first given for his safe return, which was assented unto, and four Citizens were delivered for security; namely, *Garcilasso* my Master, *Diego Maldonado*, *Antonio de Quimones* and *Diego Silva*. On these Conditions the two Chiefs met in the great Church, where *Francisco Hernandez* carried himself so insolent and proud, that the Mayor had laid hands on him had he not been restrained with the consideration of his friends who remained Hostages in the power of the Souldiers: so that suppressing his anger what he could, he suffered *Francisco Hernandez* to return to his House, from whence he came again, and towards the Evening met on the former Cautions given. By which time *Hernandez* having better considered the unhappy consequences of that mutiny, and having consulted with divers friends upon the case, he became much more gentle, and in a more flexible temper than before: and in this good humour they broke up and adjourned until the day following, by which time they should be enabled more deliberately to discuss their affairs. Being accordingly met; the usual forms of Protefts and Acts were drawn up, and the Preamble was agreed to the following Articles: Namely, That for the publick peace and quiet of the Land, *Francisco Hernandez* should remove his Souldiers from the Town, and should deliver up eight of those who had been the most insolent and mutinous amongst them into the hands of the Mayor; of which number were those who had fired upon his Majesty's Troop without any cause or provocation. And that he himself should goe in person to the Court of Justice, to render an account of this late scandalous Mutiny and Riot.

This Agreement was solemnly sworn unto by both Parties and drawn up in Writing; and the Mayor was to permit *Hernandez* to depart freely upon his own Paroll and Oath of Fealty to the King. After this *Francisco Hernandez* returned to his own House, where he acquainted his Souldiers with the Agreement he had made, but they were not pleased therewith, but began to mutiny; and if he had not appeased them with good words and promises, they had fallen in upon the King's party; the consequence of which would have been very destructive to the whole Kingdom; for they were two hundred effective men, desperate and of no fortunes, having nothing to lose: and on the other side, there were above Eighty persons of Quality who had Lands and Estates; and the rest were Merchants of great Riches. But God was pleased to divert this fatal Mischiefe at the Prayers and Vows of religious Friars, and secular Priests, and devout Women: for though the

the disturbance was more enflamed than before, so that Watch and Centinels were set, and they were all the night up with Arms in their hands; yet in the morning, when the Mayor saw that *Hernandez* had not drawn off his men; he sent for him by a Warrant to appear before him: But he, supposing that his men would not suffer him to goe, in case they were acquainted therewith, slept on his morning Gown; and, as if he intended to goe onely to the next neighbour, he went directly to the house of the Mayor; who presently took him and committed him to prison: the news hereof being brought to his Souldiers, they immediately dispersed, and every man shifted for himself: but the eight men who were impeached took Sanctuary in the Convent of St. *Dominick*, and fortified themselves in the Steeple of the Church; where they besieged them for several days, but could not take them, by reason that the passage was very narrow, being built for a Tower in the time of the *Inca's*; howsoever at length they surrendered and were punished, but not with that severe Justice, which their rebellious practices did require; and the Tower was demolished, that it might not be made use of for the future on such like occasions.

CHAP. XV.

John Alonso Palomino and Jeronimo Costilla fly from Cozco. *Francisco Hernandez Giron* presents himself before the High Court of Justice; is dismissed, and returns to Cozco; and he is married in Los Reyes. The Relation of another Mutiny which happened in that City.

THE Souldiers being dispersed, and *Francisco Hernandez Giron* imprisoned, the Mutiny was suppressed and all things quieted: and therefore it was much wondered, what should be the reason that moved *Alonso Palomino* and *Jeronimo Costilla*, who had married two Sisters to escape out of the City, the second night after all things were agreed: nor do I know what reason *Palomino* had to say, that this happened two years afterwards; than which nothing can be more false; which I can aver upon my own knowledge, having been an eye-witness of what passed at that time in *Cozco*: but true it is, that these Gentlemen departed the City at mid-night, without any cause or reason known for the same. If they had gone away three or four nights before, when the City was in extreme danger, some Conjectures might have been made upon the reasons of their departure: but going thus away without any reason assigned, the whole City talked, and made a thousand Conjectures thereupon, especially when it was known, that they had burnt the Bridges of *Aprimac* and *Amancay*, which were to be repaired at the expence and labour of the poor Indians: upon which all the Countrey was in a confusion, and rumours were spread, that *Francisco Hernandez Giron* was up in Arms at *Cozco*, and was become a Rebel. But in the second Insurrection he made, *Alonso Palomino* gave him his reward, by killing him at a Supper, as we shall see hereafter; but *Jeronimo Costilla* escaped, being not present at the Invitation. But to return again to the present Acts of *Giron*: we say, that his Souldiers being dispersed, and the chief Incendiaries punished, the Agreement was performed and executed; and *Giron* was released upon his Paroll and solemn Oath given to goe to the City of *Los Reyes*, and there to present himself before the Royal Court of Justice, and give them an account of the late Actions. *Diego Maldonado* the Rich having a particular friendship with him by reason of their neighbourhood, (for they lived the next street one to the other) accompanied him on his journey as far as *Antahylla*, being forty leagues from *Cozco*: and with the same occasion *Maldonado* visited his Indians, and Plantations he had in those parts: but *Palomino* saith, I know not upon what ground, that *Giron* was delivered into the hands of the High Sheriff *Maldonado*, and of Captain *John Alonso Palomino*, who were obliged at their own cost and charge to provide twenty Musquetiers to carry him

him to *Lima*; and for better security, the Mayor made him take the Oath of Fidelity, &c.

I cannot imagin where this Authour received this relation, so contrary to all truth, and which sounds so like a Romance or a Poetical Fiction. But this is most certain, that *Giron* came to the City of *Los Reyes*, and there presented himself before the Royal Court of Justice, where the Judges committed him to prison: but many days had not passed, before he was enlarged, and the whole City assigned him for his confinement: and in a short time afterwards they took his own obligation and discharged him upon the terms he offered. And here it is reported, that he married with a very Noble Lady, young, virtuous and beautiful; and unworthy of those sorrows and afflictions which her husband brought upon her by his second Rebellion: as we shall see in the sequel of this History. With her he returned to *Cozco*, where for some days and months, I cannot say years, he remained quiet; howsoever, in the mean time, he conversed with none but Souldiers, avoiding, as much as he could, all society and communication with the Citizens: atlength he brought an Action against one of the principal Members of the City, about an Horse, which he challenged to be his, though in reality he had no title thereunto; for the truth was, he had lost him in the late Wars of *Quito*, having been taken from him by a stout Souldier, and as lawfull prize sold by him to a Citizen for a round sum of money, which was witnessed by another Souldier who knew how he came by him. Howsoever, in regard the Souldier who sold him had followed *Pizarro's* Party, the Horse was kept privately and unknown to any, besides the Master himself: but at length the Horse coming to be discovered, the Citizen was contented to sell him to *Giron* at an under rate, rather than to bring the Souldier into question, who might have been hanged or sent to the gallies for the same; so that this suit about the Horse served only to shew his good-will and kindness towards his Companions and Equals, who were Lords over *Indians*, and enjoyed Estates; for, as I observed, he never kept company or entertained communication with them; but only with Souldiers; and with them he spent his whole time and employed his chief concernment, as will appear some few days afterwards. For certain Souldiers, as stout and as mutinous as the others; observing the little rigour and severity which was used against the infolence and mutinous behaviour of *Francisco Giron* and his Associates were encouraged to attempt the like Outrages: but being few in number and without any Head that was considerable, they resolved to find out one, be he what he would; and so publicly was this matter discoursed and treated, that it became the common talk of all the City of *Los Reyes*: and atlength the rumour was so far spread that it came to the Ears of the Mayor of *Cozco*, who being thereupon requested to take cognizance of the Matter, to examine the Plot, and to punish the Offenders, he excused himself, saying, that he was not to create more Enemies than those formerly, who were *Hernandez Giron* and his Adherents; and as for those Troubles then acting, the incumbrance lay on the Court of Justice to suppress and prevent them; and in case they held themselves unconcerned, he for his part would not intermeddle with Affairs, which belonged to a superiour power. Whilst these things were in agitation in the Countrey, a certain Inhabitant of *Cozco*, called *Don John de Mendoza*, a Martial man, and one kind to the Souldiery, happened to come then to Town, with intention rather to aggravate matters, and to incite others, than to concern himself either one way or the other. So soon as he came to the City, he treated with the principal Complotters, who were called *Francisco de Miranda* and *Alonso de Barriennevo*, who was then High Sheriff of the City, and with *Alonso Hernandez Melgarejo*. This *Miranda* told him, that the Souldiers had with general consent chosen him for their Commander in Chief, and *Barriennevo* for his Lieutenant: the which *Mendoza* discovered to certain Citizens who were his Friends, advising them to avoid such danger from the Souldiery, and to abandon the City: but when he perceived that they slighted his Counsel, he then travelled to the City of *Los Reyes*, publishing all the way he went, how that all *Cozco* was in an uproar: and that the City had taken no notice of him either going or coming. *Palentino* mentions the flight of *Palomino* and *Jerónimo Colla*, to have been at this time; which had been two years before, as we have noted it before.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Justices send a new Mayor to Cozco, who doth Justice upon the Mutiniers. The Original of these Disturbances is here related.

UPON the rumour which *Don John de Mendoza* caused to be spread in the City of *Los Reyes*, the Judges appointed the Marechal *Alonso de Alvarado* to be Mayor of *Cozco*, giving him Commission to punish the insolent and mutinous Souldiers there, and to hinder that growing Evil which for want of due correction was come to a degree unsupportable. So soon as this new Officer was come to *Cozco*, he apprehended some of the Souldiers, who to save themselves had impeached a certain Citizen called *Don Pedro Portocarrero*: And having well examined the cause of the principal Mutiniers, who were *Francisco de Miranda* and *Alonso Hernandez Melgarejo*, he hanged them up without any regard to their Nobility, though they claimed the privilege of Gentlemen. The which when *Alonso Barriennevo* knew, who was also condemned, he sent to the Mayor or Governour, desiring that he might enjoy the privilege of a Gentleman, that is, that he might have his Throat cut, and not be hanged; alledging that in case he were hanged, he should despair of his Salvation, and be condemned everlastingly to the Torments of Hell. At the instance of certain friends, the Governour granted the request, and with some unwillingness commanded his Throat to be cut; which I know to be true, because I saw them all three after they were dead; for, being a Boy at that time, I had the curiosity to see those things as they passed: fix or seven others were banished out of the Kingdom, the rest made their escape away. But as to *Don Pedro Portocarrero*, he remitted his causes to the Lords Justices, who having examined him, set him at liberty. *Palentino* speaking of *Francisco de Miranda* names him for a Citizen of *Cozco*; whereas in reality he was not, unless we will give the title of Citizen to any Inhabitant, after the *Castilian* Style, different to the Custom used in *Pern* and *Mexico*, where none is called a Citizen, unless he hath a Plantation, and a Command over *Indians* in vassalage to him: and is obliged (as we noted in the first Part of these Commentaries) to maintain his Houses in the place of his residence: but *Miranda* could claim nothing of this matter, for I knew him very well, for a Niece of his was bred up in the same house with me; she was born of an *Indian* mother, and proved a woman of great probity and virtue. Some few months after this punishment executed, a small disturbance happened, of which *Palentino* makes a long Story; though in reality it was rather a Pretence raised to take revenge upon a poor Gentleman, who, without any malice, had undertaken to give an account of Bastardies in several great and ancient Families, and not onely on the man's side, but on the woman's side also: but what these Families were, there is no reason we should mention in particular. Moreover, there were several other discontents in those days which turned into public mutinies; the punishment of all which fell upon a poor young Gentleman onely, not of above twenty four years of age, called *Don Diego Enriquez*, a Native of *Seville* whom they put to death; his untimely end was much lamented by all the City; for though there had been above two hundred persons, as *Palentino* reports, concerned in the sedition, yet the fate of this poor Gentleman was without any fault, to pay for all. The Justice also proceeded to execute farther Severities on *Indians* of principal note, and on the Vassals and Servants of Noble and rich Citizens; which ought rather to have been inflicted on the Masters themselves, who had been the causes thereof. These mutinies and disturbances, of which *Palentino* gives so long and large relations, proceeded originally from the Orders and Decrees which the Justices had made for taking off the personal Services of *Indians* towards their Lords, requiring that such as found themselves aggrieved in this matter, should not appear by their common Attorney in behalf of the Generality, but that every man should appear and plead in his own person. All which, as we have formerly said, were Artifices of the Devil, contrived purposely to raise discord among the *Spaniards*; whereby the progress of the doctrine of the

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Gospel might be hindered, and the Conversion of the *Indians* to the Catholick Faith delayed: the which proceeding was contrary to the sense and opinion of that wife and prudent person, the President *Gasca*, who having had experience, that the new Laws which the Vice-king *Blasco Nunez Vela* had brought and put in execution in *Peru*, had raised those commotions as would certainly have been the total destruction of that Empire, had they not been repealed; and having observed, that whensoever any thing of that kind was moved all the Country was put into a flame, he wisely therefore before his departure, suspended the execution of his Majesty's command, requiring him to free the *Indians* from services to their Lords. But the Justices followed not this rule, but sent their commands over all the Kingdom, as before mentioned, which gave occasion to the Souldiers to utter rebellious and seditious Speeches; and were encouraged therein by considerable persons, and men of Estates; as *Palentino* writes at large in the second Part, and first Chapter of the second Book.

C H A P. XVII.

Don Antonio de Mendoza is sent in quality of Vice-king to Peru, he employs his Son Don Francisco to visit and survey the Country as far as the Charcas; and dispatches him into Spain, with a relation thereof. A severe action is executed by a Judge.

ABOUT this time a new Governour or Captain-General of the whole Empire arrived in *Peru*, with title of Vice-king, called *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, who was Second Son of the House of the Marquis de *Mondejar* Count of *Tendilla*, who (as we have mentioned in the History of *Florida*) was Vice-king in the Empire of *Mexico*, a person of great Sanctity and Religion, endued with Christian Vertues, and much a Gentleman. The City of *Los Reyes* received him with great joy and solemnity, and desired to introduce him under a Canopy of State; but neither the Archbishop nor the Magistrates of the City could prevail with that Prince to accept of that honour, as if it had been a piece of Treason towards his Majesty, much contrary to the custom in these days; in which great Men esteem more of one hour of such Pageantry than all the time of their life afterwards: with him he brought his Son *Don Francisco de Mendoza*, who was afterwards made General of the Gallies of *Spain*; I saw him both here and there: he always behaved himself like the Son of such a Father, whose goodness and vertues he imitated, and followed both in his youth and in the years of his old age.

When this Vice-king arrived in *Peru*, he was much empaired in his health by long abstinence and acts of penance; by which his natural heat began so far to fail, that to recover it he used violent exercise; and though that climate was naturally very hot, yet he would chuse to go abroad at noon day with a certain little Flaw of that Country, which they had taught to kill upon the Sands a sort of small Owls, or other Birds; and with this sport he diversified himself as often as his vacation from business would permit. And by reason of his want of health, he sent his Son *Don Francisco* to all the Cities from *Los Reyes* as far as the *Charcas* and *Potosi*, to bring him a true relation of the state thereof, for information of his Majesty: *Don Francisco* went accordingly upon this Visitation, and as he passed I saw him at *Cusco*, where he was received with great solemnity under triumphal Arches, with Dances, and appearance of the Gentlemen; who in several Troops road before him to the great Church; and thence conducted him to the Lodgings provided for him: eight days after he had been there, they provided for him * a Feast of Bulls, and of darting Canes on Horseback; which was the most magnificent of any that ever had been before or since in that City; for the Liveries were all of Velvet of divers colours, and most of them embroidered. I remember that

* A Sport used in Spain.

that the Liveries of my Father and his Companions were made of black Velvet, and upon the upper Cassock were two borders of yellow Velvet, about a span distance from each other, with this Motto between, *Plus Ultra*; and adjoining hereunto were three Pillars with Crowns upon them, made of yellow Velvet, as were the Borders, and all interwoven with a twist of Gold and blue Silk, which looked very handsomely. Other Liveries there were very rich and chargeable, which I cannot remember so well as to describe them, but these of my Fathers, having been made in the House, remain still in my memory. The attendants of *John Julio de Hageda*, and *Thomas Vasquez*, and *John de Pancorvo*, and *Francisco Rodriguez de Villa-fuente*, who were all four Conquerours in the first Adventure, were clothed in Liveries of black Velvet, striped with divers flowers and leaves made of crimson and white Velvet. On their Heads they wore Turbans embroidered with Pearls and Esmironds, and other pretious Stones, valued at three hundred thousand pieces of Eight, which amount to above three hundred and seventy thousand Ducats of *Castilla*, and all the other Liveries were rich like these. *Don Francisco* beheld this Gallantry, and Sports from a Balcony belonging to my Father's House, where I had opportunity to take notice of his person: from hence he proceeded to the Cities of *La Paz*, and *La Plata*, and to *Potosi*, where he received a full relation of those Mines of Silver, and of all other matters which were worthy his Majesty's information. In his return he came by the City of *Arequipa*, and along the Sea-coast as far as the City of *Los Reyes*, in all which progress, he travelled above six hundred and fifty leagues: and brought with him the Mountain of *Potosi* delineated, and exactly drawn, and painted with the Mines of Silver, as also other Mountains, Valleys and immense Cavities which are found in that Country of a strange form and figure.

Being returned to the City of *Los Reyes*, his Father dispatched him away for *Spain* with these Draughts of the Country, and a true relation of the state of affairs there. He departed from *Los Reyes*, as *Palentino* saith, in *May* 1552, where we will leave him, to recount a particular accident which happened at that time in *Cusco*, when *Alonso de Alvarado* was Mayor, or chief Governour thereof, and known to be a bold man, and an impartial Juiticiary, the matter was this: About four years before this time a party of Souldiers consisting of two hundred men marched out of the City of *Potosi* towards the Kingdom of *Tucuman*, which the Spaniards call *Tucuman*, most of which, contrary to the positive Orders of the Justices, were served by *Indians* to carry their burthens and baggage for them. The chief Governour of that place, called *Licenciado Esquivel*, with whom I was acquainted, went out of the Town to view the several Companies of Souldiers as they marched; and having suffered all of them to pass with the *Indians*, who carried their luggage, he seized on the last man, called *Aguirre*, because he had two *Indians* laden with his goods; and for this fault some few days afterwards he sentenced him to receive two hundred stripes, because he had neither Gold nor Silver to redeem the penalty laid on him by his Sentence. Hereupon *Aguirre* made all the Friends he could to the Governour to have his punishment remitted, but being not able to prevail, he desired that he might rather be hanged than whipped; saying, that though he were a Gentleman, and might stand upon that privilege, yet he would waive that also: howsoever he thought fit to let him know, that he was the Brother of a Gentleman, who in his Country had an Estate with Vassalage of *Indians*. But all this availed little with the Judge; for though being out of Office he was a man of an easie temper, and a tractable disposition, yet oftentimes Honours and places of Power change the humour of some men; and so it did with this Judge, who became more severe by these applications, so that he immediately commanded the Executioner to bring the Ass, and execute the Sentence, which accordingly was done, and *Aguirre* mounted thereupon. The principal men of the Town, considering the unreasonable severity of the Judge, went and intreated him to remit or suspend the Sentence, and prevailed on him rather by importunity than argument to defer the execution for eight days. But when they came to the Prison with this Warrant, they found *Aguirre* already stript and mounted on his Ass; who, when he understood that the Sentence was onely suspended for eight days, he rejected the favour, and said, *All my endeavours have been to keep my self from mounting this Beast, and from the shame of being seen naked; but since things are come thus far, let the Sentence proceed, which will be less than the fears and apprehensions I shall have in these eight days ensuing, besides I shall not need to give farther*

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ther trouble to Friends to intercede in my behalf, which is likely to be as ineffectual as what hath already passed. And having said this, the Als was whipped forward, and he ran the gantlet according to the Sentence, to the great displeasure and regret both of Spaniards and Indians; who were troubled to see a Gentleman, on so slight a cause, dishonoured by a punishment not agreeing to his Quality; howsoever he avenged himself afterwards, according to the Law of Honour practised in this World.

C H A P. XVIII.

The revenge which Aguire took for this affront. The diligence used by the Governour of Cozco to take Aguire; the manner how he made his escape.

After this Aguire could not be persuaded to pursue his design of the Conquest, though the Inhabitants of Potosi offered to have assisted him with all things necessary thereunto; but he excused himself, saying, *That after such a shame as this, death was his only remedy and consolation, which he would endeavour to obtain as soon as possible*; under this melancholy he remained in Peru untill the time in which the Office of Esquivel expired; and then he always, like a desperate man, pursued and followed him, watching an opportunity to kill him, and wipe off the shame of the late affront. Esquivel, being informed of this desperate resolution by his Friends, endeavoured to avoid his Enemy, and took a journey of three or four hundred leagues from him, supposing that Aguire would not pursue him at such a distance; but the farther Esquivel fled the more earnest was Aguire to follow him. The first journey which Esquivel took was to the City of *Los Reyes*, being three hundred and twenty leagues distant; but in less than fifteen days Aguire was there with him: whereupon Esquivel took another flight, as far as to the City of *Quito*, being four hundred leagues distant from *Los Reyes*, but in a little more than twenty days Aguire was again with him: which being intimated to Esquivel, he took another leap as far as *Cozco*, which is five hundred leagues from *Quito*; but in a few days after he arrived there came his old Friend Aguire, travelling all the way on foot, without Shoes or Stockings, saying, that it became not the condition of a whipped Rascal to travel on Horseback or appear amongst men. In this manner did Aguire haunt and pursue Esquivel for three years and four months: who being now tired and wearied with so many long and tedious journeys, which profited him little; he resolved to fix his abode at *Cozco*, where he believed that Aguire would scarce adventure to attempt any thing against him, for fear of the Judge who governed that City, who was a severe man, impartial and inflexible in all his proceedings: and accordingly took a Lodging in the middle of the Street of the great Church, where he lived with great care and caution, wearing a Coat of Mail under his upper Coat, and went always armed with his Sword and Dagger, which are Weapons not agreeable to his profession. At this time a certain Kinsman of my Fathers, the Son of *Gomez de Tordoya*, and of his name, spoke to Esquivel, and told him, that since he was his Country-man of *Estremeno*, and his Friend, he could not but advise him (as it was known over all Peru) how diligent Aguire had been to dog and follow him with purpose and intent to kill him; wherefore if you please I will come and lodge by night in the same House with you, which perhaps will divert Aguire from coming thither. Esquivel thanked him, and told him that he always went well provided; for he never put off his Coat of Mail, nor laid his offensive Arms aside; and to be more wary or cautious than this would be scandalous to the City, and shew too much fear of a poor fellow who was of a little and a contemptible presence: Howsoever the fury of his mind, and the desire of revenge had exalted him above his natural stature and proportion, and rendered him as considerable as *Diego Garcia de Paredes*, and *John de Urbina*, who were famous men in their time: in virtue and force of this desired

desired revenge he adventured one Monday at noon to enter into the House of Esquivel, and having walked for some time in the yard below, and in the Gallery above, and having passed through a Hall and a Chamber, and entering into an inward Chamber where he kept his Books, he found him there sleeping with one in his hand, and coming softly to him, he stabb'd him with his Dagger through the right Temple of his head, and gave him three or four stabbs more into the Body, not where the Coat of Mail covered him, but in the opening of his Clothes. After which Aguire returned by the same way that he came, and being come to the street Door, missing his Hat he had the courage to return again and fetch it, and therewith went out into the street, and walked like a mad-man without sense or judgment, never thinking to take Sanctuary in the Church, but walked openly in the streets towards *St. Francisco*, where was a Convent East-ward from the great Church; neither did he take refuge there, but wandering through a street on the left hand, he made a stop at the place where a Foundation was laid for the Convent of *St. Clare*; and in a little Alley thereabouts he met two young Gentlemen, Kinsmen to *Rodrigo de Penada*, to whom he said, hide me, hide me, without being able to say one word more, but looked like a man frantick and out of his wits. The Gentlemen, who knew his discontent, and his desire of revenge; asked him, Whether he had killed Esquivel? To which Aguire answered, Yes, hide me, hide me. Then the Gentlemen carried him into the House of a Kinsman of theirs where were three back yards, in the farthest of which there was a kind of a Stie, where they fatted their Hogs and Poultry at the time of year, and there they concealed him, ordering him by no means to go out of that place, or shew his head abroad. As to the back yards, they secured them in that manner that no Indians should go in, having no business to do there; and they told him, that he should not need to take care for Victuals, for they would make a provision for him: which they accordingly did, for dining and supping always in the House of their Kinsman, they would privately at every meal slip Bread and Meat into their Pockets; with which, upon pretence of going to the back-side on their necessary occasions, they relieved this poor Aguire in his Hog-tie, and in this manner they fed and maintained him for the space of forty days.

So soon as the Mayor or Governour heard of the death of Esquivel he commanded the Bells to be rung out; and the Indians of *Cannaris* were set for Guards and Sentinels at the Gates of the City, and at the door of the Convents; and Proclamation was made, that no man should go out of the City without a Pass or License obtained from the Governour, and search was made in all Convents, and the corners of them, that nothing could be more diligently performed, unless they would have pulled them down. This Watch and Ward continued in the City for thirty days, without the least news of Aguire, as if he had been sunk under ground. At length, wearied with a fruitless search, the Sentinels and Guards were taken off from the City; but howsoever a Watch was continued on the High-ways, and maintained with a strict examination of all that passed. At the end of forty days, these Gentlemen, called *Savillan* and *Catanno*, both of noble extraction, (with whom I was acquainted, and met one of them in *Seville* when I arrived first in Spain) thought fit to free themselves from the danger which they incurred by concealing Aguire; for they knew that the Judge was a severe man, and would have no mercy on them in case the matter were discovered; whereupon they agreed to carry him publicly out of the City, and not by any private conveyance; the manner was this, they shaved his head and his beard, and washed his face, head, neck, hands and Arms, and from top to toe, and cleaned him with water, and then smeared him over with a sort of wild Fruit, called by the Indians *Vite*, which is not good to eat, or for any other purpose only dies with that black hue, that being left on for three or four days, and afterwards washed over three or four times more, it leaves a black deeper than that of an Ethiopian, and which will not be washed off again with any water, untill it begins to wear away, which it will do in ten days time, and then will wash off with the rine of that which gives the tincture: In this manner they coloured the wretch Aguire, and clothed him in poor habit, like a Country Negroe; and with this disguise they went out openly about noon day through the publick streets and Market-place, with the Negroe Aguire marching before them with a Gun on his Shoulders, and one of the Masters carried another before him on the Pommel of his Saddle, and the other had a Hawk on his fist, as if they had been going after their

their game: and in this manner they went to the Hill called *Carmenca*, which is the road to *Los Reyes*, and is a great way thicker through Streets and publick places from the house of *Rodrigo de Pineda*: and at last they came to the out-guards of all; where being asked for the Governour's licence or pass-port: he that carried the Hawk, seeming to be troubled for this omission, said to his Brother, Pray stay for me here untill I goe and fetch a Licence; or if you please to go softly before, I shall quickly overtake you; but he took little care for his pass-port, since his Brother with his *Neger* was passed the Guards, which being done, they quickened their pace, untill they had got themselves clear out of the Jurisdiction of *Cocoto*, which reaches fourty leagues in length; And being come so far, he bought a small Nag for *Aguire*, and gave him some money in his purse; and said to him; Brother, since I have accompanied you so far, and brought you into a Countrey where you are free and out of danger, you may goe now where you think fit; for my part, I can do no more for you; shift for your self; and with that he returned to *Cocoto*, and *Aguire* travelled to *Huamanka*, where a Kinsman of his lived, who was a Noble person and one of the richest Inhabitants of that City; and was received by him as kindly as if he had been his own Son, and was carested and treated by him for many days, and afterwards was sent away with all things necessary and convenient for him. We shall conceal the name of this his Kinsman, because it is not justifiable to receive and protect a person condemned, or who stands outlawed by the Royal Justice. This escape of *Aguire* was one of the strangest things that happened in those days, considering the diligent search which was made for him by the Judge, and the follies of *Aguire* after he had committed the Murder, though they happened well, and by his good fortune were the cause of his preservation: for if he had taken refuge in a Convent, of which there were but three in Town; namely, that of our Lady, of the Seraphical St. Francis, and of the Divine St. Dominick, he had certainly been discovered and delivered to Justice: but having thus escaped, the Governour was not a little angry and ashamed to see his Justice eluded, and the Offender placed out of reach of the Law. Howsoever he was praised by the bold and daring Souldiers, who said that, if there were many *Aguires* in the World who durst boldly adventure to vindicate their dishonours by such a revenge, the Officers of Justice would not be so insolent and arbitrary as they now shew themselves.

CHAP. XIX.

Many Gentlemen of the Countrey goe to kiss the Hand of the Vice-king. A particular Story of an impertinent Person. A Mutiny in Los Reyes, and how it was punished. The death of the Vice-king, and what Troubles happened after it.

WE have already touched something of the Entry of the good Vice-king *Don Antonio de Mendoza* into the City of *Los Reyes*, where he lived but for a short time, and that too with much anguish and infirmity of body, which is rather to dye than to live; so that his Government affords us little subject for Discourse. When he came first into the City, many Planters of the Countrey about, came from all parts of the Empire, from *Quito* as far as the *Charcas*, to kiss his hands and welcome him at his first arrival. Amongst which there was one more kind than the rest, and full of love and affectionate expressions; and at the conclusion of all, Sir, said he, God take from your days, and add them unto mine. Hope, said the Vice-king, will be but few, and ill ones. The poor man, calling himself hereupon, No, Sir, I mean, that God would be pleased to take from my days, and add them unto your Excellencies. I understand you Complement, replied the Vice-king; Don't trouble your self for the mistake. Howsoever

Howsoever the Story was quickly carried into the outward room, where it occasioned much laughter. Some few days after this, a certain Captain whom we have formerly mentioned in this History came to the Vice-king, pretending to give him some Informations for better Government of the Empire; and amongst other things, he said, there was one Abuse necessary to be remedied; the thing is this. There are two Souldiers who lodge in such a place, and goe always amongst the *Indians* with Guns in their hands, and eat what they kill, and destroy the whole Game of the Countrey; they also make Powder and Bullets, which is of ill example to the Kingdom; for many times Troubles and Insurrections have ensued from such beginnings; and therefore such men as these are to be punished, or at least banished from *Pern*. The Vice-king asked him whether these men did treat the *Indians* ill, or whether they sold them Powder and Bullets, or committed any other Outrages? No, said the Captain, Nothing more than what I tell your Lordship. Then, said the Vice-king, these are not faults, but actions rather to be encouraged; for it is no offence for *Spaniards* to live amongst the *Indians*, and to eat what they get themselves by hunting, and to make Powder for their own use, and not to sell; but 'tis rather commendable; and such actions as are fit for other men to imitate. Go your ways, Sir, in the name of God; these men you complain of must be Saints, seeing they live such Tales as these; for you inform me. And in this manner, was the impertinency of this Captain requited.

With this gentle and easie manner did this Prince govern the Empire; but my Countrey was not worthy so much goodness, and therefore Heaven called him thither. During the time of his Sickness, the Justices commanded that the personal services of the *Indians* should be taken off, and accordingly it was proclaimed in the City of *Los Reyes*, in *Cocoto* and other parts, under such penalties and rigorous clauses as gave great offence, and caused new seditions and mutinies amongst the People: for which a chief Incendiary, one *Luis de Vargas* was condemned and executed: but the Examinations and Tryals proceeded no farther, because it was found, that several principal men were concerned therein; and it was believed that the General *Pedro de Hinajosa* would have been impeached, because three Witneses were ready to have sworn several words which he had said, though not sufficient to have condemned him; but the Justices (as *Valentino* saith) being desirous to make an honest man of a thief, made choice of him to goe chief Governour and Lord High Justice to the *Charcas*; for that in those Countries there were many Souldiers who lived dissolutely, and without any rule or subjection whatsoever: And though at first he refused to accept the Charge, yet he was persuaded thereunto by Doctor *Saravia*, who was one of the most ancient Justices: but as to his Crime, there was rather a suspicion of it, than any certain proof against him; and the Souldiers themselves said, that the hopes he gave them were rather doubtfull than certain; for all he said to them was, that when he was in the *Charcas*, he would doe for them according to their desire, that they should goe thither before him; and that when he came thither, he would doe for them to the utmost of his power. Though these words imported no more than general terms, yet Souldiers, who were desirous of Rebellion and Novelty, were apt to interpret them according to their own humour and inclinations: but whether the Intention of the General was to rebell or not, he did not declare at that time; though his actions seemed rather to tend towards ill than good designs. On these hopes the Souldiers who were in the City of *Los Reyes*; that is, as many as could goe, went to the *Charcas*, and wrote to their friends in divers parts, that they also should goe thither.

The news hereof carried many Souldiers into the *Charcas*, and amongst them a Gentleman particularly called *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, Son of Count de la *Gomeza*, Brother of *Don Baltasar de Castilla*, of whom this History hath made mention at large. This Gentleman, with six other Souldiers of esteem and honour, went out of *Cocoto*: for *Yasco Godinez*, who was the chief Promoter of this Rebellion, had wrote him a Letter in Cyphers, giving him an account of all matters then in agitation, and that *Pedro de Hinajosa* had promised to be their General: Upon this advice *Don Sebastian* and his Companions went out of *Cocoto* by night, without discovering the place to which they were designed: And left the Governour should pursue after them, they went through by-ways, out of the common road, and through

his left arm, and took his Companion on his back, for he was not able to stand upon his legs, and so he carried him to an Hospital, where they received sick and wounded people, where he left him, and told them that there was a man killed in a field hard by, whom they would do well to bury; and in the mean time *Gilman* fled to the Church. *Pero Nunez* was carried also to the Hospital, where he was cured, though mortified, as before described; but *Hernan de Mexia* dyed of the wound he had received in his forehead, for the piece of the dagger could not be drawn out of his skull. Many other Challenges and Duels happened at that time in that Countrey, not onely between the Inhabitants, but also between Travellers, as they encountered on the High-way: I knew some of them, and could relate the Particulars thereof; but what we have said already shall serve for all others of this nature.

CHAP. XXI.

A Challenge which passed between Martin de Robles and Paulo de Meneses; how that quarrel was taken up. Pedro de Hinojosa goes to the Charcas, where he finds many Souldiers ready to rise up in Arms. Informations were given to the Governour Hinojosa concerning this Mutiny: with what vain hopes he entertained the Souldiery.

SEVERAL other private quarrels and challenges passed at that time, which are related by *Palentino*, and particularly between *Martin de Robles* and *Paulo de Meneses*, and many other sober and grave persons, of whom I could tell many Stories, which I heard in those times, but that they seemed rather ridiculous, and to make sport, than any thing of moment. The Souldiers, to cause quarrels and disturbances to compais their own ends, raised false reports and lyes upon several rich and honourable Persons, by which the spirits of men being inflamed, some use might be made of their assistance: And so they raised a report, that *Paulo de Meneses*, who was then Governour of the *Charcas*, had been dishonest with the Wife of *Martin de Robles*: Of which *Palentino* writes a long Chapter, which being too tedious to insert here, we shall onely repeat the substance of it.

This Disgrace being published, and the Fault aggravated by the Souldiers who came to take part with one side and the other, and that things were proceeded so far, that both Parties were ready to engage, an expedient was found to reconcile all: which was, that *Paulo de Meneses* should absolutely deny the fact; and to convince the World that the testimony was a false and a notorious Lye, he was to marry the Daughter of *Martin de Robles*, a Child of seven years of age, and he himself of above seventy: by which means both Parties were reconciled, and the Souldiers on both sides disappointed and jeared by *Martin de Robles*, who was a witty, pleasant man, and would neither spare his friend nor his foe, to lose his jest, and would laugh to think what fools he had made of his friends, and foes the Souldiers, who were gaping to be employed in these quarrels. *Palentino*, speaking of this reconciliation, in the Second Part of his Second Book, hath these words: In fine, saith he, after many Allegations, and Replies, and Answers made thereunto; it was concluded as an expedient for all, that *Paulo de Meneses* should marry with *Donna Maria*, the Daughter of *Adarin de Robles*, though at that time of seven years of age onely; and that her Father should oblige him, that when she came to accomplish the years of twelve, that then he should give to *Paulo de Meneses* thirty four thousand pieces of Eight for her Portion. And with this Agreement *Paulo de Meneses* and *Martin de Robles* were reconciled and made perfect good friends; which much troubled and disappointed the Souldiers, who desired to stir in these muddy waters, and to convert these private discords into publick Rebellion; whereby every one figured to himself some great advantage, and to be made

be made some great Lord or Prince, and to enjoy the sweetness of other mens Estates: with the substance of what we have said this Authour fills five Chapters; wherein is nothing but quarrel and dispute. But this marriage lasted not long by reason of the inequality of age, for *Paulo de Meneses* died some few years afterwards, before he had consummated the marriage; but the young Lady, though not as yet twelve years old, inherited the Estate and Indians of her Husband; and (as the Ladies of *Don Pedro de Alvarado* did use to say) she changed her old Kettle for a new one; for she married with a young Gentleman of about twenty years of age, who was a Kinsman of the same *Paulo de Meneses*, and thereby a kind of re-stitution or composition was made for that Estate. This passage we have inserted a little out of its due place, in regard it fell in with other stories of the same nature. For not long before this agreement was made, the General *Pedro de Hinojosa* arrived in the *Charcas* with the Office and charge of Governour, and chief Justice of the City of *Plate*, and the Provinces thereunto belonging, where he found many of those Souldiers which he expected there; who from the hopes they had received from the Promises he had made them in confused and general terms; had made their rendezvous there, and invited others to the same place, and proved very troublesome to him, because the Countrey afforded neither convenient quarters, nor provisions necessary for them: for which reason *Hinojosa* took occasion to reflect upon *Martin de Robles* and *Paulo de Meneses*, as if their quarrels had drawn those numbers of Souldiers thither; and so told them plainly, that since their private disputes had invited such Guests they ought to provide necessaries for them, and not suffer them to die with famine: to which *Martin de Robles* made answer, that many others were concerned in the encouragement which was given them to come thither, and therefore that a general fault ought not to be attributed to them in particular; meaning by General, himself, and that he was the cause of their coming: for *Martin de Robles* was used to speak smartly, and often with reflexion, as we shall see hereafter.

This did every man make it his business to complain of others, and to lay the miscarriages of Government to other mens charge, nothing was quiet in the City of *Plate*, or free from malevolent Tongues, so that the most sober Inhabitants retired from the precincts of the City, and betook themselves to the Countrey, or to parts where their Estates lay, to free themselves from the insolence and bold practices of the Souldiery; who were come at length to that pass, as to hold public Meetings, and to own their Cabals, and to challenge the General with the word and promise he had given them to be their chief Leader and Commander, so soon as he was come to the *Charcas*, and that now they offered themselves being in a readiness to make an Insurrection, and would no longer be delayed. The General, to entertain them with new hopes, told them, that he shortly expected a Commission from the High Court of Justice to enlarge their Conquests by a War, which would afford them a good occasion to rise in Arms under colour of Authority.

With these and the like vain excuses and pretences he entertained the Souldiery, being far from any resolution of compliance with them. And though it true that, being at *Los Reyes*, he sometimes let fall some dubious expressions in general terms, which the Souldiers interpreted for promises; yet being now come into his Government, and become Master of two hundred thousand pieces of Eight a year, he was willing to sit quiet in the enjoyment of that fortune which he had already acquired, and not to adventure again by a second Rebellion the loss of those riches, which, at the cost and ruine of another, he had gained by the first.

The Souldiers observing this indifferency and coldness of the General, consulted in what manner to carry on their Rebellion by another hand; and accordingly it was agreed to kill *Hinojosa*, and to set up *Don Sebastian de Castilla* for their Commander in Chief, being at that time the most popular man of any: the which design was treated so publicly that it was the common discourse of the whole Town, and every one talked of it as a Plot ready to be put in execution: wherefore several men of Estates, and persons who were concerned for the peace and quietness of the Countrey, informed the Governour *Pedro de Hinojosa* thereof, and advised him to secure his own person, and to drive these people out of the limits of his Jurisdiction before they took away his life and destroyed the Kingdom: and particularly one *Pelo Ondegardo* a Lawyer was very urgent with him

upon this point, and amongst other things told him, that in case he would make him his Deputy but for one month, he would secure his life to him, which was in great danger, and free the City from the fears of an Insurrection, which these Gentlemen Souldiers were contriving to raise: but the Governour repoted that confidence in his Wealth and in the power of his Office, and in the Reputation which he had formerly gained, that he made no account of what they said, nor of what he saw with his own eyes.

C H A P. XXII.

The General receives informations of the Plot by divers other ways and means. His bravery and courage; and neglect to prevent it. The Souldiers conspire to kill him.

THE Souldiers, proceeding in their rebellious designs, dispersed many Libels abroad; some whereof were intimations to *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, and other Souldiers of note, to be careful of their own persons, and to be wary of the Governour, who designed to kill them: other Libels on the other side were cast out against the Governour himself threatening his life: all which were spread abroad by the arts of malicious men, whose business it was to raise jealousies, and inflame the minds of men with anger against each other; as *Palentino* frequently expresses upon this occasion, in divers places of his History, Chapter eleven, Book the second, as followeth.

At this time *Polo* the Lawyer did often acquaint *Pedro de Hinojosa* with these matters, persuading him very much to take the examinations and punish the Offenders: but all he could say availing little, one Saturday after Mass, being the fourth of *March*, he took occasion to declare his mind to the Guardian of the Convent of *St. Francis*, persuading him to signify the matter to the Governour, and to tell him, that it was intimated to him in Confession: which the Guardian accordingly did, though it made little impression on *Pedro de Hinojosa*. In like manner on the same day after dinner *Martin de Robles* spoke it publicly before much company, and told him plainly that the Souldiers designed to kill him: but *Pedro de Hinojosa*, who had rejected the reasons which were formerly given him for driving out the Souldiers from within the limits of his Jurisdiction, did not well relish this discourse, and therefore told *de Robles*, that he spake these words designedly to have witness of what he had alledged before him; to which *Polo* the Lawyer, who was there present, made answer with some heat and anger, that he should look well to himself, and that in case *Martin de Robles* did offer to give his Information he could not refuse to take it; and if he made not good his Testimony, and proved what he alledged, he was liable to punishment and forfeitures for default thereof; but the Information is so plain, said he, that it needs no other evidence, being not carried on in the dark, but so openly in the streets that the very stones were ready to cry out and bear testimony thereof; and therefore it is your duty immediately to take the Examinations, and use the diligence required in a case so important and difficult as this; and that he would be contented to lose his life if he made not good every syllable of the allegations. In short, *Pedro de Hinojosa*, who was of an humour never to recede from his own fancy, replied, in a haughty, proud manner, that the Souldiers stood in such awe of him, that if once he but lifted up his hand they would all tremble, and have no power to hurt or offend him; and with that he broke off the discourse, charging every one not to urge it farther. The next day, being Sunday, after Dinner, *Pedro de Hinojosa*, being in company with *Martin de Robles*, and *Pedro Hernandez de Paniagua*, and other persons, discoursing pleasantly of indifferent matters, *John de Huarte* and other Souldiers came towards the Evening to make him a Visit, supposing that by his countenance and manner of receiving them they might make a judgment of what thoughts he conceived in his mind; for he had the character of a plain man, and

without

without dissimulation: these Visitants observed every word he said, and all his motions and behaviour, which were courteous and obliging towards them, without the least symptom of jealousy or suspicion of evil practices; and coming to speak of the Souldiers, he told them, that he was glad to see such brave fellows in the Town, and that he esteemed them to be the flower of *Pera*: with which saying they parted with great satisfaction from him, and carried the news to *Don Sebastian* and the other Conspirators, who thereupon gave immediate order to put off the Sports which were appointed; and that they should assemble together that night, and in the morning begin the Rebellion, that the Plot which had been so long conceived, and of which they had been long in labour, might not prove abortive at the last. And here *Palentino* ends this Chapter.

The Souldiers, not being able to suffer any longer delay of a matter which they so earnestly desired, agreed by common consent to kill the General and make an Insurrection through the whole Countrey. The principal persons in this Conspiracy were *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, *Egas de Gusman*, *Basco Góñez*, *Baltazar Velasco*, *Gomez Hernandez* the Lawyer, besides several other Souldiers of note, most of which were then present in the City of *Plata*; for, as hath been said, they invited and encouraged one the other. *Egas Gusman* came thither purposely to enter into the Consult, though he pretended to the General that his design was to obtain his pardon from the Crown for having killed *Hernan de Mexico*, which the good General believed to be true; and, suspecting no design in him against his own life and safety, he readily gave Letters in his favour both to the Secular and Ecclesiastical Judges of *Potosi*, in both which Courts, as he said, he was to be acquitted. These Letters of recommendation were sent by the Souldiers, (now resolved to rebel) to *Egas de Gusman* then at his Lodging in *Potosi*, with orders, that so soon as he should hear that the General was killed, that then he, and his companions should presently be in Arms. And now every thing being prepared, the Assassins met in the Chamber of one *Hernando Guillado*, where they resolved to act their bloody intent the next morning by break of day: for execution of which *Don Sebastian* appointed seven persons onely together with himself to kill the General; for if many were employed, it would give a jealousy, and occasion the Gates to be shut, and cause an alarm over the whole City. *Garcí Zelo* the stout Companions, who were to divide themselves in several parties about the Streets near the General's House to assist and relieve *Don Sebastian*, if occasion should be. Another party of about nine or ten persons, having one *Gomez Adogollen* for their Chief, were placed in an empty House where none inhabited, belonging to *Hernando Picarro*, and there attended for the same design. In this posture they continued all night, and next morning by break of day they sent Spies to the corner of every Street, to hearken if any noise were in the City, or the House of the General; and finding the Gate open, they presently gave notice thereof to the Conspirators, who resolved to kill the General in his Bed.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIII.

* Don Sebastian de Castilla and his Associates kill the Governour Pedro de Hinojosa, and his Lieutenant Alonso de Castro. Some of the Inhabitants escape out of the City, and others of them are imprisoned. What course the Rebels take in their affairs after this.

SO soon as the Spies brought word that the General's Gate was opened, *Don Sebastian* and his Associates sallied out from their Chamber where they had lodged that night: and though they were all select and choice men, yet they were so affrighted and distracted with the Villany they were going to act, as if they had been to charge a formidable enemy, whereas indeed they were going to kill a Gentleman, who fearing and apprehending no evil, gave easie access to all people. In short, they entering the House, the first person they met was *Alonso de Castro*, who was Deputy-Governour, who, seeing men come up in that tumultuous manner, thought to qualifie them with good words, and said, Gentlemen, what is the occasion of this commotion? God save the King. Presently *Don Sebastian*, drawing his Sword, 'tis not now seasonable, said he, for such treaties. The Deputy seeing his Sword drawn, turned his back and fled, but a certain Souldier, called *Anselmo d'Eruias*, pursued him, and ran him through with his Rapier, and tucked him to the Wall, with which the point of his Sword being bent, when he would have given him a thrust or two more, the Rapier would not enter, which made the Souldier say, what a tough hide this Dog Traitor hath, but others coming in to his aid they soon dispatched him. Then rushing into the Chamber of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, they found him not there, nor in any of the other Rooms of the House, at which they were much troubled, fearing lest he had made his escape: whereupon two of them putting out their heads at the Window of the Street, cried out, the Tyrant is dead, the Tyrant is dead; which they said, intending to call their own complotters to their assistance, before the people of the City could come to the rescue of the General: those who remained below in the yard searched for him in all private passages and entries of the House; and at length a Souldier chanced to find him in a secret corner, near the necessary Office, and said, in a jeering manner, Sir, I beseech your Worship to come forth, for here is *Don John de Castilla* and other Cavaliers come to speak with you and kiss your hands. The General hereupon coming forth in his morning Gown, a Souldier called *Gonzalo de Mata* went boldly up to him, and said, Sir, these Gentlemen are desirous to have you for their Lord, their General, and their Father, as *Valentino* reports Chapter the twelfth, in these words. The General smiling as it were, spake out aloud, What me! alas, Gentlemen, command me as you please: to which *Garcí Tello de Vega* made answer, A curse light on you, 'tis now too late, we have a good General already of *Don Sebastian*, and with that ran him thorough the Body to the very Hilt of his Sword, with which he immediately fell to the ground; and endeavouring to arise, *Antonio de Sepulveda* and *Anselmo de Heruias*, came in upon him, and gave him two wounds more, with which he cried out for a Confessour, but he speedily expired: by this time *Don Garcí Tello* was come down, and being told that the General was dead, he bid them make sure work, for the whole affair depended thereupon: so *Anselmo de Heruias* returned to him, who lay extended on the ground, and gave him a good slash over the face, with which he yielded up his last breath. Then all the Assassins gathering in a body came to the Market-place, and cried out, God save the King, the Tyrant is dead, which is the common language of Rebels in Peru; and then they plundered the House, and in a moment all was carried away, &c. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*. But as to that great cut which they say *Heruias* gave him over the face, it was not with a Sword, but a dash with a slab of Silver which they had taken out of his Closet, where he had heaped up so many as if they had been Tiles to cover a House; with

with which giving him a blow, here, said he, take thy fill of Riches, for the sake of which thou didst break thy word and faith to us, and wouldst not be our Commander according to thy promise.

The General being slain, the Conspirators ran out crying aloud, Long live the King, long live the King, the covetous Tyrant is dead, the breaker of his Faith. At the same instant *Garcí Tello de Guzman* appeared with his fifteen Associates, who, dividing themselves into two parties, ran to kill *Pedro de Meneses* and *Martin de Robles* with whom the Souldiery was highly displeased, because, having called them to their respective aids to joyn with them in their private quarrels one against the other, as is before related, was afterwards contented to make peace, and be reconciled to the disappointment of the Souldiery, who called it an Affront and a contrivance to fool them.

But *Martin de Robles*, having timely notice brought him by an Indian Servant of all that had passed, leaped out of his Bed in his Shirt, and escaped. *Pedro de Meneses*, considering the infolency of the Souldiers, and that it could not be long before it broke forth into open Outrages, departed from the City that very night, and went to a Countrey Seat not far from thence; where having received information of all that had passed, he immediately fled to more remote parts beyond the reach of their power.

The Souldiers, not finding them, plundered and robbed their houses of every thing that was in them, and then went to the Market-place, to joyn with *Don Sebastian*: and because they had a quarrel with every man that had any Estate, they seized upon *Pedro Hernandez de Paniagua*, who was the person employed by the President *Gasca* to carry the Letters to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and for that Service had an Estate given him in the City of Plate: they also apprehended *John Ortiz de Carave* and *Antonio Alvarez*, and all the Citizens that they could catch; for so senseless were they and inapprehensive of the licentious Souldiers, that they suspected nothing until they were seized by them.

Polo the Lawyer, having timely notice by an Indian Servant called *Tacuma*, made his escape on horse-back. The other Souldiers who were dispersed over the City flocked to the Market-place in a Body. Then *Tello de Vega*, surnamed the Black-head, took an Ensign or Colours from the Indians, and set it up in the Market-place, as *Valentino* saith; and issued out Orders by beat of Drum, that all Inhabitants and others, upon pain of death, should immediately repair thither, and lift themselves under that Standard: and hereupon *Rodrigo de Orellana*, leaving the Staff of his Authority at home, though then Sheriff, came and surrendered himself: in like manner *John Ramon*, and *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, did the same; and as every one was lifted they came in at one door of the Church, and went out at the other; so that the number taken amounted to a hundred and fifty two persons. Then was *Don Sebastian* nominated for Captain General and Chief Justice and two days afterwards he caused the Citizens then in his custody to chuse him for their Mayor, and *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, to be Recorder, and *John de Huarte* was made Serjeant Major, *Hernando de Guillado* and *Garcí Tello de Vega* were made Captains, and *Pedro de Castillo*, Captain of the Artillery; and *Alvar Perez Payan*, Provost General; *Diego Perez* was made High Sheriff, and *Bartholomeu de Santa Ana* his under Sheriff. Thus far *Valentino*.

Rodrigo de Orellana took part with the Rebels rather out of fear than love, the like did other Citizens and Souldiers of good reputation, who were truly Loyal to his Majesty; being forced thereunto by the greater power of the Rebels, who had the Arms in their hands, and resolved to kill all those who complied not with them.

C H A P.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Orders and Methods which Don Sebastian took in his Affairs. Egas de Guzman is directed to make an Insurrection in Potocsi; the several strange Revolutions which happened in that Town.

DON Sebastian himself made choice of one of his Souldiers, in whom he had the greatest confidence, called *Diego Mendez*, to be Captain of his Guard; and for better security of his person, thirteen Souldiers were chosen to be lifted therein, being all esteemed stout Men, and true and faithfull to him; and yet when this poor Gentleman had occasion for them, not one man would appear in his defence.

Another Souldier, called *Garcia de Baqan*, was sent with a final party to the Estate and Lands of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, to seize his Slaves, Horses and all other his Goods and Faculties; with Orders to bring back with him those Souldiers who were dispersed abroad and lived amongst the *Indians*, for want of clothing, after the *Spanish* Fashion, which was very dear; for with the *Indians*, any thing served: and also Orders were given by *Don Sebastian*, to bring *Diego de Almendras* a prisoner. Other Souldiers were dispatched away in pursuit of *Polo* the Lawyer, but neither party had success; for *Polo* passing by the place where *Diego de Almendras* lived, gave him advice of the death of General *Hinojosa*, whereupon *Almendras* getting as many of the Slaves belonging to *Hinojosa* together as he was able, with seven of his Horses, he fled away in company with *Polo*, which soon carried him far enough away out of the reach of the rebellious Souldiers, likewise *Don Sebastian* dispatched away two Souldiers to the quarters of *Potocsi*, to inform *Egas de Guzman* of all that had passed, that he also might take up Arms, as others had done.

These and all the Actions mentioned in the preceding Chapter, with what else we shall touch upon hereafter were performed the very day that *Pedro de Hinojosa* was killed; of which he endeavoured to send the first intelligence to all parts: the Messengers whereof carried it with such speed to *Potocsi*, that though it was seventeen leagues thither, and a bad rocky way, and a River to pass, yet they arrived there the next morning by break of day: so soon as *Egas de Guzman* received this news he assembled his Souldiers, which he had formerly lifted upon this occasion, and with them and the two messengers which brought the news, and without other Arms or Provisions than their Swords and Daggers and Cloaks to cover them, they went immediately to the Houses of *Gomez de Solis* and *Martin de Almendras*, Brother of *Diego de Almendras*, and took them with great ease, and carried them Prisoners to the Town-house, where they laid them in Chains, and lodged them in a Chamber, with a secure Guard upon them. Upon the report of this pleasing Action, many Souldiers came in and joined with *Egas de Guzman*, and presently went to the King's house, where they seized his Treasurer *Francisco de Huesga*, with his Accomptant *Hernando de Alvarado*, and broke open the Royal Treasury, from whence they robbed above a Million and a half of Silver; and made immediate Proclamation, that every man, upon pain of Death should repair to the Market-place to join with the Squadron: Then did *Guzman* make choice of a Souldier called *Antonio de Luxan* to be Chief Justice or Recorder of the Town, who, so soon as he was in Office, put the Accomptant *Hernando de Alvarado* to death upon an Accusation, as *Palentino* saith, that he had been in the Conspiracy with the General *Pedro de Hinojosa*, to make a Rebellion in the Country. Likewise *Egas de Guzman* dispatched away six or seven Souldiers to a Village called *Porcu*, to get what Men, Arms and Horses they could find in those parts. At this time a certain Knight of the Order of St. *John*, being amongst his *Indian* Vassals, where he had a good Estate assigned him, and hearing of the Murder of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, wrote a congratulatory Letter to *Don Sebastian* upon that subject, wishing him much joy of his high promotion; and desired him presently to send him twenty Musketeers, that he might go and take *Gomez de Alvarado* and *Lorenzo de Aldana*, who were his neighbours; and to take away all jealousy and suspicion of

on of the design; he advised that the Souldiers should not be sent by the ordinary road, but by private ways and untrodden paths, for which good contrivance, this good Gentleman paid afterwards to his cost.

The day following after the death of *Hinojosa*, *Baltasar de Velazquez* and *Basco Godinez* came to the City, who had been chief Instruments in that Mutiny, and such as had contrived and fomented the Plot, as will appear hereafter; and which is confirmed by *Palentino* in these words. Whilst *Don Sebastian* was preparing to receive them, they both entered the Town; *Sebastian* was over-joyed to see them, and alighting from his Horse, he met *Godinez* a-foot, and they both embraced with all the Ceremony of good correspondence. Then said *Basco Godinez* to *Sebastian*, Sir, about five leagues from hence, I first received the joyfull news of this glorious Action so much desired by me. To which *Don Sebastian* taking off his hat, made answer; These Gentlemen here were pleased to make choice of me for their General, which Charge I accepted untill such time as you arrived here to ease me thereof; which therefore now I renounce, and willingly resign it into your hands. But *Basco Godinez* refused to accept it; saying, that that Office could not be better supplied by any, than by himself; and that his endeavours tended wholly to see him advanced to that Dignity and Charge. After which Compliments they retired from the Company, and discoursed together privately and apart. After which *Don Sebastian* made Proclamation, whereby *Basco Godinez* was declared Lieutenant General, and that he should be obeyed accordingly by the Souldiers upon pain of death; and *Baltasar de Velazquez* was made Captain of Horse. Moreover, *Sebastian* said to *Godinez*; Sir, it was impossible to have deferred this action untill your coming, for if we had, we had lost our opportunity, but for the future we shall regulate our selves by your direction. To which *Godinez* replied, that neither then, nor at any other time could he erre in such wise proceedings, and that he hoped in God, that those steps he had made with so much difficulty and hazard, would tend to the happiness and settlement of all things. And so turning to the Company then present, he said, that since they had not killed the Marshal *Aloiso de Alvarado*, 'twas well he was not present at the late action; and that if he had been acquainted therewith before he had been so far advanced on his way, he would have returned and have killed the said *Aloiso de Alvarado*. And that a matter of this importance might not be omitted, *Don Sebastian* called a Council: at which were present *Basco Godinez*, *Baltasar Velazquez*, *Hernando Guillada*, *John Ramon Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, *Diego de Avalos*, *Pedro del Castillo*, and *Don Garci Tello*, besides divers others. *Basco Godinez* undertook the design, and to command the party employed thereupon: but *Don Sebastian* said, that he had promised it already to *John Ramon*. And it was agreed, that twenty five Souldiers be drawn out for that exploit, and that they should be commanded by *John Ramon*, and *Don Garcia*, with Orders to take and possess themselves of the City of *La Paz*; *Basco Godinez* said, that the enterprise would be easie, and that he would write to *John de Vargas* and *Martin de Olmos* to be assisient therein. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XXV.

Don Sebastian and his Officers send Captains and Souldiers to kill the Mareſchal; John Ramon commands the Party, and diſarms Don Garcia and thoſe who ſided with him: upon which News the very Souldiers who had advanced Don Sebastian, did then murder him.

THE ſame Author Hernandez proceeding in the Hiſtory, Chapter the fixteenth, ſaith as follows. They then took the Names, and made a Liſt of all thoſe who were to goe, and fitted and prepared them againſt the next day, being Wednesday, furniſhing them with Arms and mounting them on Beaſts to carry them. On Wednesday before noon, they accordingly began their march, namely, *John Ramon, Don Garci Tello, Gomez Mogollon, Gonçalo de Mata, Francisco de Ananasco, Alamanja (Hernando de Soria) Pedro de Caſtro, Mateo de Caſtameda, Campo Frio de Carvajal, John Nieto, Pedro Francisco de Solis, Baltazar de Eſcobedo, Diego Maldonado, Pedro de Marquina, Rodrigo de Arevalo, Antonio Altamirano, Lucena and Hermosilla;* who were no ſooner out of Town, but *Vasco Godinez* gave immediate advice to *Egas de Guzman* of their departure; deſiring him to ſend ſome recruits from the place of his abode to *John Ramon* and *Don Garcia*. The Letter which he wrote was to this effect.

Brother of mine, and of my heart, Our General hath diſſeuded our Brother Don Garcia and John Ramon to the new Colony or Plantation; to ſeiſe on the perſon of the good Mareſchal; who being taken or killed, there will be an end of our Troubles, for we ſhall then neither meet with Enemies nor Oppoſition; but the way will be open and eaſie to our Victories. On this deſign twenty five brave Cavaliers are employed of ſuch Valour, that I durſt engage them againſt all mankind: Wherefore, Brother of mine, fit and prepare your ſelf with ſuch Arms as you can get, and ſend ſome Forces from your quarters to join with thoſe which are ſent from our General, who told me, and ſo 'tis my Opinion, that it will be a very acceptable ſervice. It is the general ſenſe of all men here, that you demonſtrated great tendereſſ of ſpirit when you ſpared the life of Gomez de Solis: the Clemency you ſhewed was ſomething extraordinary, but not ſo great as common ſame would make it to be.

So ſoon as *Egas de Guzman* had received this Letter, Orders were taken to diſpatch away fifty five men for the aſſiſtence of *Ramon*; of which *Gabriel de Perma* was Captain, and *Alonso de Ariaga* was Enſign, their Inſtructions were to march as far as the new Plantation, there to join with *John Ramon*: accordingly theſe Men were put into a readineſs, and marched away with flying Colours: in the number of theſe were *Ordonno de Valencia, Diego de Tapia* the Squirent-eyed, *Franciſco de Chaves* the Moor, *John de Cepeda, Francisco Pacheco, Pero Hernandez*, one of the Conſpirators, *Alonso Marquina, Pedro de Venavides, John Marquez, Luis de Eſtrada, Melchor Pacheco, Antonio de Avila*, with others who completed the number of fifty five Souldiers. Thus far are the words of *Diego Hernandez*.

The Rebellion being now made publick and openly declared, thoſe very Souldiers who plotted the Deſign, and had made *Don Sebastian de Caſtilla* the Head and General thereof, did now conſpire againſt him and caballed and contrived together how they might kill and deſtroy him whom but the other day they had engaged in their Treason, and as it were compelled him to be their General and Commander in Chief: but ſo the Fate was, and it was commonly practiſed by the Souldiers in that Empire ever ſince the Wars of *Gonçalo Piſarro*, to raiſe ſome Tyrant or other to be their Leader, and then preſently to renounce him and kill him, and pretend all for his Majesty's ſervice, and in recompence thereof to demand ſome great Eſtate and Lands to be given and ſettled upon them. *John de Ramon*, who with *Don Garcia* was appointed chief Captain of the Forces which were to march to the City of *la Paz*, there to kill (as hath been ſaid) the Mareſchal *Alonso de Alvarado*; was no ſooner departed from the City of Plate, than

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he began to enter into Treaty with ſome Friends, that it would be good policy to renounce the Cauſe of *Don Garcia* and *Don Sebastian*, and to declare themſelves for his Majesty, againſt all Rebels: And whereas the humour of the Souldiers was generally inclined hereunto, the Propoſal took very well amongſt them, ſo that they marched away with this good intention. And as *Don Garcia* was upon the way, he received intelligence of the Deſign and Plot of *Ramon*, which was not ſtrange, becauſe it was uſual for them to tell one the other; but he took little care of his perſon, and ſlighted the information: for, being a young man, and of little experience, and unſkilfull in military affairs, he formed vain conſiderations within himſelf, which failed him in the end: and, not ſo much as acquainting his Friends with the Advice he had received, he proceeded on his way, till he fell into thoſe Snareſ which with due circumſpection might have been avoided.

John Ramon, in his ſecond day's march, received intelligence, that *Don Garcia* was acquainted with his Deſign; for thoſe People plaid a double Game, and carried News and Informations to all Sides and Parties. Wherefore *John Ramon*, thought it time to make ſhort work; and ſo preſently diſarmed five of the principal Souldiers which belonged to *Don Garcia*, and took away their Horſes from them: and haſtning with what ſpeed they could after *Don Garcia*, who was advanced before them, they ſoon overtook him and his Companions, who were four perſons, and diſarmed them of their Lances and Muſquets, and diſmounted them from their Horſes; but not to put a farther affront on them, they deſtroyed them not of the privilege of Souldiers to wear their Swords girt about them. *Don Garcia*, being ſorry that he had not ſerved *Ramon* the ſame Trick that *Ramon* had plaid upon him, offered to join with him, and declare for his Majesty; but his propoſal was rejected, becauſe *Ramon* was reſolved to appropriate all the merit to himſelf.

Don Garcia and his Comrades, finding themſelves in this deſtitute and ſorlorn condition, reſolved to return to *Don Sebastian de Caſtilla*: and on the road they diſpatched away a Souldier called *Rodrigo de Arevalo* with the News; who made ſuch expedition, as *Valentino* ſaith, that he arrived in the City that night about nine a clock, being the eleventh of March; which being the hour when the Souldiers were drawn up in the Market-place, and diſcourſed and converted together, they ſaw *Arevalo* coming a-foot, with a melancholy and dejected countenance, at which ſight they all ſtocked about him to hear the News; as did alſo *Don Sebastian*, who was not the leaſt concerned therein.

Don Sebastian, having underſtood the News, called a Council of thoſe whom he eſteemed his moſt aſſured and intimate Friends, namely, *Vasco Godinez, Baltazar Velazquez* and *Tello de Vega*, and demanded their advice and ſenſe upon the preſent Emergency; but they, being all divided in their opinions, *Vasco Godinez*, who had been the moſt active Man in this Rebellion, (as he himſelf had confeſſed) took *Don Sebastian* aſide and apart from the reſt, and told him plainly, that if he would ſecure his Party and make good his Cauſe, he muſt immediately kill eighteen or twenty Men who were then actually in the Market-place, being notoriously known to be affected to the King's party; who being taken off, there would be none remaining beſides Friends and ſuch as he might conſide and truſt himſelf with; and that nothing then could ſtand in his way to oppoſe the attainment of his ultimate deſires. *Don Sebastian* of whom we have formerly given the character of a Noble and generous nature; answered him, what have theſe Gentlemen done to me, that I ſhould kill them? and commit an outrage ſo bloody and unparalleled as this? If it be neceſſary for the ſucceſs of my deſigns, to kill theſe men, I would rather be unfortunate, and ſuffer them to kill me, than draw ſuch guilt upon my ſelf. No ſooner had *Godinez* heard this ſaying, and underſtood the ſenſe of *Don Sebastian*, than he reſolved at the ſame moment to kill him, ſince he would not aſſent to the death of thoſe whom he proſcribed for enemies; and then he ſaid to him, Sir, Pray expect me awhile here, and I will return to you again preſently; having ſaid this, he went into the Market-place, where the Souldiers were ſtill remaining; and ſeeking amongſt the croud for thoſe whom he had named, and proſcribed to be killed, he found them divided in ſeveral parties, and becauſe he could not ſpeak privately to them, by reaſon of the company then preſent, he took them one by one ſingly by the hand, and ſqueezed them hard three or four times, which was the token given them to prepare, and aſſiſt him in the Treason which

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for which he was going to act. Having done this, he returned to the house, and in his way thither he met with *Gomez Hernandez*, to whom in a few words he communicated his Design, which he said, tended to the publick good, and which would undoubtedly be well accepted by his Majesty as a piece of great and glorious service; and that therefore he should call such to his assistance as he knew would favour this enterprise: *Gomez Hernandez* went accordingly into the Market-place, and called some of them by their names, but men were timorous and fearful to engage in the Design.

Whereupon *Gomez Hernandez* returned alone and entered with *Basco Godinez* into the room where *Don Sebastian* remained, and both immediately closed in with him, and gave him many Stabbs with their Daggers; and though he wore a Coat of Mail, yet they made a shift to wound him through it. *Baltasar Velazquez*, who was present at the beginning of the Scuffle, gave a Screek, and retired back upon the sudden surprize; but perceiving that their intent was to kill him, he came also to their assistance, and gave him several Stabbs, that he might gain a share with them in the merit of that action: another also stroke him with a Halbert, which he wielded about, without respect to any, by which some of his Friends standing by were wounded; as *Palentino* affirms, Chap. 16. but notwithstanding all this, *Don Sebastian* got from amongst them with many Wounds, and crept into a dark room, and endeavoured to escape out at the back door into the Market-place, which if he had done, it had caused great slaughter and effusion of blood. *Baltasar Velazquez* and four or five others followed him into the dark room, but durst not search after him with their Weapons, for fear of wounding one another: and in the mean time *Velazquez* advised them to carry the News into the Market-place, and to declare his Death, that so his Friends might not attempt to succour him; and told them, that he would stay behind to dispatch and make a final end of him: thus whilst every one did his part *Velazquez* had found *Don Sebastian*, and gave him many more Wounds both in his Head and Neck; and then the poor Gentleman cried out for a Confessour, until his voice failed him: then *Velazquez* left him, and went to seek for help to drag him out to the Souldiers, and to that purpose he called *Diego de Analos* and *Gomez Hernandez*; but when they came to the place where he was, they found he had crept to the door of his Chamber, where he lay extended and panting; and then they redoubled their strokes until he expired his last breath, which was about ten a Clock at night: in this bustle *Vasco Godinez* received a slight wound in his right hand. Then they drew out the dead Body of *Don Sebastian* amongst the Souldiers, crying out before it, God save the King, the Tyrant is dead; *Vasco Godinez* was the most forward of any to proclaim this action, God save the King, said he, the Tyrant is dead, and I killed him: though it is most certain that there was not one of these Assassins who was not a greater Rebel, Tyrant and Traitor than this Gentleman; which they shewed and evidenced to the world when they became Ministers of Justice, and under that name perpetrated the most bloody and horrid Villanies in the world. Thus far *Diego Hernandez* in the Chapter aforesaid.

CHAP. XXVI.

The choice of Officers both civil and military. Vasco Godinez is declared General. The death of Don Garcia and others, without admitting them time to confess.

THUS this poor Gentleman, *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, being assassinated by those who had persuaded him, and as it were forced him to kill the General *Pedro de Hinojosa* then Governour; these good and godly men now made themselves Judges, and erected a Court of Justice to try those who had been the Murderers of the Governour, supposing thereby to gain favour and credit, and render themselves faithfull and loyal Subjects to his Majesty. And though these fel-

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lows had been Traitors more than twice or thrice to the King, and false to their Friends, as will appear by the Sentence which, some few months afterwards, was passed upon *Godinez*; yet they cry up nothing now but duty and loyalty to the King. And here it is remarkable, that from the Murder of the General *Pedro Hinojosa* to the death of *Don Sebastian*, there was not above the space of five days between (as *Palentino* writes) for *Hinojosa* was killed on the sixth of *March* and *Don Sebastian* on the eleventh following, in the year 1553.

And now *Basco Godinez* and his Comrades having killed *Sebastian*, they delivered *John Ortiz de Carate* and *Pedro Hernandez Paniagua* out of Prison and Chains, and set them at liberty, and told them, that what they had acted was with intent to give them their freedom, and to deliver the City from that total ruine and destruction which those Rebels and Traitors had plotted against it, and also out of a principle of Loyalty to serve his Majesty. And *Vasco Godinez* particularly said these words (as are repeated by *Palentino*, Chap. 17.) Gentlemen, for the love of God, since you see that I have received a wound in my Hand, be pleased to apply your selves to the Souldiery, and encourage and exhort them to stand firm in their loyalty and service to his Majesty. But when *John Ortiz de Carate* saw that all the Assassins and Murderers of the General were actually amongst the Souldiers, and that the principal Ruffian and Villain called *Hernando Guillada* was a Captain, he began to fear lest they should kill him, to prevent which, he cried out aloud, that they should make *Guillada* their Captain, and perhaps he thought it might be convenient so to be. Thus far *Palentino*. Those words of *John Ortiz de Carate* were wisely and seasonably spoken, for 'tis believed that they saved their lives thereby: in the mean time *Vasco Godinez* went to have the wound of his Hand dressed, of which he was more tender than of the life of *Don Sebastian*: the same night he dispatched away six Musquetiers to guard the ways leading to *Potosi*, to intercept all Advices which might be sent hereof to *Egas de Guzman*, and presently seized three of his Souldiers, and before it was day he hanged them up, for he knew that they were Villains, who were acquainted with all his Plots, Treacheries and Intrigues: so soon as it was day, he sent to call *John Ortiz de Carate*, *Pedro Hernandez Paniagua*, *Antonio Alvarez*, and *Martin Monge*, who were all Citizens and Free-men of the City, besides which there were no others at that time; and he told them, with high commendations of his own merit, the great danger he had incurred in killing the late Tyrant, the service he had done his Majesty thereby, and the particular benefit and happiness he had procured to them in particular, and to the whole City in general: And that now in return and recompence of so great and meritorious Services, he desired nothing more of them than to be chosen Chief Justice of that City and the parts adjacent; and to be nominated Captain General of the Forces, since that *Egas de Guzman* was very strong, and had many Souldiers with him in *Potosi*; and to maintain this degree and quality, he desired to have the Manors of the General, and those Vassalages of the Indians conferred upon him, being now vacant by his death. To which the Citizens made answer, that they were not a number sufficient to agree upon such Elections, and feared to run themselves into danger in case they did. But *John Ortiz*, apprehending lest *Godinez* should take this refusal in ill part, answered, more out of fear than affection, that in case *Gomez Hernandez*, who was a man learned in the Law, would give his opinion that they might legally do it, that then they would readily comply with his desires: to which the Lawyer gave his opinion readily, and that they might do it and much more, in respect to the great merit and services of *Godinez*. Hereupon a publick Notary was called, and before him *Godinez* was nominated to be Lord Chief Justice, and Captain-General of the Souldiery; and for support of these great Dignities, the Estate of the late General *Pedro de Hinojosa* was settled upon him, which (as we have said) with the Mines of Silver, yielded him two hundred thousand pieces of Eight of yearly rent: an excellent and worthy reward for two such famous pieces of Treason and Murder which this Villain had contrived and woven, purposely to wind himself into this great Estate, which he was resolved to possess by any means or ways whatsoever. And in like manner this honest Lawyer got himself into another allotment called *Puna*, and to hold it in Custodiam, until it should be otherwise disposed. Upon this passage *Diego Hernandez* saith as follows. It is manifest that they intended to pay themselves, and to sell at a good rate the power they had over the Souldiers, and make advantage of the dread and terror which the Citizens conceived of them,

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who feared lest they should be more cruel towards them than *Don Sebastian* had been. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*.

Then they nominated the Lawyer *Gomez Hernandez* to be Lieutenant-General of the Army, and *John Ortiz de Carate* and *Pedro del Castillo* to be Captains of Foot: this Election was made, to signify, that they would not dispose of the military Offices arbitrarily, but in such a manner as that the Citizens should have a share with them in the Government, which they accepted more out of fear than good will towards the Cause or Persons with whom they were embarked. Hereupon Proclamation was made that all people should obey *Basco Godinez* as General, and *Baltasar Velazquez* as Major-General; and six Souldiers were presently dispatched away to seize upon *Don Garcia* and the rest who were returned from the good employment they were sent about for killing the Marshal *Alonso de Alvarado*.

Baltasar Velazquez, to shew the power of his Office, caused two Souldiers of note to be drawn and quartered, who brought Letters and Advices from *Egas de Guzman* at *Potocsi* to *Don Sebastian* of *Castilla*. He sentenced another Souldier to be hanged, called *Francisco de Villalobos*, and two other Souldiers, who were Friends to him, to have their hands cut off, but by the mediation of the other Souldiers, a remission was granted to have only one hand dismembered: all which this good Major-general acted within the space of four hours after he was promoted to this honour. The day following *Martin de Robles*, *Pedro de Meneses*, *Diego de Almandras* and *Diego de Velazquez* entered into the City, having fled from the Souldiers who sought to take them, together with several others of less note and esteem. The which being known to *Basco Godinez*, who kept his Bed in tenderness to his wound, he sent to call *John de Ortiz* to him, and desired him to persuade *Pedro de Meneses*, *Martin de Robles* and the rest, who were newly arrived, to assemble together in Council, and join with the rest in confirming the Election of him to be Chief Justice and Captain-General, and also the Settlement made upon him of the Estate of *Pedro de Hinojosa*. To which demand they made answer, that they had no power nor authority so to do, nor was an act of theirs either legal or valid; and if he would take their counsel as Friends, they would advise him to desist from such like pretensions; for that it would look as if the killing of *Don Sebastian* of *Castilla* had been acted by him for the sake of his own interest, and not for the service of his Majesty: with this answer *Godinez* grew highly incensed, and with a loud voice vowed, that whosoever pretended to abate the least tittle of his honour, he would pretend to take away their lives. Wherefore he commanded them all to enter into Consultation, and having set sixty or eighty Souldiers at the Door of the Room where they were assembled, he gave orders to kill him or them who should refuse to sign or set his hand to any thing which he required to be done: which when *Pedro de Meneses* and his Companions understood, they approved the Election, though much against their will, and would have done much more if it had been demanded; for *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, assured them that in case they complied not with him he was resolved to put every one of them to death. *Godinez*, finding himself now confirmed by the authority of two Assemblies, was very much pleased, though both Sentences served only for his greater condemnation. *Riba Martin*, who was the chief of five Musquetiers, sent to take *Don Garcia Tello de Guzman*, who had the fortune to apprehend him about five leagues distant from the City, being on his way thither, in hopes of the favour and protection of *Don Sebastian* of *Castilla* and his party: but when he understood that *Basco Godinez* and *Baltasar Velazquez*, and *Gomez Hernandez*, who had been the chief Conspirators and contrivers of the Murder of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, and had been deepest in the Rebellion, and who had been the most intimate Friends of *Don Sebastian*, were the persons who had assassinated him, he could not but greatly admire and remain astonished, thinking it impossible that those who were more deeply concerned in that black Murder and Rebellion than *Don Sebastian*, should object that crime to him only, and kill him for that which was their own Plot and Conspiracy. And whereas he was a Man who had been principally concerned in all the Plots and Intrigues of the Rebels, he told *Riba Martin* that he did not question but that they would kill him to prevent the discoveries he might make of all the Plots and Villanies they had contrived and acted: And so it happened, for so soon as he was brought to the City, *Basco Godinez* gave order to *Velazquez*, as *Palenino* saith, to kill him; which he accordingly performed, to prevent the Testimonies and Evidence which he might produce against them. These are the words of that

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Author, who afterwards proceeds as follows. When *Don Garcia* perceived, saith he, that he had but a short time to live, he desired to be admitted to confession; and when *John Ortiz de Carate* came in to see him, he beseeched him, that since he was shortly to die, he would intercede for him to have one day's time to recollect himself, and consider of his sins, for that he was a young man, and had been a great sinner. At that instant *Baltasar Velazquez* entered the Chamber, and without suffering *John Ortiz* so much as to speak, he commanded him to void the Room; and told *Don Garcia* that he had but an hour's time given him to live, which he was to make use of for preparation of his Soul: and being in confession, he often admonished him to dispatch; and before he had done, he threw the Cord about his Neck, which he drew so hard that it brake; and then applying another Rope, which he supposed too slow in doing execution, he drew out his Sword and cut his Throat and Head off therewith; which being done, *John de Ortiz* clothed him in his Burial Shrouds, and caused him to be interred. The like sort of Justice they passed upon others, not admitting any of them to confession, nor to any legal proceedings, left at the Tribunal of Justice, they should have impeached them to have been the chief and original Plotters and Contrivers of this Rebellion. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*, Chap. 19. who a little before discoursing of this matter saith as follows: It was the great Master-piece of all their policy, to put men to death without giving them time to confess, lest they should accuse them, and discover their Plots and Treacheries; and as to those in whom they had any confidence of being secret and faithfull to the designs, they would keep in hand and encourage, allowing them time to be gone and make their escape; which they acted by traversing Justice to that side and party whereunto their own interest most chiefly directed.

Herewith *Diego Hernandez* concludes his eighteenth Chapter; and with much reason detests the abominable practices, cruelties and treacheries which these men acted upon their best and most intimate Friends: for they were the wretches who had designed and contrived the death of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, and had above three years before resolved to kill him, in case he should refuse to become their Head and chief Commander in their intended Rebellion. And then afterwards the villany and barbarous cruelty of these men is not to be expressed; who killed those who knew their wickedness, and caused themselves to be elected Judges and chief Magistrates, to condemn those whom they had caused to sin and rendered guilty of all those murders and bloody cruelties which they had plotted and contrived. But Heaven found them out at last and punished them according to their demerit, as we shall see hereafter.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of what happened in Potocsi. Egas de Guzman is drawn and quartered. Other outrages are committed by the Souldiers. Many brave men are put to death. Cozco arms against the Rebels.

THESE and many others were the horrible and execrable Villanies which passed in the City of *Plate*: and now we shall proceed to what was committed in *Potocsi*, where they robbed all the Treasure belonging to his Majesty, which was so great and vast a sum that it amounted to a million and a half of pieces of Eight, which all vanished to nothing, and never was there one farthing of it recovered; for it was taken away after the death of *Hernando de Alvarado*, his Majesty's Accomptant-General, whom *Antonio de Luxan*, having made himself Chief Justice of that Town and parts thereunto belonging, had sentenced to die, and as he went to Execution he published his Crime to have been, that he had sided with the General *Pedro de Hinojosa*, with intention to raise all the Kingdom in arms against

against his Majesty. And now we must understand, that a certain Friend of Antonio de Luxan, called John Gonzales, wrote a Letter to him giving him advice of the death of Don Sebastian, of the imprisonment of Don Garcia and of the departure of John Ramon and others, with intent to join with the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado. This Letter was sent by a *Tanacuna* (which signifies an Indian Domestic Servant educated in a Family) who are commonly the best Spies in the world; and the Letter was made up in the foal of his Shoe, to keep it from being intercepted by the Guards, which were placed on the way where he was to pass; herein he was counselled immediately to kill *Egas de Guzman*, for that therewith all the Plots of those who were concerned in the death of Don Sebastian would be entirely overthrown: so soon as Antonio de Luxan (who had made himself chief Justice) had received this Letter, he immediately caused the Drum to beat, for assembling the Souldiery in the Market-place, where *Egas de Guzman*, coming amongst the rest, demanded the reason of that convention: Antonio de Luxan, to make trial whether this Letter were true or feigned, and also to create a confidence of *Egas de Guzman* in him as his Friend, he publicly produced the Letter in view of all those then present; and asked, whether that were the hand and firm of John Gonzales, and when it was said, that it was very like Gonzales's hand, and that probably it was his and no others; *Egas de Guzman* changed his countenance, which shewed the inward trouble and apprehension of his mind. Upon this certification and assurance of the death of Don Sebastian those who had before an intention to join with *Egas de Guzman* changed their minds, and declared themselves Servants to his Majesty, which was the design of Antonio de Luxan in publishing the Letter; and also to make the Souldiers his instruments in killing *Egas de Guzman*, as that paper advised: upon reading whereof, those present looked one upon the other, and without speaking one word they understood each others meaning: so that Antonio de Luxan and his party adventured to lay hands upon *Egas de Guzman* notwithstanding he had many that sided with him, and set Gomez de Solis, and Martin de Almedras at liberty, and those very Chains and Irons with which they had been manacled, they put upon *Egas de Guzman*, and stripped off his Coat of Mail, and gave it to Gomez de Solis: and within the space of six hours *Egas de Guzman* (notwithstanding all his courage and bravery) was drawn and quartered, together with another Companion of his called Diego de Vergara.

This effect had John Gonzales's Letter in Potocsi: and at the same time the Inhabitants of the City of Plate, of which the principal persons were Basco Godinez, Baltasar Velazquez, and Gomez Hernandez the Lawyer, having consulted with others of the same City, they agreed all to march to Potocsi in a posture of War against *Egas de Guzman*, not knowing as yet what had been the fate of that poor Gentleman. Basco Godinez went General and Judge Advocate of the Army, which they so called, though it scarce consisted of an hundred men, and looked more like a training of Boys, and a mock-show rather than an Army; for to so few men they had two Captains of Foot, and one of Horse, with a Lieutenant-General: and having marched about two leagues they received intelligence that *Egas de Guzman* was killed, and the Town reduced to the service of the King: upon which it was agreed, that Basco Godinez should return again to the City of Plate, and that Baltasar Velazquez, and Gomez Hernandez, with fifty select Souldiers, should proceed forward to Potocsi, and farther in pursuit of Gabriel de Pernia, whom (as we have said) *Egas de Guzman* had sent with fifty five Souldiers to the City of Peace, there to kill the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado. But Gabriel de Pernia, having with his people travelled several leagues, received the news that John Ramon had disarmed Don Garcia: upon which he declared for the Marshal, and sent him word by Ordono de Valencia that he was coming to serve him; but he had not marched many leagues farther before his own Souldiers seized upon him, and declared for Don Sebastian, and with their Colours flying returned back again, leaving Pernia with three other Companions to follow their own imaginations, who accordingly joined themselves with the Marshal's party: but the Souldiers returned back without Captain or Leader, or Counsel either of themselves or others, and travelled until they received news of the death of Don Sebastian; and then they proceeded as *Valentino* writes Chapter 21, in these words: They pretended that the Ensign or Colours they carried were displayed in the name and for the service of his Majesty, so that their Banner changed like the Weather-cock, which turns to the part where the wind blows strongest; and such was the loyalty of this people

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who always cried aloud, may he live who overcomes: so when they came to meet with Baltasar Velazquez; the Ensign who carried the Colours, with Pedro Xuares, and two other Souldiers, put themselves in the Front of all the rest, and loosing their Colours three times, resigned them up into the hands of Velazquez; who immediately from thence dispatched Riba Martin and Martin Moneja to the City of Peace to signify unto the Marshal, that in regard the City of Plate was in quietness and peace, and reduced to the obedience of his Majesty, he was returning thither, and carried with him Prisoners, Alonso de Ariaga, Francisco Arnao, Pero Xuares, Alonso de Marquina, Francisco Chavez the Moor, and John Perez: and when he came within a league and a half of the place, he caused Francisco de Arnao to be executed, and cut into four quarters; and as he entered into the Town, Alonso de Marquina was by his order drawn and quartered. And the same night he entered into the Monastery of the Merced, and from thence drew out Pedro del Corro, and caused him to be hanged, though upon his repentance, for having had a hand in the death of the General, he had admitted himself in the Convent and turned Friar. Thus far Diego Hernandez.

But to abbreviate that which he discourses much more at large, we say, that Baltasar Velazquez delivered up the other Prisoners to Basco Godinez, that so he, who had made himself Chief Justice, might bring them to their Trial, or dispose of them as he should think fit; that is, that he might kill and destroy all such as had been privy to his plots and designs; which he accordingly did, and banished many into parts far remote from the City of Plate, namely four, five and six hundred leagues from thence: he caused also Garci Tello de Vega to be quartered, who was one of Don Sebastian's Captains, and had been commissioned thereunto by Basco Godinez himself: he also condemned another Souldier called Diego Perez to be disabled in both his Feet, and afterwards to serve in the Gallies; for a Gallieslave hath not much use of his Feet: thus did they contrive and meditate new ways of cruelty. Then he dispatched Baltasar Velazquez, with another Souldier of note called Pedro del Castillo, to go to Lima, there to publish and extoll the great services which Basco Godinez and they had done: which are the words of *Valentino*, who therewith concludes that Chapter.

Though Baltasar Velazquez, by being absent in the Chacara, escaped the punishment which Alonso de Alvarado had designed for him, yet he could not avoid a more severe judgment which Heaven had prepared to bring him to his end. The news of the Insurrection of Don Sebastian de Castilla ran like lightning through the whole Kingdom, to the great trouble and consternation of those who had Estates in the Countrey, for these were they who were likely to suffer by all wars and confusions which arise: for not onely being Lords of Manors holding many Indians in vassalage they were upon all occasions of this nature put to a vast expence; but likewise they held their lives by a hair or thread, being ever in danger of being killed in those rebellious tumults by the Souldiers, who gaped and longed after the enjoyment of their possessions. So soon as this news came to the City of Cusco, they put themselves into a posture of defence against the enemy; and by consent of the Corporation, they elected Diego Maldonado, furnished the Rich, to be their General, having formerly been the most ancient Governour of any in that City. Garcilasso de la Vega, and John de Sanvedra were made Captains of Horse; and John Julio de Hojeda, Thomas Yacquez, and Antonio de Quimones, and another Citizen, whose name I have forgot, were made Captains of Foot: who presently applied themselves with all diligence to raise Souldiers, and herein John Julio de Hojeda was so active that in five days time he marched into the Market-place with three hundred Souldiers after him all very well armed and accoutred, which seemed strange in so short a time: Three days after this (making eight days in all with the former five) news came of the death of Don Sebastian, which put an end to the War for the present. The like happened in the City of Los Reyes, as Diego Hernandez mentions, Chap. 22, in these words: The Court of Justice received intelligence of all the revolutions and tempests which were arisen: for at the end of March news came of the death of the General, and of the rebellion of Don Sebastian: six days after which came news that *Egas Guzman* was up in Arms in the quarters of Potocsi; and in four days more advices were brought of the death and destruction of those rebellious Tyrants, for which great rejoicing was made in the City of Lima. Thus far Diego Hernandez. We shall now in the following Chapter relate, what course and methods were used to bring these men to condign punishment.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The Royal Court of Justice constitutes the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado to sit Judge on the Trial of the Rebels: Decrees and Orders were issued out by the Judge, and others by the Souldiers. The Imprisonment of Basco Godinez, and of other Souldiers, and Men of Estates.

THE days of joy and festival being past in the City of *Los Reyes* for the death of *Don Sebastian de Castilia*, and the defeat and destruction of the Rebels, in which *Ordoño de Valencia* (whom *Diego Hernandez* often mentions in his History) had proved a principal Instrument, though he had acted a double part, and been concerned on both sides. Howsoever his good fortune guiding him to bring the first news of the death of *Don Sebastian*; the Judges in reward thereof bestowed upon him a division of some Lands with vassalage of *Indians* in the City of *Coco*, to the value of five or six thousand pieces of Eight of yearly Revenue, where I left him in the enjoyment of the same when I came for *Spain*.

But others failed in that design, and gained a contrary reward, being accused and endicted before a High Court of Justice, of which the Marshal *Alonso de Alvarado* was constituted Lord Chancellor by Commission from the Lords Justices; for that he being known to be an upright and a severe person, was esteemed a proper Instrument to punish those many outrages, murders and violences which had been committed against God, and contrary to the peace and quietness of our Sovereign Lord *Charles the Fifth* Emperor and King of *Spain*. In like manner for Trial of Offenders in the *Charcas*, *John Fernandez* the King's Attorney General was ordained, and appointed to proceed against and judge those Delinquents. Moreover another Commission was privately sealed, whereby *Alonso de Alvarado* was ordained chief Governour and Justiciary of all those Provinces, and Captain General of all the Forces, with full power to raise Souldiers, and to pay them, and all necessary Expences of the War out of the Royal Treasury. These Commissions were sent to *Alvarado* in the City of *Peace*, by virtue of which he immediately applied himself to the trial and punishment of the Rebels: and in order thereunto he dispatched several persons of entire confidence and integrity, into divers parts to seize and apprehend such as had been guilty, and were fled to avoid the course of Justice into private corners, and concealments amongst the *Indians*. One of those employed upon this message was called *John de Henao*, who pursued them so hard, as to search for them with *Canoes*, or *Indian Boats*, in certain little Islands within the Lake of *Titicaca*, and to hunt them amongst the Officers and Rushes which grew by the Banks of those Islands, and having taken above twenty of the most malignant and culpable amongst them, he delivered them into the hands of *Pedro Enciso* then Governour in *Chucuyru*: who having first examined them, and taken their Confessions, he sent them with a safe Guard to the Marshal. It being by this time made known over all the *Charcas* and *Potosi*, that the Marshal was by Commission constituted Judge of those Provinces, divers Souldiers, who were conscious of their own guilt, advised *Basco Godinez* (whose crimes they believed were too black to admit of Pardon) to be wary and cautious of his own person, and to raise Souldiers to resist the Marshal; the which (as *Diego Hernandez* says, Chapter the twenty second) they represented to him, as a matter very easie to be effected; and that he should cause it to be published abroad, that the Marshal, and *Lorenzo de Aldana*, and *Gomez de Alvarado* intended to raise Arms, and in an arbitrary manner to tyrannize over the Countrey: which being once fixed in the minds of the people, he might have a very laudable pretence to kill them all; which being done, there could be none to oppose or confront him. Howsoever *Basco Godinez* was of another opinion; for, depending much on the service he had done his Majesty in killing *Don Sebastian de Castilia*, and upon the enmity which was between him and *John Ramon*, who accused and complained of him,

him for not standing firm to his principles, he resolved to come and claim a reward for his Services: of which the Marshal having intimation, he gave it out, that he had a power in his Commission to gratifie all those who had had a hand in the death of *Don Sebastian*, and had been instrumental in suppressing Rebels: and that there was a particular Clause empowering him to confer the Estate and *Indians* formerly belonging to *Alonso de Mendoza* upon *Basco de Godinez*, and *John Ramon*. This rumour being published abroad, *Alonso Velazquez* was dispatched away with some Orders and Instructions for *Potosi*, and with a particular Warrant to take and apprehend *Basco Godinez*; though it was commonly given out, that he carried a power to invest *Godinez* in an Estate and Lordship over *Indians*. Thus far *Diego Hernandez* in the Chapter before mentioned.

Basco Godinez, being then at the City of *Plate*, received a Letter from a Kinsman of his that *Alonso Velazquez* was bringing the Order of the Justices to confer on him the Estate of *Alonso de Mendoza*; at which *Godinez* seemed much offended and angry, that it was not the Estate of the General *Pedro de Hinojosa*, which he had before allotted and appropriated to himself by his own power and arbitrary pleasure: of which, when he read the Letter, he greatly complained to those who were then present, but they moderated his passion a little, by telling him, that these were good beginnings, and that he was in a fair way to better his fortunes: but he stormed and raged like a mad man, as did other Souldiers then with him, who, entertaining an overweening opinion of their own merits, pretended to the best, and the most opulent Estates in all *Peru*. Soon after *Godinez* had received this feigned news in a Letter (which was never intended for him) *Alonso Velazquez* arrived at the City of *Plate*, and being accompanied with some Friends of his, he went directly to the Lodging of *Basco Godinez* and saluted him with the usual forms of ceremony and complement; to which he returned a surly kind of an answer, and looked very fullen and melancholy, because all *Peru* was not conferred upon him for a reward of his deserts. But not to suffer him to proceed farther in such vain imaginations as these; *Alonso Velazquez* delivered him a Letter from the Marshal, with others, which were feigned to amuse him a while with vain hopes; but whilst he was attent in reading them, *Alonso Velazquez* laid hold on his Arms, and said, *Senior Godinez*, you are my Prisoner: with which he being much surpris'd, he asked him by what Warrant? *Velazquez* (as *Diego Hernandez* says) made answer, that he charged him to go with him to a certain place, where he would shew him by what authority: No, said *Godinez*, let these persons present see your Orders and Warrant, and afterwards we shall resolve to do what is requisite in the case. Then *Velazquez*, with more choler and heat than before, told him plainly, that he would not capitulate with him, but charged him without farther dispute to go with him, and using some violence drew him into the Prison; and as he was going, *Godinez* desperately tore his Beard with his hand, and lifted his eyes to Heaven: which some seeing comforted him; and advised him to patience, in regard, that by this imprisonment, the Justice of his Cause, and the signal Services he had done his Majesty would more eminently appear. But *Godinez* replied onely with Oaths and Curses, and that the Devils would now fetch him, who had reserved him to that unhappy time. In short, *Velazquez* clapt him up into close Prison with Chains and Manacles, and committed him to the custody of a strong Guard; and immediately wrote away to the Marshal giving advice of what had passed; and who speedily coming to *Potosi*, seized on many Souldiers and Inhabitants, intending to bring them to condign punishment: And in the first place he made Proccels against *Martin de Robles*, *Gomez de Solis* and *Martin de Almendras*, and others, allowing them to make their legal defence, and bring their witnesses, and such proofs as were conducing to their discharge, and herein especially he indulged the Citizens, and those who had Plantations in the Countrey, affording them a large time to make their defence, most of which were saved by prolongations and delays, rather than acquitted by the Sentence of Justice; as will hereafter appear. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*, who therewith ends this Chapter. In the conclusion of which, he seems to have received his information from some person prepossessed with a prejudice against the Gentlemen who had Estates, and were Lords of Vassals in *Peru*; or perhaps he himself was so: for he lays no crime to the charge of those against whom the Marshal proceeded; but rather excuses them, and says, that the Rebels seized on *Gomez de Solis*, and *Martin de Almendras*; and that *Martin de Robles* escaped; from

them in his Shirt. And yet after this, he says, that their lives were rather saved by prolongations and delays, than acquitted by the course of Justice; which shews him guilty of an apparent partiality, as we shall observe in many passages for the future.

C H A P. XXIX.

The Judge puts many of the Rebels to death in the City of Peace, and in the Village of Potosi; others were whipped and sent to the Gallies: the like Justice he doth in the City of Plate. The Sentence and Execution of Basco de Godinez.

THE Marshal began now to exercise his power in punishment of the Rebels in the City of Peace, where he had erected a Court of Justice: all the Prisoners sent him by *Pedro de Enciso* taken in the great Lake, and other parts, he condemned; some of them were hanged, others beheaded, some were whipped, and others sent to the Gallies, so that all of them received their just reward. From the City of Peace, the Marshal travelled to *Potosi*, where he found many Prisoners of those Braves and Hectors that belonged to *Egas de Guzman* and *Don Sebastian de Castilla*; on whom he executed the same justice as on the former; as namely, some were hanged, and others beheaded, whipped and sent to the Gallies. He apprehended the person of *Hernan Perez de Peragua*, who was Commissary-General, and accused for holding a correspondence (as we have said before) with *Don Sebastian*, to whom he wrote a Letter to send twenty Musketeers to take him, that he might not seem to surrender himself; but in regard he was a Knight of the Habit of St. John or a Knight of Malta; they confiscated the Plantation and Indians which he possessed in the City of Plate, and sent his Person under a secure Guard to the Master of Malta. These Sessions being ended at *Potosi*, the Marshal went to the City of Plate, where *Basco Godinez* remained a Prisoner, with several as brave Souldiers and men of note as any were within those Provinces: on all which they executed the Sentence of the Law, as before on those in *Potosi* and in the City of Plate; but very few were condemned to the Gallies, by reason that it was troublesome and delatory to send them into Spain; and besides in their way thither they might find means to make their escape; as those had done who were committed to the charge of *Rodrigo Ninna*, for of all his number, which were eighty six, there was but one that arrived in *Seville*. We do not undertake here particularly to set down the precise number of those who were put to death and whipped; being so many that an exact number could not be kept of them, onely a calculate may be made of them; from the latter end of June, Anno 1553, to the end of November of the same year, when a new Insurrection was begun by *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, every day was a day of Assise, whereon four, five, or six a day were condemned, and the next day they were executed. The which expedition of justice could not be avoided, considering how full the Prisons were, and how necessary a Gaol-delivery was for security of the Countrey; which was put into that amazement and confusion by the boldness and insolence of the Rebels, that no man remained secure either of his Life or Estate. Howsoever the malicious and unthinking people styled the Judge with the terms of cruel and implacable, and of another Nero, who could with so little remorse and compassion condemn four or five a day unto death, and those of the most principal Souldiers, and such as perhaps had been either deceived or enforced to a compliance; and yet when he arose from the Bench, and was returning to his own House, he could entertain light and indifferent discourses laughing and jesting with the Attorney-General, as if those who were condemned to die were Capons or Turkies entred in a Bill of Fare to be served up at his Table. And such other Labels and

scandalous Speeches were vented against the Government, that it had been well if Laws had been made to restrain the excesses and liberty of malicious and virulent Tongues.

In the month of October of the same year (as *Diego Hernandez* saith) *Basco Godinez* was charged and arraigned of many heinous and crying offences, which are specified in the Sentence passed on him, for which he was condemned to be drawn and quartered. And it is certain that the Marshal was troubled that he could not meet with *Baltasar Velazquez* (who was gone to Lima) for had he been found he would have incurred the same punishment that *Godinez* had done, &c. The declaration of the Crimes of *Basco Godinez* were contained in a few words, proclaimed by the Executioner; which were these; *This man having been a Traitor to God, to his King, and his Friends, is sentenced to be drawn and quartered.* The which saying is so full and pithy, that it contains as much as can be said or wrote in many Chapters. And thus did the severity of Justice pass on the Offenders, untill towards the end of November (as we have said;) when news coming of a new Rebellion raised by *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, a stop was given to farther proceedings against the rest of the imprisoned Souldiers: which seemed to happen opportunely, that the fear of a second Rebellion might moderate and allay the severity exercised against the first.

The Indians of *Cocco* prognosticated this Rebellion openly and loudly in the Streets, as I heard and saw my self: For the Eve before the Festival of the most Holy Sacrament, I being then a youth, went out to see how the two Market-places of the City were adorned; for at that time the Procession passed through no other Streets but those; though since that time, as I am told, the perambulation is double as far as before. And being then at the corner of the great Chapel of our Lady of the *Merceds*, about an hour or two before day, I saw a Comet dart from the East side of the City towards the Mountains of the *Andes*, so great and clear that it enlightened all places round with more splendour than a full Moon at midnight. Its motion was directly downwards, its form was globular, and its dimension as big as a large Tower; and coming near the ground, it divided into several sparks and streams of fire; and was accompanied with a Thunder so low and near as struck many deaf with the clap, and ran from East to West: which when the Indians heard and saw, they all cried out with one voice, *Auca, Auca, Auca*, which signifies in their Language, as much as to say, *Tyrant, Traitor, Rebel*, and every thing that may be attributed to a violent and bloody Traitor; as we have before mentioned. This happened on the nineteenth of June in the year 1553, when the Feast of our Lord was celebrated; and this prognostication which the Indians made, was accomplished on the thirteenth of November in the same year, when *Francisco Hernandez Giron* began a Rebellion, which we shall relate in the following Book.

The End of the Sixth Book.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

News being spread of the severe Proceedings of Justice in the Charcas, Francisco Hernandez Giron conspires with the Planters and Souldiers to raise a Rebellion.

Common Fame published in all parts of the Empire, with what Severity they proceeded in the Charcas against those who had been concerned in the Rebellion of Vasco Godinez, and Don Sebastian de Castilla, and their Adherents: in like manner it was reported, (whether true or false it matters not much) that the Marshal was preparing farther process against such Offenders as lived without the Precincts of his Jurisdiction. And that by a Letter which was written from Cozco, it was advised (as Palentino relates, Chap. 24. in these words.) That in Potosi they had lopped off the branches, but that in Cozco, they would extirpate them from the very roots: the which Letter, though written, as is said, by John de la Arreynaga without malice or design, yet it served to awaken Francisco Hernandez Giron, and cauled him with more vigilance to place a watch on the road, to bring him information of all people that passed, lest the Marshal should surprize him unawares: and moreover, he advised his Friends to discover, if possible, the correspondence which passed between Guil. Ramirez, (who was at that time Governour) and the Marshal: these are the very words of that Author who farther says, that all the Inhabitants were in an uproar upon Proclamation made, that every one was to acquit and discharge the Indians of their personal services, and that the Governour had rejected and torn a Petition which was tendered to him in the name of all the Inhabitants, representing this

The truth is, I cannot but much admire how it is possible for men to report things so different from all reason and probability, as to say, that none of the Inhabitants of that City were discontented and scandalized at the severe proceedings against the Rebels, but onely Francisco Hernandez Giron, who had been engaged in the two late Rebellions, as this History makes mention. Nor is it to be believed, that the Governour, who was a Gentleman of Quality, and one educated under so religious and good a Prince as the Vice-king Don Antonio de Mendoza, should perform an action so odious and unpolitick, as to tear a Petition subscribed by above eighty Lords of Vassals and Inhabitants of a City which was the Metropolis of all that Empire. For if such a thing had been done, it had not been strange (be it said with all respect to his Royal Majesty) if they had given him

fifty stabs with their Daggers, as this Authour avers; saying, that *Francisco Hernandez Giron* and his Associates had conspired so to doo either in the Town-house or in the Shop of a Publick Notary, where the Governour used to hold his Court of Justice. Thus far *Palentino*.

And because it is not reason, that we should so positively contradict the Writings of this Authour, which in many places may be taken up from vulgar Reports; we shall therefore omit all farther computation; and proceed according to the method of our History in the relation of what really passed in the City of *Cozco*, where I was personally present, and was an eye-witness of what was there transacted; which was this; The Offence taken at the Severity of Justice executed in the *Charcas*, did seem to concern no other Citizen of *Cozco*, than only *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, who kept no conversation or correspondence with the Inhabitants, but with the Souldiers only, which was a sufficient indication of his evil Intentions. And receiving informations, that the Marshal made Enquiries after him, and being conscious to himself of his own guilt, he became wary of his own person; and resolved speedily to break forth into open Rebellion. To which end he entered into communication with some Souldiers who were his Friends, being not above twelve or thirteen in number; namely, *John Cobo*, *Antonio Carrillo*, of whom we have made mention in the History of *Florida*, *Diego Gaviland* and *John Gaviland* his brother, *Nunno Mendiola*, and *Diego de Alvarado* the Lawyer, who availed himself more of his skill in War, than in Law; and indeed he had reason not to boast himself much of his Learning, for he had never shewn any, either in War or Peace; these Souldiers, though poor, were yet honourable, and of noble extraction. Besides these, he imparted his design to *Francisco Hernandez*, and *Thomas Vasquez*, who was a rich Citizen, and a principal person of the Corporation, and one of the first Conquerours, when *Atahualpa* was a prisoner: and with him he entered into a Discourse of these matters, upon occasion of a quarrel which some few months before had arisen between this *Thomas Vasquez* and the Governour *Gil Ramirez de Arellano*; who out of passion rather than reason apprehended *Vasquez*, and clapt him into the publick prison, proceeding against him rather like a party than a Judge; of which ill usage *Vasquez* had reason to complain, since that to persons of his quality and ancient family it was usual to shew all honour and respect. *Francisco Hernandez* taking hold of this disposition in *Vasquez*, to revenge the injuries he had received, easily prevailed upon him to accept the proposal and to engage himself to be of his party: in like manner he drew another to join with him, called *John de Piedrahita*, a man of a mean fortune, and one who for the most part of the year lived in the Countrey with his *Indians*; he was also of an unquiet temper, and so needed no great persuasion to be prevailed upon by *Francisco Hernandez*.

These two Citizens, and another called *Alonso Diaz*, engaged with *Hernandez* in the insurrection he made (though *Palentino* names another called *Rodrigo de Pineda*) but neither he, nor others who went with him to the City of *Los Reyes*, did join with *Hernandez* in his rebellion, though they followed his party afterwards, (as will appear in this History) rather out of fear than love, or any interest whatsoever; for they abandoned his party with the first opportunity that presented, and revolted over to his Majesty's service; which was the ruine and destruction of *Hernandez*.

Palentino having nominated without any distinction Citizens and Souldiers that were engaged in this conspiracy; he says, that they plotted to kill the Governour, and raise a tumult in the City, and over all the Kingdom: but I am confident, that this report was framed by a person who was ill affected to the Inhabitants of *Peru*, for he never speaks of them, but with a prejudice, calling them Traytors and rebellious persons.

The truth is, I am a native of that City and consequently a Son of that Empire; and therefore it troubles me to hear my Countrey men so causlessly reproached with the terms of disloyalty; who never offended his Royal Majesty; nay, they condemn them of rebellion, or at best suspect them of treason, who did the service to acquire to his Majesty a vast Empire, and so wealthy as hath filled all the world with its riches. For my part, I protest in the faith of a Christian, that I will speak the truth, without any partiality or favour; and will declare and plainly confess the truth of all the proceedings of *Hernandez*, and where they are obscure, confused or doubtfull, I shall render them as plain and manifest as I am able.

able. Know then, that *Francisco Hernandez* conspired with those whom we have before mentioned, and with another Souldier called *Bernardino de Robles*, and another called *Alonso Gonzalez*, a man as vile and base in his extraction and manners as he was ugly in his person, form and shape: for he proved the bloudest Villain in the World, killing every one who stood in his way, even those whom *Hernandez* had pardoned; pretending that Execution was done before the pardon arrived: His trade was, before this rebellion broke out, to keep Hogs in the valley of *Sacshabana*, which was in the Estate and Allotment of *Hernandez*, from whence began that great friendship and deareness which was between them.

The rebellion being resolved, it was agreed that it should break forth on the thirteenth of *November*, in the year 1553. being the day when a marriage was to be celebrated between *Alonso de Loaysa*, one of the richest and most principal Inhabitants of that City, and Nephew to the Arch-bishop of *Los Reyes* and *Donna Maria de Castrillia*, Niece to *Baltasar de Castrillia*, Daughter to his Sister *Donna Leonor de Bobadilla* and of *Nunno Tovar* a Cavalier of *Badajoz*, of whom we have made mention at large in our History of *Florida*. And now, in this following Chapter, we will relate the beginning of this Rebellion which was so vexatious, expensive and ruinous to this whole Empire.

CHAP. II.

Francisco Hernandez raises a Rebellion in Cozco. What happened in the night of this Rebellion. Many Inhabitants fly from the City.

THE day of the Nuptials being come, all the Citizens and their Wives dressed themselves in their best Apparel to honour the Wedding: for on all such solemn occasions as this, either of Festivals, or days of mourning, it was the custome amongst these Citizens to rejoice or condole together, as if they had been all Brethren of a Family, between whom were no private grudges, animosities or factions. Many of the Citizens and their Wives dined and supped at the Wedding, at which was prepared a solemn Banquet. After dinner an entertainment was made in the Street of throwing balls made with Earth by Horsemen at each other (which is a sport used in *Spain*). I remember that I saw it from the top of a stone Wall, over against the house of *Alonso de Loaysa*: and I saw *Francisco Hernandez* sitting on a Chair in the Hall, with his Armes folded on his Breast, and his Eyes looking downwards; in which posture he seemed more pensive and thoughtfull than melancholy it self. It is probable, that he was then contriving what he was to act and execute that night; though that Authour saith, that *Francisco Hernandez* had shewed himself very merry and pleasant that day at the Wedding, and perhaps it was because he was there present, rather than shewed any good or pleasant humour.

The Sports of the City being over, and the Evening come, they fate themselves to Supper in a lower Hall, where at least sixty were at the Table, for the Room was both long and wide; the Ladies fate together in an inward Room, and from a little Yard, which was between these Apartments, they served the Meat unto both Tables. *Don Baltasar de Castrillia*, who was Uncle to the Bride, and a very gentle man, performed the Office of Usher of the Hall. I my self came to the Wedding-house towards the end of Supper, to attend my Father and my Step-mother home at night: And coming into the Hall, I went towards the upper end of the Table, where the Governour was set, who being a very obliging Gentleman, was pleased to cast his eyes upon me, and call me to him; since I was but a Boy of fourteen years of age; and bid me sit down by him, since there was no other Chair for me, and reached me some of the Comfits and sweet drink which Boys are best pleased with. At this Instant some body knock-

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ed at the door and said, that *Francisco Hernandez Giron* was there; *Don Baltazar de Castilia* being near the Entry; Oh, Sir, said he, how comes it to pass that you are so late to honour us with your Company; and immediately ordered the door to be opened, whereupon *Francisco Hernandez*, rushed in with his Sword drawn in his right-hand and a Buckler in his left, and a Companion on each side with Partisans in their hands.

The Guests sitting at Supper affrighted with this appearance arose from the Table in great Confusion: then said *Hernandez*, Gentlemen, be not afraid nor stir, for we are all engaged in this Plot. The Governour, without hearing farther entered in at a door on the left-hand, and went in at the apartment, where the women remained: in another corner of the Hall there was another door leading to the Kitchen and to the other Offices of the House: by these two doors all the People passed who were in the Entries: but those who were near the great door of the Hall were in most danger, not knowing which way to escape. *John Alonso Palomino* was leaped just over against the door of the Hall, with his back towards it; and being known to *Diego de Alvarado* the Lawyer, and those who were with him, they gave him five wounds; for he, and his kinsman *Geronimo Cofillita* were set down and destined to be murdered; for having opposed *Francisco Hernandez* in a late mutiny, which he had caused, as before related. *John Alonso Palomino* dyed the next day of his wounds in the House of *Loyola*, not being able to goe forth to be cured elsewhere.

They also killed *John de Morales*, a rich Merchant, and a very honest man, as he was at the Wedding-supper, and happened to be amongst the other Citizens; for he, without considering what he did, intended to put out the Candles which were on the Table, that in the dark their escape might be the more easie; and therewith drawing away the Table-cloth, ten of the eleven Candles fell down, and were all extinguished; but one remaining still lighted; one of the Companions of *Hernandez* thrust his Partisan at his mouth, and cut him therewith from one Ear unto the other; saying, *Traitor, Wouldst thou have us all to be killed here?* Then another Souldier gave him a Thrust through the left Pap, with which he immediately fell down dead, so that the unhappy man had no time to tie his golden cup to his Girdle, as some have maliciously written concerning him. The next day I saw his Body in the condition here related, for which, and the rest of the Tragedy, those who were Actors therein did much applaud themselves.

My Father, and *Diego de Los Rios*, and *Valco de Guevara*, and two other Gentlemen, who were Brothers and Kinsmen of his, called *Esculantes* and *Rodrigo de Leon*, Brother of *Pero Lopez de Casalla*, and other Citizens and Souldiers, in all to the number of thirty six, passed out at the same door with the Governour, and I also amongst the rest, not by the apartment of the Women, but took to the right-hand, to find a passage out by the yards of the House, and here meeting a Ladder, they climbed up to the roof of the House; intending to pass over into the House of *John de Figueroa*, which was the next house to them, and onely a single Wall between; from whence there was a door opening to another Street; my Father finding that there was a Passage that way, called to the Company to stay until he could goe and call the Governour, by whose means he hoped to remedy the farther progress of this Evil: And going to the place, where the Governour was, he called to him, and told him, that there was a passage that way to escape, and that there were people to succour and defend him: and that, if he pleased to goe with them into the Market-place, and cause the Bells to be rung out, and an Alarm sounded, he did not doubt, but that the Assassins and Rebels would immediately fly away, and shift for themselves: but the Governour not receiving this counsel, returned no other Answer, than that he desired him to suffer him to remain there. My Father returning to his Companions found them all climbed up to the top of the roof, leading to the House of *John de Figueroa*: wherefore he desired them once more to stay, and expect him, until he could goe, and persuade the Governour out of his place of concealment, where going a second time, he used all the Arguments and Reasons in the World to induce him thereunto, but was not able to prevail, because the Governour fancied, that they were all in the Plot, as *Francisco Hernandez* declared at his first entrance into the Hall.

Gargilasso, my Father, being out of all hopes to prevail, went his way, and at the Foot of the Ladder lost one of his slippers which he had put on over his Pump:

Pumps, after they had ended the Game at Balls: but it was not time now to look after it, but to mount the Ladder as fast as we could, and I after him; when we were at the top, we drew it up, and passed it over into the House of *John Figueroa*, and therewith they all descended, and I among the rest. And having opened the door of the Street, they sent me out before, as a Spy, to discover if the way were clear, supposing that I, being a Boy, the less notice would be taken of me; and in case I found nothing in the way, I was to whistle at the corner of every Street, which was the token for them to follow me. In this manner we went from Street to Street until we came to the House of *Antonio de Quinones*, who was Brother-in-law to my Father *Gargilasso*, they having married two Sisters. It was our good fortune to find him, and he was much joyed to see my Father, for he was in great Fear for him, and trouble of mind to know, what was become of him: But *Antonio de Quinones* himself had a narrow escape, and had certainly been killed, had he not been favoured by one of the Conspirators called *John de Gavilan*, who in remembrance of some good Offices he had done him in times past, opened the principal door of the Hall, at which he let him out; together with *John de Saavedra*, who was in his company; and whispering to him, said, Sir, *Haste you away home, wish Seignior John de Saavedra, and stay there until I see you in the morning;* by which accident it was my Father's fortune to meet him within doors; but notwithstanding this advice, being met together in the House of *Antonio de Quinones*, they all agreed to leave the Town that night, and goe to the City of *Los Reyes*.

John de Saavedra was unwilling to goe; on pretence that he wanted all things necessary for so long a journey; but when they took off that excuse by providing a Horse, a Hat and Boots and a Scarlet Cloak for him; he then said, that the truth was, he was ill, and wanted health for so long a journey; so that, not to importune him farther, they left him at home; we shall shortly declare the true reason and cause why he did not accompany them; which cost him his Life and Estate. All the other Citizens and Souldiers, who escaped to their own Houses, did there immediately fit and prepare themselves for a journey to *Los Reyes*. *Gargilasso*, my Father, sent me home, which was not far from his House, to bring him the best of his Horses which remained saddled ever since the afternoon when he returned from the sport of Balls. As I went to fetch the Horse, passing by the House of *Thomas Vazquez*, I saw in the Street two Horses saddled, with three or four Negroes with them, in discourse together, and when I returned, I found them in the Streets, where I left them: of which when I acquainted my Father and the rest, they were much troubled, imagining that those Horses and Slaves belonged to the Conspirators. At that very instant *Rodrigo de Leon*, Brother of *Pero Lopez de Casalla* called to me, and desired me to goe to his Brother's House, which was in the same Street, but far from the place where we were; and to tell the Porter, who was an Indian, that he desired him to hide the Coat of Male and Head-piece which he left in his Chamber; because it was believed, that the Conspirators would that night sack and plunder the whole City. I made all the haste I could, but before I returned, my Father, and his two Kinsmen, who were *Diego de Los Rios* and *Antonio Quinones*, were departed, having taken a large compass through Back-ways and By-streets, to avoid the door of *Thomas Vazquez*: but I returned to my Father's house, which is just opposite to the two Squares, which were not then so curiously adorned, as the Houses are now, which are situate by the Stream side, and in the Squares of Market-places. And there I remained full of expectation to see the issue of that sad and dismal night.

C H A P. III.

Francisco Hernandez discovers the Governour, and takes him and goes into the Market-place ; he opens the Prison doors and sets the Prisoners at Liberty: he causes Don Baltasar de Castillia, and the Accountant John de Carceres to be killed.

ALL this time *Francisco Hernandez Giron* and his Associates remained in the House of *Aloñso de Loaysa* purposely to take the Governour, supposing that if they had him in their hands, all the City would yield and surrender to them. And being informed that he was concealed in the room with the Women, they ran a Bench against the first door, and broke it open, and coming to the second, those within parlied with them, desiring them to pass their words, not to kill the Governour, nor do him other hurt; which *Hernandez* having given accordingly, the doors were opened; and the Governour being taken, *Hernandez* carried him to his own House, where he left him under a secure Guard; and then he went into the Market-place, with all his Companions, who were not above twelve or thirteen in number.

But this Imprisonment of the Governour, that is, the taking of him and carrying him to his House, and committing him into safe custody, was not performed in less than three hours and a half's time: by which it plainly appears, that in case the Governour had gone forth, as my Father and other friends advised him, and had made good the Market-place, and founded an Alarm, summoning all his Majesty's loyal Subjects to his Assistance, no doubt but the Rebels would have been affrighted, and soon absconded themselves in places where they could have found the best refuge: the which every one confessed after the matter was over. And now having the curiosity to see what was acting, I went out into the Market place, where I found a few of those poor rascally fellows, who were ready to run away in case they had seen any to oppose them: but the darkness of the night, and the boldness of those Conspirators to enter into a House so full of people, affrighted the Governour and all the Company with a surprizing fear, and chased all the Citizens and Souldiers out of the Town; who joyning together might easily and without the least difficulty have confounded the Rebels. About half an hour after midnight, when I was in the Market-place, came *Thomas Vazquez* prancing on Horse-back, and another following him with their Lances in their hands, and asked *Hernandez* what service he had to command them? to which he answered, that all he had to desire at present was, that they would goe the rounds, and advise all people that they met, not to be afraid; and in case of trouble, or danger, that they should apply themselves to him, who was in the Market-place, ready to succour and serve all his Friends and Masters. In like manner soon after this, came another Citizen called *Aloñso Diaz*, mounted on Horse-back with his Lance in his hand; to whom *Hernandez* ordered the same thing as he had done to *Vazquez*: so that all the Citizens who were engaged in this Conspiracy were onely three, namely, *Thomas Vazquez*, *John de Pedrabita*, and *Aloñso Diaz*, for he that was with *Vazquez* was a stranger, and no Citizen; though soon afterwards several others came and joyned with them, more out of fear than affection, as plainly appears: for they all left and deserted them with the first occasion which presented. These poor Rebels, finding themselves few in number, and that none came in to their assistance; went directly to the Prisons, and opened the doors, to recruit their numbers; and marched directly with them to the Market-place, where they remained untill break of day, and then they found that all the Forces they could make, did not amount to above forty men. And though *Palentino* makes a long and formal story of this business, and tells us, that they ran about the Streets crying out Liberty, Liberty, and that they produced great stores of Pikes and Muskets, and set up a Standard; and that *Hernandez* made Proclamation

tion, that all people, upon pain of death, should come in to their party; and that Lights were set up in the Streets, and Guards placed, to prevent the escape of any person whatsoever. I say notwithstanding, that nothing passed more that night than what is before related; for, I being then a boy, had the Liberty to run about, and was an eye-witness of all that passed; for these people being so few in number, could neither set up Lights, nor appoint Watches and Guards in all parts of the City, which was above a League in Compass. The next day they went to the Governour's Lodgings, where they examined his Closet and Papers; amongst which (as they report) were found above eighteen several Orders of the Justices, all tending to the damage and prejudice of the Citizens; namely, that they should free and acquit the *Indians* of all personal Services, that none of them should be compelled to labour in the Mines, nor to receive or quarter Souldiers, nor to maintain them either secretly or in publick, all which were Inventions to raise Mutinies, and incite the Souldiery to join with them.

The third day after this Rebellion *Hernandez* was employed in making Visits to the principal Citizens at their own homes: and amongst the rest, coming to my Father's House, where I, and my Mother-in-law were onely present, he told us, amongst other things; that what he had done, was for the publick good and well-fare of all the Souldiers, Citizens and Planters, of the whole Empire. That the supreme Charge and Super-intendency of all these matters he referred not for himself, but to bestow it on some other who best deserved it: And he desired my Mother to prevail with my Father not longer to conceal himself, but to meet him and the rest of his Associates in the Market-place, to consult and order matters at a time when the difficulty of affairs required his assistance.

The like Discourses he used in other Houses where he made his Visits, believing that those who did not appear had absconded themselves, not imagining that they were fled to *Los Reyes*: but when my Mother-in-law assured him, that since the Wedding-night, he had not seen my Father, nor had he entred into his House; which my Mother affirming with all the Oaths and Affeuerations she could make, she desired him in case he believed her not, to make search in all the parts and corners of the House; he then was convinced, and said, that he wondered at it; and so cutting off all farther discourse, he took his leave, and went to visit other Houses, where he found the same verified, as in this place. For the truth is, they did not all fly away the same night, but four or five nights after, as they found convenient; for having no Guards in the Streets, nor at the Gates, every one escaped without much difficulty.

About eight days after this Rebellion was begun, one *Bernardino de Robles*, a bold and lude fellow informed *Hernandez Giron*, that *Baltasar de Castillia* and *John de Carceres* the Accountant were preparing to make their Escape and carry with them divers others, and that all their wrought Plate and other moveables they had secured in a Monastery: which so soon as *Hernandez* understood, he presently called for his Lawyer *Diego de Alvarado*, and ordered him to examine the matter, and punish the Offenders according to their demerit. The Lawyer required no great Formality in the Process or of Witnesses to give their Testimonies; for he owed an old grudge to *Baltasar de Castillia*, on the score of a quarrel which about two months before happened between them in the chief Market-place of the City, in which it was the fortune of both of them to be wounded; which the Lawyer not esteeming a sufficient satisfaction, was angry that he had not killed him; for, as we have said, he presumed more on his Weapon than on his Learning; and now, having an opportunity to vent his Anger with Colour of Authority, he exercised his Commission with all Severity upon innocent men, who, as report goes, were not guilty of the least offence: for the same night that he received his Warrant, he went directly to the Houses of those who were accused, and allotted them a short time, not sufficient to make their Confession, and then delivered them into the hands of the Hang-man *John Enriquez* to be strangled; who was the same Executioner who had beheaded *Gonzalo Pizarro* and hanged and quartered his Captains and Lieutenant General. The next day after this Rebellion of *Hernandez* had broken out, this Bloody Rogue shewed himself onely in the Market-place, with bundles of Halters about him, and all the Instruments of death and torment; presuming that there would now be work for him and employment for a man of his Office: he also drew out his brought Sword to cut off Heads; but he payed afterwards for this presumption, as we shall find by the sequel: However,

soever, in the mean time he laid hands on these two poor Gentlemen, and strangled them in a moment: after which he stripped *Don Baltasar*, and left him as naked as he was born; but he suffered *John Cáceres* to remain in his Shirt, perhaps because his Linen was not so fine as was *Baltasar's*; then he drew their Bodies into the Market-place, and laid them at the foot of the Gallows, where I saw them about nine a Clock that night. It is reported that *Francisco Hernandez* did the next day reprove his Lawyer, for being so hasty in his execution of Justice, before he had communicated the matter first to him; but this was only a feigned pretence to gain esteem and credit with the People; but secretly he was pleased with it, observing the terror and consternation this action had operated in the minds of the People, for since they had not spared his Majesty's Accountant, nor one of his Captains in the late Wars, who had a revenue of fifty thousand Ducats a year, with a great command over *Indians*; what could others expect of less condition; whereupon all the Citizens submitted to them, esteeming their condition securest, who were already fled, and had made their escapes; but the Assassins grew more insolent and tyrannical than before.

C H A P. IV.

Francisco Hernandez names and appoints a Lieutenant General and Captains for his Army. Two Cities send Ambassadors to him. The number of Citizens that were fled to Rimac.

Hernandez having by this time assembled about an hundred and fifty Souldiers belonging to the City and the parts adjacent; he began to appoint Officers and Commanders; and named *Diego de Alvarado* his Lawyer to be his Lieutenant General, and *Thomas Vazquez*, *Francisco Nuñez*, and *Rodrigo de Pineda*, to be Captains of Horse. These two last, being Citizens, were much in favour, and kindly treated by Hernandez, ever since the beginning of the Rebellion; and to oblige and engage them the more, he conferred on them the Commands of Captains of Horse; which they accepted rather out of Fear than out of affection to his cause, or interest, or expectation of benefit, or honour from this preferment. His Captains of Foot were *John de Pedrabiza*, *Nunno Mendiola* and *Diego Gavilan*, *Alberros de Ordanua* was made Standard-bearer, and *Antonio Carrillo* Serjeant Major. So every one respectively repaired to his Charge and Command, to raise Souldiers for completing their Troops and Companies.

Their Ensigns and Colours were made very fine, with Inscriptions and *Mottos* on them all relating to Liberty, so that their Army named themselves, the Army of Liberty. The report of this Insurrection being noised and bruted abroad in general, without any particulars; it was believed, that all the City of *Cusco* had joined unanimously in the rebellion; on which supposition, the Cities of *Huamanga* and *Arequipa*, sent their Ambassadors to *Cusco*, desiring to be admitted into the League and Society with them, and to be received into the protection of the Metropolis and Head-city of the Empire, that so they might join together to represent their case to his Majesty, which was very burthenfome and oppressive by reason of those many grievous Ordinances which were daily sent them by the Judges. The Ambassador from *Arequipa* was called *Valdecabras*, with whom I was acquainted; though *Palentino* says he was a Friar called *Andrés de Talavera*, perhaps they might both be feat. He that was sent from *Huamanga* was called *Hernando del Tiemblo*; and both these Ambassadors were received by Hernandez. *Giron* with much kindness and respect, who began now to become proud of his cause and enterprise, which appeared so popular, that the whole Kingdom in a short time was ready to espouse and embrace it: and farther, to magnifie his Actions, he published abroad, that upon the News of what was acted at *Cusco*, the people

people of the *Charcas* following the example thereof, had killed the Marshal de *Alvarado*. But so soon as the Cities of *Huamanga* and *Arequipa* were rightly informed, that this Insurrection at *Cusco* was not raised by the Corporation, or by and with the consent and counsel of the whole City, but by the contrivance of a single person, who being conscious of his past Crimes, had raised this mutiny to secure himself from the punishment; and how few, and of what mean condition the Conspirators were; they altered their resolutions and opinions, and with joynt consent prepared themselves to serve his Majesty as others had done in *Cusco*, namely *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Antonio de Quinones*, *Diego de los Rios*, *Geronimo Cofilla* and *Garci Sanchez de Figueroa*, my Father's elder Brother, who, though he had no Estate given him, was yet an old Souldier, and one who well deserved of the Country: these five Gentlemen escaped out of *Cusco* on the same night of the Rebellion, the others which we shall name, fled, three, four, or five nights afterwards, as opportunity presented: so *Basco de Guevara* a Citizen, and the two *Escobalcetes*, his Kinsmen, escaped the second night. *Alonso de Hinojosa*, and *John de Pancorvo*, fled the fourth night; and *Alonso de Mesa* the fifth night, having stayed to conceal and secure his Silver, which the Rebels afterwards discovered and converted to their own use, as we shall relate hereafter. My Master *Garcilasso* and his Companions, proceeding on their journey, met with *Pero Lopez de Casalla* about nine leagues distant from the City, where he lived upon his own Estate, of whom we have made mention in the Ninth Book of the First Part of this History Chap. 26. and with him was his Brother *Sebastian de Castilla*; who being informed how matters had passed at *Cusco*, they resolved to accompany these other Gentlemen for the service of his Majesty: The Wife of *Pero de Lopez*, called *Donna Francisca de Cumniga*, was of noble descent, very handsome, virtuous and discreet, was unwilling to be left behind, but desirous to accompany her Husband in that journey: And though she was a tender Woman, and of a weak constitution of Body, yet she adventured to ride alone with a Side-saddle on a Mule; and passed all the bad ways, endured all the fatigues, and held out as well as any one in the company. And every night, when they came to their Lodging, she took care to provide Supper and Break-fast next morning, with help of the *Indians*, and directed the *Indian* Women in what manner to dress the Victuals: all which I have heard those who kept her company, discourse concerning this famous Lady.

These Gentlemen proceeding on their journey, and being come to *Curapampa* about twenty leagues from the City, they met *Hernan Bravo de Laguna*, and *Gaspardo de Sotelo* Citizens thereof, who had some Lands and *Indians* in vassalage in those parts; to whom having given a report of what had passed at *Cusco*, they resolved to accompany with them, as did many other Planters and Souldiers, whom they met on the way, untill they came to *Huamanga*; the Inhabitants of which City did wonder much to see so many principal persons and men of quality there; whose presence confirmed them in their first resolution to serve his Majesty in union with personages of so much honour as these; so as many as could go at that time went, and were followed by others, as their conveniences served.

But to look a little backwards, we forgot to say, that when my Master *Garcilasso* and his Companions passed the Bridge at *Apurimac*, they considered that many people out of *Cusco* and other parts, were likely to follow them in service of his Majesty, and therefore it would not be fit to hinder their passage by burning the Bridge, for that were to deliver them into the hands of the Rebels: wherefore they agreed to order two men to remain for Guards at the Bridge, and to suffer all persons to pass who should come thither within the space of five or six days, and then to set fire to it; whereby they should travel more securely and free of fear from pursuits of the enemy: which was accordingly performed, so that those who came within the space of those days found a passage contrary to expectation, for they feared much that they should find the Bridge burnt by the first who passed. Other Citizens of *Cusco* went to *Los Reyes* by other Roads; for it happened that many of them at that season of the year were at their Houses and Plantations with their *Indians*, namely, *John Julio de Hojeda*, *Pedro de Orne*, *Martin de Arbieta*, *Rodrigo de Esquivel*; all which passing by the Plantation of *Don Pedro de Cabrera* took him with them, and travelled all together to *Los Reyes*.

C H A P. V.

Letters are written to the chief Rebel, and the Governour is banished out of Cozco.

Palentino, in the twenty fifth Chapter of his Book, coming to touch upon this passage, faith, as follows:

About this time *Michael de Villafuerte* arrived at *Cozco*, with credential Letters directed to *Francisco Hernandez*, from *Pedro Lewis de Cabrera*, who was then at *Cotabamba* with some Souldiers and intimate Friends when the Insurrection was first made; and with them also were *Hernando Guillada*, and *Diego Mendez*, who were engaged in the Rebellion of *Sebastian de Castilla*: the Letters were to this effect: That since it was not the fortune of *Don Pedro* to have been the first in this Insurrection, but that *Francisco Hernandez* had got the start of him, and preceded him by four days time, he desired him to prosecute his design, and endeavour to obtain a general address from the people, supplicating him to take upon him the sole administration of the whole Kingdom: That he for his part, had already set up his Standard in his name, and was marching towards *Los Reyes*, with intention to force the Court of Justice to nominate him for Captain-General; and that so soon as he was invested in that charge, he would then advise him to seize on the Judges and send them into Spain. This Letter was seconded by another from *Don Pedro* to *Hernandez*, sent by the Son of *Gomez de Tordoya*, giving him to understand, that he was certainly informed, that *Garcilasso de la Vega*, *Antonio Quinones*, and others who were gone to *Los Reyes*, had no intent to favour their Cause; for though they designed to joyn with *Don Pedro* in the Rebellion, yet when they found that he (that is *Hernandez*) had anticipated the matter, and was the first in the Plot, they then fell off from farther prosecution thereof; And that this was his design plainly appears; for when he first went from his Plantation, he caused Mass to be said, which being ended, he made Oath upon the Altar, in hearing of the people, that he was going to *Lima* with no other intent or purpose than to seize on the Judges and to Ship them away for Spain. But *Francisco Hernandez*, knowing *Don Pedro* to be a subtle and a double-hearted man, considered all these stories to be fictions of his own, whereby the better to secure himself, and without any opposition to pass over together with his Souldiers to the other party: wherefore, having taken away the staff of Justice from the Governour *Gil Ramirez*, he committed him to the custody of *John de Piedrahita*, with orders to convey him with a Guard of Musquetiers out of the City of *Cozco*, and conduct him twenty leagues on his way towards *Los Reyes*, which was accordingly done, without taking any thing from him: Moreover Instructions were given to *Piedrahita* to find out *Don Pedro* and tell him, that he should not need to go to *Lima*, but rather to doe him the favour to come to *Cozco*: which if *Don Pedro* should refuse to doe, he then required him to seize on him and bring him thither in safe custody: but *Don Pedro* being too far advanced before, *Piedrahita* could not overtake him, and therefore returned back to *Cozco* without effect, &c. Thus far that Authour.

But because those matters are not set down methodically as they passed, we shall describe them more orderly, and shew every passage, as it succeeded, and by what way *Piedrahita* guided the Governour: now as to *Don Pedro de Cabrera*, his circumstances were such as not to stand in need of any correspondence with *Francisco Hernandez*, nor did he ever intend or design any such thing, being a person who both in Mind and Body was unfit for War; for he was the most corpulent man that ever I saw; and with such a Belly, that, as I remember two years after the Battel of *Sasibwana*, a Tailour, who was a Negroe, and a Slave to my Father, but a very good Workman, made a Doublet for him of Cordovan with a Gold Fringe, which being almost finished, three other knavish Boys like my self about ten or eleven years old, came into the Chamber where the Tailour was at work, and finding this Doublet on the Shop-board, bordered with a Silk Gallow, we looked on it, and seeing it so wide, we all covered our selves within it, and still there was room for another of our size and bigness. And having so great a Belly

a Belly he could not ride on a Gennet's Saddle, which hath a high Pommel before, but as his occasion served he rode on a Mule, with a Saddle low before, used for racing; though his bulk was so burthenome that he never engaged himself in exercises of Activity. And though in the Wars against *Gonzalo Pigarro* he had the command of a Troop of Horse, it was given him as a reward for being instrumental in surrender of the Fleet unto the President, and with it, after the War was ended, he was farther gratified with a good allotment of Lands with vassalage of *Indians* thereunto belonging, as we have before mentioned: then as to his humour and manners, he was the most luxurious man in his diet, and the greatest glutton that ever was known; he was very pleasant and facetious in his conversation; he would tell such comical stories, all of his own making, as were very delightful; and, for want of better company, he would put jests and tricks upon his Pages, Lackeys and Slaves, and entertain himself with laughing at them: I could here recount many of his Jest, but let that of his Doublet pass for all, it not being fit to intermix too many of these trivial matters with others of more serious and weighty importance. His House was near to my Father's, and there was some kindred and alliance between them; for the Mother of my Lady *Donna Elena de Figueroa*, was of the House of *Feria*, so that there was great intercourse between the two Houses, and they always called me Nephew: and afterwards in the year 1621, when we were at *Madrid*, and there occasionally discoursing of the death of this *Don Pedro*, we repeated and called to mind many of these particulars: which will serve to shew how improbable it was that this *Don Pedro*, who lived in all the plenty, ease and prosperity that his heart could desire, should turn Rebel, and engage in the desperate Cause of *Hernandez Giron*; for he for the most of the year lived in the Countrey with his *Indians*, and half a dozen good fellows with him, being merry without thoughts of State matter, or black designs of Rebellion: so that his whole design of sending these messengers was only to be truly informed of all particulars relating to this Rebellion of *Hernandez*, how many, and who were the Citizens that were fled, and who were those who remained, and sided with the factious party. For he and his Companions being resolved to go to *Los Reyes*, they thought it necessary to inform themselves of all things at *Cozco*, so as to give a distinct account and not in a confused blind manner, both on the way and at *Los Reyes* when they arrived there: and to take off all suspicion from the messengers which he sent to *Hernandez*, he gave them Letters of credence, that he might permit them to return with the answer. Then as to the Road towards *Los Reyes*, *Don Pedro* had well secured it; for *Don Pedro's* place of residence, was seated fifteen leagues on the way from *Cozco* to *Los Reyes*, the River *Apurimac* being between; of which when the Bridge was burnt, it cut off all passage from the enemy: and thus *Don Pedro* and his Companions, having received information of all they desired, travelled securely to *Los Reyes*, and laughed at the Rebels.

The Orders given by *Hernandez* to *John Piedrahita*, were to conduct the Governour *Gil Ramirez de Avalos* with six Musquetiers, not by the way of *Lima*, which is Northward, but by the way of *Arequipa*, which is to the South; with farther Instructions that when he had brought him at the distance of forty leagues from the City, that he should then leave him at liberty, and suffer him to take his own course and way as he pleased: but this journey of *Piedrahita* was not made within the time of the first eight or ten days after the Insurrection, but forty days afterwards. And the cause why the Governour was sent by the way of *Arequipa*, and not by the direct way, was to prolong his journey to *Los Reyes*, and make him to miss the company of those Citizens who were going to *Rimac*. By all which it appears, that the relations given to *Diego Hernandez* of these matters, were as the vulgar sort report them to be, who always speak with variety, and as they fantasie and desire things to be; but what I have here said, I know to be true, both having seen them, and heard them from undoubted witnesses.

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CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Francisco Hernandez causes himself to be chosen Captain, and Procurator-General of the whole Empire. The Judges appoint Officers for their Army, and the Marshal doth the like.

Fifteen days were now past since the Rebellion first began, when Hernandez finding himself strengthened with a number of Souldiers, and dreaded by all, for the cruelty he had executed on *Don Baltazar de Castilla*, he thought it now time to fortify his authority (as he foolishly imagined) with some specious name and title, which might found great in the ears of the people, who seeing him owned by the City which was the *Metropolis* of the Empire, might be more easily induced to follow his cause and designs, which he knew not himself what they were, or what they were likely to prove. To this end he summoned a general Assembly of the whole City, at which were present twenty five Citizens and Lords of *Indians*, as *Diego Hernandez* counted them, and I was acquainted with them all; amongst which there was but one head Constable, and two Justices, and none of the others had any Office or right to sit in that Assembly. The Court being set, he acquainted them, that the reason he had to call them together, was to lay before them the frequent Orders and Commands sent from the Justices to the great damage and prejudice of the people, to free them from which, he proposed to them, as the best expedient, to elect him for Procurator-General of the whole Empire, and to authorise him in their names humbly to petition and supplicate his Majesty to take off such aggressions as they should judge most oppressive; and to enable him farther in this Office, that they would elect him for Captain-General, and chief Justiciary of that City and of the whole Kingdom, to protect and govern them in War and Peace. All which was granted to him without any scruple or demurr; more out of fear (as Children say) than shame or love, being over-awed by a Band of about an hundred and fifty Souldiers commanded by two Captains, called *Diego Gavilan* and *Nunno Mediola*, who were drawn up in the Market-place at the door of the *Tholsey*, where the Council was assembled. So soon as the Court was risen, Proclamation was made of the Power and Authority which was given to *Francisco Hernandez*; with which not being fully satisfied, he forced the Citizens and Inhabitants to declare themselves well contented with all his actions, and that what they acted was by their own free will and consent without any force or compulsion upon them. Whilst things were thus acting in *Cusco*, the news and intelligence thereof was carried to *Los Reyes*, which the Judges would not believe at first; conceiving it to be a stratageme of the Messenger, who was a great Friend, and as they say, Foster Brother with *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, to try how the people would take it, and to see how they stood affected to his cause and interest: and upon this belief they apprehended *Hernando Chacon*, being the person who brought the news, which when they found verified and confirmed from other hands and places, they then set him again at liberty; and thought it time to provide for War, and to make choice of Officers and Commanders of their Army: We cannot here specify the names of them particularly, because many of them refused the Commands which were offered to them, esteeming them inferior to their worth and dignities, who deserved to be Generals and to command in Chief: wherefore we will pass over these Elections for the present, and onely say, that all was carried on with heat and faction, as is usual in tumultuous meetings, where every one commands and rules: by this time also news of the Rebellion raised by *Hernandez* was come to *Potosi*, where the Marshal *Alonso de Alvarado* was actually employed in doing justice upon Offenders guilty of the Murder of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, and Conspirators with *Don Sebastian de Castilla*: but so soon as this news came, a stop was given to farther prosecution of those who deserved death as well as those against whom Sentence was already given: and instead of punishment, it was thought fit to convert all into clemency and pardon, which tended much to the quiet of the people,

people, who were greatly troubled and scandalized to see such daily effusions of blood and slaughters amongst their friends and acquaintance: Hereupon such as were condemned had their reprieves granted, and by way of punishment were to serve his Majesty at their own cost and charges: amongst these was a certain Souldier called — *de Bilbao*, whom a friend of his seeing at liberty, congratulated with him for the safety of his life and freedom, telling him that he was obliged to return thanks to Almighty God for this great deliverance: to which the Souldier made answer, and said, that he rendered thanks to his Divine Majesty, and to St. Peter; and to St. Paul, and to St. *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, by whose merits and means he had been saved, and that he could not do less in acknowledgment thereof than to go and serve him, the which he accordingly did, as we shall see hereafter.

Besides this Souldier above forty more were delivered out of prison most of which would have been sentenced to dye, and others at least condemned to row in the Gallies, which was the best they could expect; but those Citizens and Souldiers who were not so deeply concerned as others, the Marshal was pleased to set at Liberty without any farther process, but these prisoners refused to accept thereof, but to be brought to their Tryal, as *Valentino* saith, Chapter the fortieth, in these words.

Some of the Prisoners understanding that they were to be set at liberty without tryal, refused to accept thereof without a sentence in their cause, because they became liable thereby to be taken up again and punished when the Judges or their Enemies were desirous to accuse them: wherefore, to make dispatch in this matter, he fined *Gomez de Salis* in five hundred pieces of Eight, to be paid as Fees to his Keeper and Guards: *Martin de Alendras* had the like Fine, as also *Martin de Robley*; others were condemned in two hundred, a hundred, fifty and twenty pieces of Eight, proportioning the Fine according to the ability of the person, rather than to the degree and quality of his Crime. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*.

Moreover the Marshal gave order to provide Arms, and to make Pikes in those Provinces, where wood was plenty, and to make Powder in case necessity should require. Some few days afterwards came two Commands from the Justices, the one suspending the execution of the Decrees formerly made for freeing the *Indians* from their personal services, which was to last for the space of two years, and to take off many other things which caused great Commotions and Disturbances amongst the Inhabitants and Souldiers of that Empire, and had been (as the Governours well knew) the spring and original of those rebellions, mutinies and factions which raged in the minds of the people, the other Command was a Commission constituting the Marshal Captain General of the Forces raised against *Francisco Hernandez*, and with an unlimited power to expend his Majesty's Treasure in this War, as far as occasion should require, and to borrow or take up money, in case the Exchequer should fail. By virtue hereof the Marshal appointed Captains both of Horse and Foot, besides other Officers whom we shall name hereafter. He designed to make *Gomez de Alvarado* his Lieutenant General, but he refused it, because another Gentleman who was brother to the Marshal's Wife, pretended thereunto, called *Don Martin de Avendanno*, for whom the Wife made great instance; and as it were compelled her Husband, much against his own inclinations, to confer it upon him; and though he was a young man, and of little or no experience, he descended thereunto rather than to raise War in his own Family. He also dispatched Warrants and Orders to the *Curacas* to gather what provisions they were able, and to appoint eight or nine thousand *Indians* to carry the baggage of the Army. He sent also into several parts to raise Men, Horse and Arms, and to take up all the Slaves they could find. And here we will leave them in these Preparations to see what becomes of *Francisco Hernandez*, and what he is acting, and carry on the business of both Parties, as the method of History requires. Whilst these things were in agitation in the City of *Los Reyes* and *Potosi*, *Hernandez* was not negligent of what concerned his interest, but ordered *Thomas Vazquez* with a Squadron of about fifty Souldiers well armed to march to the City of *Arequipa*, and in his name to take the possession thereof, and to treat peaceably with the Citizens, letting them know, that the Corporation of *Cusco* had made choice of him to be Captain General and chief Justiciary of all the Kingdom. In like manner he sent *Francisco Nunnez*, a Citizen of *Cusco*, to *Huamanga*, whom he had enticed by fair and flattering promises and with the Command of a Troop of Horse, to be of his Party;

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Party, though in truth fear, rather than all his favours, induced him thereunto; and with him *Joh. Gavilan* was sent with forty other Souldiers, whole Orders and Instructions were the same with those of *Thomas Vazquez*; and that moreover, they should tell the City, that though they had assured him already by their Ambassadors, that they would join and correspond with him, in all his designs, yet for farther confirmation thereof, he required them to call a *cabildo*, to ratify their former engagement, and to own and acknowledge him in that sphere and station wherein he acted. The truth is, *Hernandez* sent, and employed these two Captains out of a design to give reputation to his cause by the specious colour of union between him and two Cities, rather than from any expectation he had of bringing them over to his side and party: for he was not ignorant that they had already retracted their former assurances, and repented of the Offers they formerly made him. Besides the Commissions and Instructions given to these Captains, he delivered letters to them for particular persons, who were men of power and interest in their Countrey, also Letters from himself, and from the City of *Cusco* to the Corporations of those Cities, desiring them to join with them in this cause, which was for the common good and welfare of the whole Empire: He also caused the City of *Cusco* to write unto the City of *Plata* in the same manner, and to the same effect, as to the other Cities: and *Hernandez* himself wrote Letters to many Planters in the *Charcas*, and to the Marhal *Alonso de Alvarado* and to his Wife *Dona Anna de Velasco*, the substance and Contents of which was so ridiculous, as served onely for sport, and laughter; and were not thought worthy of an Answer. He that hath the Curiosity to read them, may find them in the History of *Diego de Hernandez*, Chap. 27.

CHAP. VII.

The Justices nominate Officers for the War. The several Pretenders to the Command of Captain General. Francisco Hernandez leaves Cozco, and marches against the Justices.

NEWS coming to *Los Reyes*, that *Francisco Hernandez* increased daily in men, reputation and authority, the Justices thought it time to appoint their Captains and Officers for the War. *Pauco de Meneses* was named for Lieutenant General, and *Don Antonio de Ribera*, *Diego de Moia*, *Melchior Verdugo*, a Knight of the habit of St. James, and *Don Pedro de Cabrera* were made Captains of Horse; but the two last refused this Preferment, as too mean for men who had so good an opinion of themselves, as to believe they deserved to be made Generals of Armies greater than this. The Captains of Foot were *Rodrigo Nimmo*, once condemned to the Gallies; *Lewis de Avalos*, *Diego Lopez de Cenniga*, *Lope Martin Lustiano*, *Antonio de Luxan*, and *Baltazar Felsaquez*, who in the last rebellion of *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, escaped from the Justice of the Marhal *Alonso de Alvarado*; as hath been already mentioned. *Lope de Guano* was made Standard-bearer General; and the Command of Horse refused by *Melchior Verdugo* was bestowed upon *Pedro de Carate*; And *Alonso de Carate*, a Citizen of *Arequipa*, was also made Captain of Horse. *Francisco de Pinna* was made Serjeant Major, and *Nicholas de Ribera Junior*, was made Captain of the Guards to the Justices, with Title of Captain of the Guard to the Royal Seal, which was, as *Valentino* saith, to disguise the Presumption of raising a Guard for themselves. But when they came to make choice of a Captain General, a great Tumult and Sedition arose by three Pretenders, who were all men of Estates and Interest, and each abetted by a considerable Party. The Persons in nomination were, *Santillan*, one of his Majesty's Justices, who had the best reputation of them all, and was allied to many of the Nobility who had gained the Empire, and who appeared in favour

of his Election. The second who pretended thereunto was the Arch-bishop of *Los Reyes* called *Don Geronimo de Loaysa*: but what reason should incite this religious Person, who was of the Order of Preachers and Archbishop in the Church of God, to be General of an Army against Christians is not known; though Souldiers took the Boldness to assign the cause thereof to Ambition and Vanity of a Prelate, whose duty it was to remain in his Church, praying for the Peace of those Christians; and for the Conversion of Infidels, by preaching the Gospel, rather than to appear a Fomentor of the civil War. The third Pretender was *Don Saravia*, one of his Majesty's Justices of the same Tribunal; who, though he was sufficiently assured, that he was never likely to carry his pretension; yet out of opposition to *Santillan*, and from a spirit of Emulation, he was resolved to appear against him, and finding his Party too weak then to join them with that of the Archbishop's. In this suspense matters remained for several days, without any determination: untill atlength the Electors finding that time was lost in these quarrels, to the hindrance of affairs and to the weakening of the authority of the Army, they agreed as the best expedient to gratifie both parties, to make choice of two Generals; namely, *Santillan*, and the Archbishop of *Los Reyes*, supposing thereby to have satisfied the desires of Doctour *Saravia* and his Party. Whilst these things were in agitation News was brought to the Justices and Leaders from the Citizens of *Cusco*, giving an account of the numbers and qualities of the persons who were gone from thence to serve his Majesty. But such was the jealousy and suspicion which the Justices entertained of every person and action in that rebellion, that they even mistrusted each other and much more the advices and Intelligence which came from the quarters of the rebellious party: wherefore they sent them word not to advance nearer to *Los Reyes* untill farther order. But no sooner had they dispatched away the Messenger with this Command, than they discovered their own Ennour, and began to consider how prejudicial it might prove to the service of his Majesty to reject and refuse admision to such principal persons who were coming to their Party, and had chosen to abandon their Houses, Wives and Children, rather than to remain in the power and at the disposal of the Rebels: wherefore they instantly dispatched away another Messenger, with a kind invitation to them, signifying in the most obliging terms how acceptable their coming would be to the City; and, encharged the messenger to make such speed, as to overtake the former, and require of him his dispatches which he was to stifle, that nothing of the Contents thereof might be known; which being performed accordingly, the Citizens of *Cusco* arrived at *Los Reyes* where they were received with all the kindness and respect imaginable.

The Election of Captains and Generals being at length made and agreed, Orders were sent by the Judges to all the Cities of the Empire, giving them to understand that *Hernandez Giron* was in actual rebellion, to suppress which it was their duty to arme themselves, and appear for service of his Majesty: And a List was sent of the Names of all the Captains who were to command Horse and Foot in the several Plantations. Moreover Proclamation was every where made of General Pardon to all those who had been engaged in the late Wars with *Gonzalo Pizarro* or *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, provided that within such a time, they came in for Service of his Majesty. For it was well known, that many of those people had concealed themselves amongst the Indians, not daring to shew themselves in the Spanish Plantations. It was farther thought necessary to secure the Seas, for which Service *Lope Martin* was appointed to embark on a *Galeon*, then in Port with forty Souldiers, and to fit and equippe what other Ships he could provide; *Lope Martin* accordingly acted, but his Command lasted not above eight days, for he was too passionate and choleric for such a charge, which required a person of a more phlegmatick constitution and better temper. Wherefore *Geronimo de Silva* was put into his place, which he executed like a Gentleman and a Souldier well experienced in affairs both by Sea and Land; and *Lope Martin* returned to his command of a Foot-company, where we will leave him, to declare the things were acting by *Hernandez Giron*.

Who now perceiving himself strong in men, and in the increase of his forces to the number of four hundred, who were come to him, from divers parts, besides those he had sent to *Huamaca* and *Arequipa* he resolved to march towards the City of *Los Reyes*, to fight the Army of the Justices, as he called it: meaning that his Army was the Royal Army, and raised for service of his Majesty.

And

And though he had above four hundred men with him, well clothed, armed and mounted; yet it troubled him to observe, that he was not backed and seconded by the concurrence and authority of the several Cities, Towns and Villages, for whose interest, safety and honour, he pretended to have raised that War: But before he resolved on his march to *Los Reyes*, he was considering with himself, whether it were not better to proceed first against the Marshal, whose party he looked upon to be weakest and ill affected to him, by reason of the great rigour, cruelty and severity he had lately exercised, to the great scandal and displeasure of all sides and parties, whom he had in some way or other disoblged by the death of their friends, kindred or relations. Upon which ground many persons, skilfull both in the affairs of War, and the circumstances of those times, were of opinion, that in case *Hernandez* had in the first place attacked the Marshal, it had succeeded better for him, in regard the best Governour in the World cannot rely on a discontented people the which *Palentino* confirms, Chap. 60. in these words.

It was the misfortune of *Hernandez*, that he did not proceed first to *Potosi* rather than to *Lima*; for certainly, had he bent his course against the Marshal, he had in all probability subjected those Provinces, and conserved his men, who would never have gon over to one so generally hated and abhorred by them, as was the Marshal; though they did revolt afterwards when they came to *Lima*. Nor was it believed, that the Marshal's men would have resisted or fought, nor indeed were they provided for it, because the Marshal had so many Enemies about him, that all preparations for War moved slowly. Thus far this Authour.

But God, who governs all things, would not permit *Hernandez* to take that course, which was best for him, for then the evils and miseries he would have brought upon the people had been irreparable: but being infatuated he resolved on a March to *Lima*, as History relates, leaving *Alvarado* the Lawyer his Lieutenant General in the City, and to bring up the remainder of the forces, because they could not all go out together: but before *Hernandez* left *Cusco*, he very generously declared, that he was willing to dismiss or discharge any person who was desirous to remain behind, and rather stay at home, than adventure on that enterprise: the which offer he made upon consideration that pressed or forced men could never be good and fast friends, or such as he could rely upon in times of necessity; especially if such were Citizens and men of Estates, who would draw many after them in case of revolt. One he importuned and almost forced *Diego de Silva* to accompany the Army, presuming that his presence carried authority, and would much animate and confirm the Souldiery. *Diego de Silva* complied accordingly, rather out of fear than Love, as appears in that the first opportunity he forsook his Party, and fled to the enemy, as we shall see hereafter. So that now *Hernandez* had procured six friends, who accompanied him out of *Cusco*, three of which were *Thomas Vazquez*, *John de Piedrahita* and *Aloño Diaz*, who were all engaged with him in the night of the rebellion; but the other three, who were *Francisco Nunnez*, *Rodrigo de Pineda*, and *Diego de Silva* he obliged, and engaged to him afterwards by fair words and promises, and by preferments and offices, the first to be Captain of Horse, and the second of Foot. Eight days after *Hernandez* was marched out of *Cusco*, he was followed by his Lieutenant General with 200 Souldiers more; amongst which were 20 conducted thither some few days before, by *Francisco de Hinojosa*, who brought them from *Contisuyo*: for the truth is, all those who went under the name of Souldiers, followed the Party of *Hernandez Giron*, whom they esteemed their Protectour against the rigorous Decrees and Edicts of the Justices, which were daily promulged, and published to the damage and prejudice of the Souldiery. Besides this *Hinojosa*, came another Souldier from the parts of *Arequipa*, called *John de Vera de Mendoza*, who had been formerly of the King's party; he was young, and a Gentleman, and very ambitious of the honour to be a Captain; which being refused to him by the King's Ministers because of his youth; he came over to *Hernandez Giron* with a companion of his called *Mateo Sanchez*, whom he named his Ensign, and both arrived at *Cusco* some few days before the departure of *Hernandez* from thence; and to obtain this preferment for himself and his Comrade by the grace and favour of the General, they came together into the Town, *Mateo Sanchez* carrying a Towel on a Staff, in resemblance of his Colours, which he as Ensign was to carry. But what was the Event of these matters we shall see in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

John de Vera de Mendoza revolts from Francisco Hernandez. The People of Cuzco go to seek out for the Marshal. Sancho Duarte raises Men, and calls himself General of them. He is reproved by the Marshal. Francisco Hernandez comes to Huamanca. The Scouts of the two Camps meet.

A *Lvarado* the Lieutenant overtook his General about eight leagues from the City of *Cusco*, where he stayed until he came up to him; and then they all in a Body passed the River *Apurimac*, and before night marched two leagues beyond it: but were four days in passing the Bridge with their Men, Horses, Ammunition and Provisions. During which time *John de Vera de Mendoza* considering that he had been already fifteen days in the Army, and no preferment given him, nor confirmation of the title of Captain, which he so passionately desired, he resolved to leave *Hernandez* and return to the King's party, which appeared more like a Farse in a Comedy than the action of a Souldiery, and for such we have inserted it in this place. *John de Vera* agreed upon this design with four other young Souldiers like himself, who with his Ensign made fix in all; and they that night passed the Bridge and afterwards burnt it, to prevent any pursuit which might be made after them. And entering into *Cusco* the night following, they founded an alarm, which put all the City into a consternation and tumult, fearing lest the Rebels were returned with intention to doe them farther mischief, so that none durst stir abroad, or put his head out of doors that night. But so soon as it was day, being better informed, that it was onely Captain *John de Vera* and his Followers, who still carried his Colours flying, the Citizens went out to him, and agreed to go with him to find out the Marshal, who they knew, and were well assured, was fortified with a strong Army: *John de Saavedra* a principal Citizen was made their Chief; and *John de Vera de Mendoza* would not be put by his Captain-ship, nor march under any Banner but his own, and though he came to the place where the Marshal was, he had neither the fortune to better his Colours nor advance his Title, but passed for a Boy more forward and confident than discreet. Those at *Cusco*, who met and agreed upon this design, were about forty in number, fifteen of which were Citizens who had command over Indians, the rest were Merchants and Officers whom the Rebels had left behind as useles persons: and these, such as they were, travelled towards *Collao*, where the Marshal *Aloño de Alvarado* kept his head Quarters: who having understood that many of the Citizens of *Cusco* were coming in search of him, he sent them Advice and Orders by no means to pass out of the limits of his Jurisdiction, but rather to expect him there, for that he was moving on the way to meet them.

Sancho Duarte, who was then Governour of the City of *Peace*, raised Souldiers for the Service of his Majesty, and setting up his Standard, marched towards *Cusco* with above two hundred men divided into two Companies, one of Foot commanded by Captain *Martin de Olmos*, and the other of Horse of which he called himself Commander with title of General. Being come to the Bridge where the River empties it self, he staid there some few days, and having there received intelligence that *Francisco Hernandez* was departed from *Cusco*, and was on his march towards *Los Reyes*, he continued his way towards *Cusco* in pursuit of *Francisco Hernandez*; for he, as the humour was at that time, desiring to command and not to be commanded, avoided joyning with the Marshal, that he might not be his Souldier, or fall under his Banner: which when the Marshal understood, he sent him two Commands: the first was a Letter requiring him to return within the limits of his Jurisdiction, and to expect his coming thither: for that it was not to the service of his Majesty to have so many small Armies disjoined from each other: with this Letter he gave another more positive Command to the Messenger in a different

different style, subscribed Captain-General, directing more magisterially, than in case *Sancho Duarte* should not comply with every point commanded in the Letter, that he should certify the same back to him: but *Sancho Duarte* upon these summons became very tractable, and returned again within the limits prescribed him, though before such summons he seemed to set up for himself, and in an arbitrary manner to follow his own humour and pretensions.

And here we shall leave him and see what *Hernandez Giron* is doing whom we lately left in *Apurimac*: *Giron*, proceeding on his way, understood in *Ahuaylla* that all the Souldiers and Citizens of *Huamanga* had declared themselves for the King's party, and that *John Alonso de Badajoz*, who had called himself Lieutenant-General of those Companies, was joyned with those few Souldiers which *Francisco Nunez* had raised in *Cusco*, and were gone together unto *Huamanga*: which *Hernandez* much resented, and complained thereof to his Friends, wondering that the Cities who at first had owned his cause and approved his proceedings, should with so much facility abandon him and disown his actions. Howsoever he proceeded on his march to the River *Vilca*, where his Scouts discovered several of his Majesty's Army: for that the Justices being informed that *Hernandez* was marching against them, gave orders to Captain *Lope Martin* to advance with a party of thirty Souldiers to inform them of the enemy, and of the place where they were quartered, and with all speed to return with the advice; accordingly *Lope Martin* proceeded, and having discovered the enemy, gave an account of their condition and place where they lodged. But *Francisco Hernandez* proceeded on his march to the City of *Huamanga*, where he staid in expectation of *Thomas Vazquez*, for when he sent him to *Arequipa*, he told him, that he would not pass that City until his return. *Vazquez*, having made but one days stay at *Arequipa*, marched thence by way of the coast, until he overtook *Francisco Hernandez*, for he found that he had little to do there; for though that City, upon false reports and misrepresentation of things, had understood, that the City of *Cusco* had unanimously concurred to chuse *Hernandez* for their Procurator-General, to represent the case and state of their grievances to his Majesty, and to lay them before the Lords Justices, they then sent their Ambassadors to *Cusco* (as we have said) to signify their concurrence with them: but when they rightly understood, that all this Insurrection was nothing but the Rebellion of a few desperate men, they then were ashamed of their message; and the whole City declared themselves resolved to spend their lives and fortunes in the service of his Majesty, so that *Thomas Vazquez*, finding none with whom to treat, returned without effecting any business; but that it might not be said but he had done something, he killed *Martin de Lezcano* upon the way, who had been his great Friend and old Comrade, to be before-hand with him, and to prevent his killing him; for he suspected that he had a design to declare for his Majesty. He also hanged up another Souldier of good esteem and note, called *Alonso de Mur*, because he fancied that he had a mind to escape, having received both Horfe, and Arms, and Money from *Hernandez*: when *Hernandez* heard that *Vazquez* was near the City, he went forth to meet him with his own Equipage and Retinue, and they entred both together without much order or ceremony; which was so contrived not to shew the small numbers which *Vazquez* brought with him. Captain *Francisco Nunez*, who came out of *Cusco* with forty Souldiers, with design to take possession of *Huamanga*, and to perform all other things which he was commanded to do, found matters there in the same posture that *Vazquez* had done at *Arequipa*; that is, that all the Inhabitants were fled and gone to the service of his Majesty; onely *John Alonso de Badajoz*, and *Sancho de Tudela*, an old fellow of eighty six years of age remained behind, who followed the fortune of *Hernandez* until the end of his Tyranny and Rebellion, and then he was killed amongst the rest.

With these two and some few Souldiers more *Francisco Nunez* went forth to receive their General, whom they found much out of humour to find those who at the first seemed to abett his cause and his interest, now to deny and revolt from him: but to comfort and cheer him up a little, two Souldiers of good esteem and note, belonging to *Lope Martin*, revolted to him, one of which was afterwards made Ensign-bearer to his Lieutenant-General the Lawyer *Alvarado*; by whom he was fully informed of the state of the Camp which appeared for his Majesty. After which he marched out of *Huamanga* with above seven hundred Souldiers, towards the Valley of *Sausa*, from whence he sent two Captains with their Squadrons

into divers parts; one of which was *John de Piedrabita* with sixty Souldiers, and the other was *Salvador de Logana* with forty others. From his Majesty's Camp *Geronimo de Cofilla*, a Citizen of *Cusco*, was ordered with twenty five Souldiers to scour the Countrey, and discover the enemies quarters; It was his fortune to take that way by which *John de Piedrabita* was coming; but having intelligence that he was not above four leagues distant, and that he was sixty men strong, he made his retreat, not being able to engage with so great a number. But on the other side *Piedrabita* having advice from the Indians (who as we have said are Spies for both parties) that *Geronimo Cofilla* was not far from him, he marched in the night towards him, and by break of day beat up his Quarters, where, surprizing him unawares, he routed him, and took three prisoners, and therewith returned to the Army.

CHAP. IX.

Three of the King's Captains take a Captain and forty Souldiers belonging to the Rebels: they deliver them up to one of the Justices. Francisco Hernandez finding many of his Souldiers to revolt from him, resolves to engage the Royal Army.

According to the successes of War, which are always various and doubtful, it was the fortune of *Geronimo de Cofilla* in his retreat to meet with *Geronimo de Silva*, whom the Justices had sent after him with some recruits; and being fearful that *Hernandez* was drawing towards them with his whole Army, they both judged fit to retreat, and in the way it was their chance to take an Indian who was a domestick Servant to Captain *Salvador de Logana*; to whom they put divers questions, and forced him to confels in what place his Master was, and what number of people he had with him: of which they sent advice to the Judges, and desired a sufficient recruit of Men to surprize and take them. The Justices immediately upon this notice dispatched away *Lope Martin* with sixty men more for their assistance, who joyning with *Geronimo de Cofilla*, and *Geronimo de Silva*, so well managed their business, that though the enemy were good Souldiers, and well armed with Fire-locks, and had posted themselves in a fast place, yet upon promise of pardon for all their past offences to his Majesty they submitted and surrendered themselves, and came quietly out of their Fort, suffering themselves all to be taken, except one man, who made his escape to carry the news thereof to *Francisco Hernandez*, who was greatly troubled thereat, because he confided much in *Logana* and his Souldiers, who were the best and choicest men that he had in all his Army. The prisoners being carried to the King's Camp, the Justices would have hanged them all, but that the Souldiers began to mutiny, protesting that they would never more make excursions into the Countrey, nor act farther against the enemy, in case these men were executed; for that might provoke the contrary party to return them the like, and oblige the Souldiery to act on both sides in a desperate manner: the Captains also took up the matter in favour of their Souldiers, and petitioned the Court of Justice to moderate the Sentence: who thereupon to put them out of sight and view of the Army, sent *Logana* and his Souldiers to *Alamirano* his Majesty's Judge Advocate at Sea, to dispose of them as he thought fit; who by virtue of that Warrant hanged up *Logana* and other two of the most culpable amongst them, and banished all the rest out of the Kingdom.

Though this loss of Captain *Logana* and his Souldiers very much troubled and afflicted *Hernandez*, yet, not to shew himself dismayed, he proceeded forward with his Army, depending much upon the plots and stratagems of War which he had contrived: and being come to the Valley of *Pachacamac* four leagues distant from the City of *Los Reyes*, he called a Council of War to resolve on matters which were to be acted: and there it was resolved, that by night they should surprize that part of the Army which was encamped without the City; and that they

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should drive before them the Cows which were in that Valley with lighted Matches fastned to their Horns, and guided by many *Indians*, and *Negroes*, and *Musquetiers*, who were to turn and force them directly upon the enemy: the which action was agreed to be put in execution four nights afterwards.

Diego de Silva, a Citizen of *Cusco*, was present at this Consultation, with whom (as is said before) *Hernandez* had prevailed to countenance and encourage his Souldiers with his presence; and to shew the esteem he had of him, he always called him to be assistent at every Consultation: during which time the Scouts from each party viewed and surveyed each others Forces, and carried the intelligence. The Justices and their two Generals prepared and put themselves into a posture of defence, to obviate any ill accident which might possibly happen: the Captains also did the like, exercising their Souldiers every day with Skirmishes between themselves, and shooting at marks, and for better encouragement gave Jewels and Rewards to the most dexterous Marks-men. In this Camp were numbred above 1300 Souldiers, 300 of which were Horse, 600 Musquetiers, and about 450 Pikemen.

And here it is to be observed, that so soon as the Justices had received news of the removal of *Francisco Hernandez* from *Huamanga*, and that he was on his march to meet and fight them; That the better to secure themselves of the good will and affections of the people, and loyalty of the Souldiers of the Countrey, they resolved to suspend the execution of the late Decrees which were published, and by Proclamation to declare, that those Edicts which exempted the *Indians* from their personal services to the *Spaniards*, and which enjoined and forbad *Spaniards* to make use of *Indian* Women or Men in their Travels were all abolished and made void for certain years: and in the mean time they generally agreed to make choice of two Procurators, who were to be sent into *Spain*, and there, in the name of the whole Empire, to lay before his Majesty the hardships and aggrievances which were imposed on them, and with all humility to supplicate a redress, in such manner as his Majesty should in his wisdom judge most fit and requisite to be granted. The persons nominated and elected for this service, were *Don Lewis de Cabrera* a Citizen of *Cusco*, who by reason of his great Belly (as we have intimated before) was unwieldy and unable for action in the War; and the other was *Antonio de Ribera* a Citizen of *Rimac*, both which prepared for their Voyage into *Spain*, where *Don Antonio de Ribera* arrived in safety, but *Pedro de Cabrera* made a stop by the way and came not thither.

Two days after *Hernandez* was entred into the Valley of *Pachacamac*, a party of his Souldiers sallied out to skirmish with the enemy; who being engaged together, were assisted by others who came in to their aid, and the numbers of each side increased, both of them being desirous to make trial of their skill and valour: amongst the rest *Diego de Silva*, to shew his forwardness and zeal for *Hernandez*, was one who appeared in the first Rank, but finding his opportunity, he revolted over to his Majesty's Camp, carrying with him four other Souldiers of good reputation, one of which was called — *Gamboa*, and was Ensign to Captain *Nunno Mendiola*, to whom by this flight he caused great mischief, as we shall see hereafter; and these were followed that day by divers others, which put an end to that skirmish. The like was acted by others the day following, and all the time he staid in *Pachacamac* his men deserted him in twenty and thirty in a company who revolted over to the King's party: which when *Hernandez* observed, and that no remedy could be contrived to prevent it, he resolved to retreat back to *Cusco* before he was abandoned by all his Souldiers; so now the stratageme of the Cows was laid aside, in regard that *Diego de Silva* had discovered it, and that the Justices, as might be presumed, had provided to countermeine and prevent that design. In pursuance of this resolution, *Hernandez*, to prove and try the inclinations of his Souldiers, told them plainly, that he gave free liberty and license to any person whatsoever, who was not satisfied with his cause, to pass over to the contrary party: but none took advantage of this permission, unless some few mean and unserviceable sort of people, whom the Lieutenant-General *Alvarado* stript of their Clothes, and devested of their Arms and Horses before they departed. And so *Hernandez* retreated out of *Pachacamac* in the best order he was able, being moved thereunto more out of an apprehension he had that his people would desert him, than any fear he conceived of danger from the enemy: for it was evident that such was the confusion of Counsels in the Camp of the Justices by reason of many Rulers that nothing was determined and concluded in its due time and season. As will appear by what follows.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Francisco Hernandez retires with his Army. In his Majesty's Camp is great Confusion by diversity of opinions. A mutiny is raised in the City of Piura; and how it was pacified.

F*Francisco Hernandez* according to his former resolution withdrew his Forces from *Pachacamac* in such haste that the Souldiers left behind them all things which were useless and cumbersome to them, which were all taken away by the King's Party, who upon retreat of the Enemy, without order from their Commanders, plundered every thing that remained: Upon this alteration of affairs, the Justices entered into consultation with the Field Officers; and summoned unto the Council of War, besides the Captains, several Planters, who were men of Estates in the Kingdom, and were well experienced in the Affairs of that Countrey: but in such variety of opinions, there was great confusion, every one persisting in his own persuasion, pressed eagerly that his Counsel might be taken. At length after long debates, it was concluded that *Pablo de Meneses*, with six hundred select men, should pursue after *Hernandez*: the next day the detachment being made, the two Generals contradicted the resolution concluded at the Council of War, and ordered that no more than a hundred men should be drawn out, for that it would be too great a weakening to the Camp to be devested of the greatest number of the choicest men. Howsoever the Justices remained constant to their first Resolves, and again commanded that the detachment should be made of the six hundred men; which was again contradicted by the two Generals, who were of opinion that a hundred men were sufficient to keep the Enemy in Alarms, and to receive such as were desirous to revolt. Between these contradictory Orders *Pablo de Meneses* was greatly confused, and much more troubled, because he was not permitted to take with him those Comrades and Friends of his in whom he most confided to stand by him, and who were desirous to keep him company. And here we will leave them to declare those matters, which passed at the same time in the City of *St. Michael de Piura*.

The Justices, as we mentioned before, had sent advices to all the Governours of the Kingdom concerning the rebellion of *Hernandez*, and issued out their Orders and Warrants to raise and arm Souldiers to resist and destroy the Rebels. The Governour of *Piura*, called *John Delgadillo*, gave his Commission to *Francisco de Silva*, a Souldier of good fame and reputation, who lived in that City, with Instructions to levy Souldiers in *Tumpiz*, and along the coast, and to bring with him as many as he could raise. *Francisco de Silva* went accordingly and returned to *Piura* with a party of about twenty six or twenty seven Souldiers, who having remained there about twelve or thirteen days without any care taken to provide them with Victuals, or Lodging, and being poor men, and not able to maintain themselves, they came to the Governour with their Captain *Francisco de Silva* and desired his Licence to go to the City of *Los Reyes* to serve his Majesty. The Governour being pressed by the Intreaties and Importunities of all the Citizens assented thereunto; but the next day, the Souldiers being drawn out, and ready to march, the Governour, without any reason for it, revoked his Licence, and gave a positive Command, that every one should repair to his quarters, and neither go out from thence, nor out of the City without farther order. *Francisco Hernandez* and his companions, finding that no entreaties could prevail on the Governour, they resolved to kill him, and plunder the City, and then depart and offer their service to *Hernandez Giron*, since they were denied leave to serve his Majesty. The matter was soon agreed, and about twelve or thirteen of them well armed went into the Governour's house, and took him, and killed a Justice of Peace of the lower rank, and made seizure of Guns, Head-pieces, Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Halbars, with a great provision of Powder; and then carrying forth the Royal Standard they proclaimed upon pain of death, that every man should repair thereunto; then they broke open the royal Treasury, and carried all the mo-

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ney from thence; the like they did to particular mens houses, which they sacked and plundered, not leaving any thing of value therein. And it happening, that a certain Souldier came at that time from *Rimac*, being banished thence, they caused him to report, that *Hernandez* was marching with a very strong Army to *Los Reyes*, and that all the Kingdom had declared for him, and that the Justice *Santillan* himself, with many of his Friends and Relations were passed over to that party; besides a multitude of other Lyes which they caused him to report, which served these poor Rascals for the present, and puffed them up as full of vanity as if they had been truths, and made them to consider themselves no less than as Lords and Masters of all *Peru*, and when this Souldier declared his intention to follow *Hernandez*, they all became of the same mind, and presently proceeded to join with him.

The Governour they carried with them in Chains, and eight or nine Citizens and men of Estates besides, with Collars of Iron about their Necks, after the manner of Gally-slaves. In this manner they travelled above fifty Leagues with all the boldness and insolence imaginable, untill they came to *Cassamarca*; where they met with two *Spaniards* who lived by their labour and honest dealings, and from them they received true information of the state and condition of *Hernandez Giron*, and how he fled, and was pursued by the Justices; and that it was credibly believed that at that very time he was defeated and killed. With this News *Francisco de Silva* and his Companions were extremely dashed and confounded, and began to bewail their follies; and, to save themselves, they designed to surprize some Ship, if it were possible, to make their escape. The Governour and his Companions were now freed of their Chains and set at Liberty, but extremely incommoded. And the Rebels, being about fifty in number, divided themselves into little parties of about three or four in company to pass more freely without any notice taken of them.

The Governour finding himself at Liberty, summoned people in the King's name and took some of them, whom he hanged and quartered. And the Justices being informed of the Outrages committed by these Villains, sent a Judge called *Bernardino Romani* with Commission to punish the Offenders; who in pursuance thereof took and hanged almost all of them, and the remainder he sent to the Gallies, but *Francisco de Silva* and his Companions, escaped to *Truxillo*, where they entered into the Convent of *St. Francis*, and there disguising themselves in that habit, they travelled to the Sea-coast, where they embarked on a Ship which transported them out of the Empire, and so saved their lives.

In those days came sad and lamentable News from the Kingdom of *Chile* brought by a Citizen of *St. Iago* called *Gasper Otense*, giving an account, how that the *Araucan* Indians of that Kingdom had made an Insurrection, and had killed the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia* and his People, of which we have rendred a large relation in the seventh Book of the first part of these Commentaries. This disturbance amongst the *Indians* was of great consequence to all *Peru*: for it began towards the end of the year 1553, and hath continued to the end of this, being 1611, in which we are now writing these matters, and yet the War is not at an end; but the *Indians* are more proud, and stand more on their terms, than at first, being encouraged by the many Victories they obtained, and the Cities they destroyed; God in his Mercy put a good end hereunto, as is most for his Glory. Perhaps in the following Book, we may touch upon some later actions of the *Araucan*.

CHAP. XI.

Of some unhappy Misfortunes which befell both Armies. The death of Nunno Mendiola, a Captain belonging to Francisco Hernandez, and also of Lope Martin, a Captain in his Majesty's Army.

BUT to return to the Affairs of *Peru*. We say, that *Hernandez Giron* being departed from *Pachacamac*, marched with great care and vigilance, keeping his baggage close to him, and always ready, and in a posture to repulse the Enemy, in case

case they should pursue, and fall on him in the rear: but after he had marched 3 or 4 days, and found that no pursuit was made after him; and had understood by his Spies; that the Councils held in the Enemies Camp were various, and commonly contradictory, and that what the Justices ordered, was again countermanded by the Generals; he took courage and marched more leisurely and with more ease and security than before. Howsoever things passed not so smooth and fair neither between him and his most intimate friends, but that many quarrels and disputes arose amongst them, for being come to the valley called *Huacra*, he hanged up two of his principal Souldiers, upon a bare suspicion, that they intended to revolt; for amongst them a jealousy only was sufficient to take away the life of any man whatsoever; though he were the greatest Confident, and the most zealous for their cause. *Hernandez*, proceeding forward came to the valley of *Chincha*, which was a Countrey abounding and plentifull of all provisions; for which reason Captain *Nunno Mendiola* advised *Hernandez* to remain there for three or four days for refreshment of his Souldiers and making Provisions which were necessary for their farther march; but *Hernandez* would not admit of this Counsel; and looking at the same time on *Mendiola* he fancied, that his countenance changed at the refusal, and that he seemed discontented; which opinion others nourishing in him, endeavoured to increase and improve, and told him plainly that *Mendiola* was resolved to pass over to the King's party, which belief *Hernandez* easily admitted, when he called to mind that *Gambosa* who was his Ensign was already revolted with *Diego de Silva*, and thence he certainly concluded that it was with design to make way for his Captain, and to treat and secure conditions for him against the time that he should find opportunity to escape; upon which suspicion only he ordered his Lieutenant General to take away his Horse and Arms, and to discharge him the Army; which was accordingly executed; and not only so, but with them also he was deprived of his life. And thus poor Captain *Nunno Mendiola* ended his days, which was a due reward of his desert, having been one of the Conspirators engaged in this rebellion. Notwithstanding which several Souldiers still continued to revolt, and came in to *Pablo de Meneses*, giving him advice, that *Francisco Hernandez* was in great disorder by reason that he was deserted by many of his Souldiers, so that he had scarce 300 men with him, though in reality they were above 500. *Pablo de Meneses* being encouraged with this News, entered into consultation with his friends of the manner how he might beat up the Enemies quarters in the night; which being agreed, and the Souldiers on the march, they called to mind, that they had made no provision of Corn for their Horses, which was a matter which should have been thought upon before: but whilst they were considering hereof, a certain Souldier, who was one of those which had lately revolted from *Hernandez*, called *Francisco de Cuevas*, stepped out, and told them, that he knew from whence to fetch a sufficient quantity of *Mays*: whereupon *Pablo de Meneses* sent him away with a dozen of *Indians* to carry the provision. The Souldier accordingly went and dispatched away the *Indians* with their full burthens, ordering them to go before, and that he would presently follow, so soon as his Horse had eaten his Corn: when the Souldier found himself alone, instead of returning to *Pablo de Meneses*, he passed over to *Francisco Hernandez*; to whom he gave an account of the number of his Enemies, that they were marching against him, and of their design to beat up his quarters, the night following: He then asked his pardon for having deserted him, saying, that it was the Providence of God which had directed him for good, and sent him to bring this Intelligence, that the Enemy might not take him upon surprize. Now it is said, that the reason of this revolt of the Souldier again to *Hernandez* was occasioned by a word which fell from a certain Souldier belonging to *Pablo de Meneses*, who, discoursing with another concerning the Rebels, said, that so soon as the War was ended, the best of these Runagates would be called to an account and whipped, and sent to the Gallies: which being over-heard by this Souldier, he resolved to return to his former Captain, and to merit his Pardon, by the intelligence he brought him. *Francisco Hernandez* allarm'd with this information, remained all that Evening and the night following in a posture of defence and ready to receive the Enemy: but when *Pablo de Meneses* and *Lope de Martin* and the other Captains found that *Francisco de Cuevas* came not back, they presently suspected, that he was returned to *Hernandez*, and had given him advice of their design to surprize him in the night; wherefore they changed their resolution, and ordered their Souldiers to march unto a place called *Villacuri*, about five Leagues distant from their former quarters

quarters, leaving thirty of their best Horfe behind for a rere Guard, and to give intelligence of what passed in those parts. *Lope Martin*, with three other Companions, offered himself for this service, and posted himself on a high Hill which surveyed the River *Teca*, from whence he might discover and observe the motion of the Enemy. But as *Lope Martin* with his three Companions were on the Hill; they were discovered by a certain Indian of *Cannari* belonging to *Hernandez*, from the lower parts which are full of thickets and trees; of which he immediately carried the Intelligence to his Captain; upon which advice *Hernandez* with his Souldiers encompassed the Hill on all sides, so that it was impossible for any of them to escape; for though *Lope Martin* could see at a distance, yet by reason of the thickets and bushes, he could discover nothing that was near at hand; nor could he see, when any passed the River *Teca*, which runs just under the mountain. I remember that having had occasion once to pass that way with some Companions of mine, we had the curiosity to go up to the top of the Hill, to see the place where *Lope Martin* was surprized, which indeed is such a situation, that an enemy cannot be discried until he just appears close at hand: and so it happened to *Lope de Martin* and his three Companions, who fell unexpectedly into the hands of a Party sent from *Hernandez* without possibility to escape, being all four taken. And whereas it was not known, which was *Lope de Martin*, a certain Moor of *Barbary* who had been a servant to *Afonso de Alvarado*, who was Brother-in-law to *Thomas Vazquez*, they having married two Sisters, chanced to know him, and told those that carried him, that they ought to look well to their Prisoner, who was *Lope de Martin*. The Souldiers triumphing with great a prize, carried him with much joy to *Hernandez Giron*; who refused to see him; but calling to remembrance how that *Logana*, one of his Captains, was hanged by *Altamirano*, the Judge Advocate, he instantly passed sentence on *Lope de Martin*, and upon one of his Companions that had formerly deserted him, and caused them both to be executed without farther delay. *Lope Martin* was beheaded, and his Head pitched upon the point of a Lance was carried for a Trophy to *Villacori*, as we shall presently relate: And thus *Lope Martin* ended his days, who was one of the first Conquerours of that Empire, and concerned in the imprisonment of *Atahualpa*, and one of the Chief Citizens of *Cusco*.

C H A P. XII.

The Justices send recruits to Paulo de Meneses: Francisco Hernandez returns upon him, and defeats him. The death of Michael Cornejo. The faithfulness of a Horfe to his Master.

Paulo de Meneses going, (as we have said before) in pursuit of *Hernandez*, wrote to the Justice *Sanillan*, and to *Don Geronimo de Loaysa*, Archbishop of *Los Reyes*, who were the Generals of the Army, advising them that the Enemy was very strong, and that his Forces were weak; and therefore he desired them to send him recruits without delay, not doubting but to defeat the Rebels in that expedition. The Generals with all readiness complied with his desires, and sent him a hundred men well armed and provided, amongst which were divers Citizens of *Cusco*, *Huamanga* and *Arequipa*, who made such haste in their march, that they arrived at *Villacori*, some time before *Paulo de Meneses* himself came thither; to the encouragement and satisfaction of both Parties at their meeting. They were well informed, that the Enemies quarters were not above five Leagues distant, and that *Lope de Martin* and his three Companions were upon the watch, and remained for Centinels, attending the motion of the Enemy. With which News they confidently reposed and remained in security without fear or suspicion of danger: which was an error in the Captains, who in War ought

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ever to apprehend the worst, and provide against the surprize of an enemy, though distant and far removed; for example of which we shall say before them the present misfortune. For *Francisco Hernandez*, having been informed from *Lope Martin* and his Companions of the quarters and condition of *Paulo de Meneses*, he presently put his Forces in order to march against him with all possible diligence: and here-in fortune favoured him very much; for though one of *Martin Lope's* Companions had made his escape, yet he was so affrighted with the apprehensions of death, that he hid himself in a Cave, and had not power to go forward with this information to *Paulo Meneses*, which was of the highest importance to him; for want of which, on confidence of such vigilant Sentinels as *Lope Martin* and his Companions, both he and his Souldiers reposed securely without fear or suspicion of any surprize. About break of day in the morning a certain Souldier, who went out of the Camp to gather a little *Mays* in those Fields, heard on a sudden the noise of people coming towards him; and looking about him, espied a party of about thirty Horfe, which *Hernandez* had sent for the Van-guard to amuse the enemy, and entertain them with skirmishing until the rest of his Forces were come up to their assistance. The Souldier immediately ran in with the advice, and gave the alarm; but *Paulo de Meneses* supposing that the enemy was not more numerous than what the Souldier reported them to be, he kept his ground and would not retreat, until seeing the enemy very near, and appearing on the Sands, and himself almost surrounded with Forces far greater than his own, he then gave orders to make a retreat with all speed, whilst he in person defended the Rere against the enemies attempt, in which many were killed and wounded on one side and the other; and in this manner they continued fighting and skirmishing the greatest part of the day, until the whole Force of *Hernandez* was come up; and then the confusion was great as well amongst those who pursued as those that fled, not being able by reason of the noise and dust to distinguish one from the other: this pursuit continued for the space of three leagues, in which Captain *d'Avalos* with five or six more were wounded, and about fourteen or fifteen were killed, and amongst them *Michael de Cornejo* a very honest man, and a Citizen of *Arequipa*, and one of the first Conquerours, to whom *Francisco de Carvajal*, Lieutenant-General to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, made many acknowledgments of friendship for the kindness and generosity he had shewn him, as we have formerly mentioned. His death was occasioned by the Borgonion he wore, having the Visard close shut down, whereby, and with the dust raised by those who pursued, and those who fled, and by the violent heat which is always in those Valleys, he was stifed and suffocated. He was much lamented by all that knew him, being a person of great goodness and honour, as appears by the entertainment and reception he gave to *Francisco de Carvajal*, his Wife and Family, when he found them in the Market-place of *Arequipa* destitute of Lodging, or Money, or Friends to entertain them. Notwithstanding this success which the Rebels had in pursuit of their enemies, who fled before them, yet their loss was greater by the revolt of many of their own Souldiers to the King's party; which caused them to give over the pursuit, and found a retreat, left the example of those who fled should be the cause of a general mutiny and defection amongst their Forces. *John Rodriguez de Villalobos* a Citizen of *Cusco*, was one of those who revolted that day from *Hernandez*, whom though he had endeavoured to engage to him by the marriage of his Wife's Sister, yet the loyalty he owed to his Prince was of greater prevalency with him than the bond and tie of alliance: but *Hernandez* seemed to make light of his desertion, swearing, in contempt and disdain of him, that he was more troubled for a Sword he carried with him than he was for his person or any other concernment relating to him: And farther to shew his confidence, and the assurance he had to prevail, he again publicly declared, that he gave free liberty to any man who was weary of his service to pass over to the side of the Justices, for he pretended not to entertain forced and pressed Souldiers, but willing and faithfull Friends. As to *Paulo de Meneses* himself, he left his Souldiers and fled to *Chincha*, which *Palentino* testifies in these words:

When *Paulo de Meneses*, says he, saw that his Souldiers fled, and that his Body of Horfe ran away in full carriere, he turned out of the way, and passed through a sandy Country towards the River *Pisco*, and with three other Companions, who followed him, came to *Chincha*, &c. Thus far this Author.

As the Rebels returned from the pursuit, they gathered up all the Arms, Coats, Cloaks and other things of burthen, which the King's party had scattered in the way

way and thrown from their Horses and Mules to ease them in their flight; like those who are in a storm at Sea, throw their Goods and Lading over Board to save their Vessel and their Lives. And such was the fortune of these Royalists, who but even now being in a condition to threaten their enemies with a total destruction, were in the next moment forced to flight and entirely defeated.

In this place it will be no great digression from our purpose, to relate a story concerning the faithfulness of an Horse (which I knew) towards his Master, because it is rare and curious, and because such accidents as this seldom happen in the world. In this Battel of Spurs (as we may call it) there was a certain Gentleman engaged of his Majesty's party called *John Julio de Hageda*, a Citizen of *Coxco*, and one of the first Conquerours of that Empire, who, amongst other Horses which he kept, was mounted that day at *Villacori* upon one with black spots, and running full speed, as *Palentino* saith, *Hageda* fell from his Horse, which seeing his Master on the ground, gave a stop amidst three hundred other Horses and Beasts of burden, and would not stir until his Master got up again and was mounted on his back; which faithfulness of an irrational Beast saved the life of his Master, and may be recounted for a story without example; unless it were another of the like nature performed by the same Horse, of which I my self was a witness, at *Coxco*; where, after the War was ended, certain Gentlemen exercising their Horses after the Genet fashion, as they usually did in the common course every Sunday, it happened that a School-fellow of mine, of mongrel race, whose Father was a *Spaniard* and his Mother an *Indian*, called *Pedro de Altimirano*, Son of *Antonio de Altimirano*, one of the first Conquerours, being mounted on this Horse, and running full speed by a Window on his left hand, he espied a fair young Lady looking out from the House belonging to *Alonso de Mesa*, the sight of whom caused him to forget his race, and at the next course, having the Window on his right hand, he turned his head two or three times to see the beauty of the Lady. The third time passing the same place, the Horse being sensible that his Rider checked him in his carriage, he strained harder than before to gain the Race; but the young Gallant being more intent on the beauty of his Mistress than the Government of his Horse, he leaned too much on one side and fell to the ground: which when the Horse perceived, he gave a stop in his full speed, and staid without moving until the Gallant arose, and again mounted upon him, and then he continued his course, to the great admiration of those who were present. All which I my self saw from a Gallery of my Father's House; the which action may serve to confirm the truth of the former unto those who had not the faith to believe it at the first. And so we shall return to the Army of the Justices, where we shall find nothing but animosities, and troubles, and changes of Officers, and places of Trust.

C H A P. XIII.

The Justices deprive the two Generals of their Office. Francisco Hernandez comes to Nanasca. A Spie carries the news of the many changes. The Rebels compose an Army of Negroes.

SUCH were the quarrels and dissensions in his Majesty's Camp between the two Generals, that the Captains and Souldiers were scandalized thereat, and troubled to see on all occasions things diversely and contrarily disposed. The Generals being informed of these complaints and murmurings of the Souldiers, were persuaded at the instance of several principal persons to dine one day together, in order whereunto with much intreaty they brought the Justice *Sanitlan* from his quarters two leagues off, where he was retired to a meeting with the Archbishop, and after Dinner they were made Friends, to the great satisfaction, as *Palentino* saith, of the whole Army. The same day towards Evening news was brought to the Camp of the defeat and rout given at *Villacori*, at which they much admired

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having according to their best intelligence received daily advice, that *Paulo de Maneses* was much stronger than the enemy. The Justices, Captains and other Officers were highly sensible of the loss they sustained by this defeat, and found by experience that the original of that and other misfortunes proceeded from the discord and misunderstanding of the two Generals, to the great disgrace and discouragement of the Imperial Army. And though they endeavoured as much as was possible to palliate this loss, saying, that those who came over from the enemy made reparation for the numbers of those who were killed, yet they could not digest the loss of reputation which the Royal Army sustained by the contrariety of their opinions and opposite commands; and therefore calling a Council, the Officers by a Royal Mandate discharged the two Generals of their Commands, and conferred the Office of Commander in Chief upon *Paulo de Maneses*, and constituted *Pedro Portocarrero* his Lieutenant-General: which likewise caused murmurings and discontent in the whole Camp; and men talked loudly, that it was a shame and reproach to them to make choice of an unlucky fellow who but the other day had lost a Battel, and had rather deserved ignominy and punishment for his ill conduct, and to be debased to the meanest Souldier in the Field, than to be raised to the highest dignity and place of command. Howsoever the election was confirmed and the resolution notified to the two Generals, who made some demur thereupon, but they were over-ruled and forced to submit; and farther it was agreed to pursue the Rebels with eight hundred men, and for better expedition to march without Baggage or other incumbrance: but this determination met with delays like the rest, so that it was not put in execution till three days afterwards. For the Justice *Sanitlan* being upon his return to *Los Reyes*, was attended on his way with a numerous train of Friends and Relations to the number of about an hundred and fifty persons, to the great diminution of their Forces, and discomposur of their affairs: of which *Sanitlan* being made sensible by one of his Friends, who told him, that the taking many men from the Army would look like a Rebellion, and give his Adversaries occasion to pretend that he was jealous of his safety, and suspicious of Plots and designs against him: he presently apprehended the inconveniences, and dismissed his Friends and Kindred, desiring them to return to the service of his Majesty in the Army, which was much more necessary than their attendance upon him: which they accordingly performed, so that *Sanitlan* entered into *Los Reyes* with no greater attendance than of his own Servants.

By this time *Hernandez* was come to *Nanasca*, being about sixty leagues distant from *Los Reyes*, to which place he had marched without let or hindrance whatsoever: for such had been the confusion and difference in his Majesty's Camp, that nothing could proceed to his hurt or interruption: and for his better advantage and information of every thing, the Justices gave ear to the proposal of one who was a Serjeant in the King's Army, and had been a Souldier in the Plot and Conspiracy of *Diego de Rojas*, who offered to adventure into the enemy's Camp in the habit of an *Indian*, and to bring them from thence a true information of the state of their affairs. The Justices assenting hereunto gave him free license; so that he as a false and treacherous Spie went over to *Hernandez*, and told him, that he had clothed himself in that habit to pass more easily to his Army; for that in the King's Camp there were such quarrels and discords amongst the Officers, and discords amongst the Souldiers, who had no will or courage to fight, that nothing but destruction could be the end and issue thereof; and for that reason, out of a principle of self-preservation, he resolved to save himself in his service. Moreover he reported, that the Justices were much troubled and confused upon the news they had received, that the City of *St. Michael de Pirra* was in Rebellion against his Majesty, and had declared themselves for *Hernandez Giron*; and that a certain Captain named *Pedro de Orfna* was coming from the New Kingdom with many men in favour also of *Hernandez*; all which being of great encouragement to his people, he caused them, for better credit thereof, to be declared by public outcry. But to qualifie this news a little, he told them, that the Marshal was coming from the *Charcas* with a powerfull force of twelve hundred men, but they charged the Spie to make this report, or at least to moderate it, and say, that he came with no more than six hundred men, lest it should prove too great a discouragement to the Souldiers. At the same time letters were intercepted from the Camp of the Justices, conveyed by an *Indian*, directed to a Souldier; for which both of them were hanged, though the Souldier after he had endured the torment

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twice, would make no confession; and that after his death, in the Collar of his doublet a Parchment was found with a Pardon from the Justices for *Thomas Vaquez*. The which Pardon was presently published by *Hernandez*, with Assurances in the name of the Justices of great Rewards and of Lands with Services of *Indians* to whomsoever should kill *Hernandez* and other principal persons who were about him.

But before the Defeat given at *Villacori*, *Francisco Hernandez* had raised a Company of *Negroes* consisting of about an hundred and fifty black fellows, which they had taken out of the several Plantations, Villages and Colonies which they had plundered, to which he afterwards added above three hundred *Ethiopian* Souldiers; and to encourage them the better, he formed them into Companies distinct from the others. Of these he ordained a Captain General called *Mr. John*, who was an excellent Carpenter, (for I was well acquainted with him) and had been a Slave to *Antonio Altamirano*, as I have formerly mentioned. Their Lieutenant was *Master Antonio*, to whom a principal Souldier of the King's Camp had surrendered his Arms; it is not fit to name him, though I was well acquainted with him: the report whereof coming into *Spain*, caused a Gentleman who had lived in the *Indies*, and was acquainted with this Souldier, to send him a Sword and a Dagger hand-somely gilt, more in scorn to upbraid his Cowardise, than on the score or in token of friendship, which occasioned much discourse after the Wars were at an end: Besides these chief Officers, he appointed their Captains, and gave them leave to make choice of their Ensigns, Sergeants, Corporals, Drummers and Pipers, and make their own Colours. All which the *Negroes* performed very hand-somely, which was a means to allure and invite many of that sort from the King's Camp; who seeing their Relations and Kindred so highly honoured and advanced in the Camp of *Hernandez*, were induced to follow their example, and so were engaged against their Masters during all the time of this War. The Rebels made great use of these Souldiers, whom they sent abroad with a small party of *Spaniards* to forage and gather provisions; which the poor *Indians* in fear and dread of them, and to rescue themselves, their Wives and Children from their Cruelties, did readily administer and supply them with; which afterwards was the cause of great famine and distress in the Countrey.

C H A P. XIV.

The Marshal makes choice of Captains for his Army. He comes to Cozco, and marches against Francisco Hernandez. The unfortunate death of Captain Diego de Almendras.

In the mean time, whilst matters were thus transacted in *Cozco*, *Rimac* and *Villacori*, the Marshal *Alonso de Alvarado*, who was in the Kingdom and Provinces of the *Charcas*, remained not idle or unactive: for as we have said before, he employed himself in raising men for his Majesty's service, and providing Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Horses and Mules, and what else was necessary for the use of the Souldiers. He made *Don Martin de Almendras*, a Gentleman, who had married his Sister, his Lieutenant, and *Diego de Porras*, a stout and valiant Souldier his Standard-bearer general; *Diego de Villavicencio* was made Sergeant Major, in which Office he had been in the War which President *Gasca* waged against *Gonzalo Pizarro*. He nominated *Pero Hernandez Paniagua* and *John Ortiz de Carate*, who had Estates in the *Charcas* for Captains of Horse, with another Gentleman of Noble extraction called *Don Gabriel de Guzman*. *Gomez Hernandez*, the Lawyer, was made Judge Advocate of the Camp, and *John Riba Martin* Chief Apparitor. Of the Infantry he constituted six Captains, three of which had Estates and Plantations, namely, the Lawyer *Polo*, *Diego de Almendras* and *Martin de Alarcon*. The others, who

who had no Estates, were *Hernando Alvarez de Toledo*, *John Ramon* and *John de Arreyagas*, all which Commanders so diligently applied themselves to their charge and employment, that in a few days the Marshal had an Army composed of about eight hundred men, of which *Palentino*, Chap. 41. speaks as followeth.

His Forces were in number seven hundred seventy five men, all good Souldiers well armed and richly clothed, and with great attendance, the like of which hath never been seen in *Peru*. And indeed it was no wonder they should be so, coming from the Mountain or Hill, which is the richest of any discovered as yet in this World. These are the words of *Palentino*, of which I am sure he speaks very true, for I saw them my self some few days afterwards in *Cozco*, and then they appeared unto me to be as brave and as well accounted as this Authour expresses: so that being thus powerfull in Men and Arms, and provided of all things necessary the Marshal marched towards *Cozco*; in his way to which, several Parties of ten and twenty in a Company came to join with him for the service of his Majesty. And after he had passed *Arequipa* with the difficulties before related, there came to him about forty Souldiers: And *Sancho Duarte* and Captain *Martin de Olmo*, who resided in the City of *la Paz*, came forth to the Marshal, with above two hundred good Souldiers, at which meeting they testified great joy with volleys of shot and other Martial salutations. The Army marching forwards came within the jurisdiction of the great City of *Cozco*, where they were met by a small squadron under the Command of *John de Saavedra*; which though few in number, and not exceeding eighty five men, were yet considerable for their Estates and Interest in the Countrey amongst which were thirteen or fourteen Citizens of *Cozco*, being all Conquerors of that Empire of the first or second Adventure: Of these men there were sixty Horse and the rest were Foot, most men of Estates, and such as had fled from the Rebels to *Los Reyes*, with intention to serve his Majesty. With the appearance of so many good and brave Souldiers, whom the Rebels once believed would have joined with them, the Marshal was animated and encouraged; and marched to the entrance of the City of *Cozco*, being then above twelve hundred strong; of which three hundred were Horse, three hundred and fifty Musquetiers, and about five hundred and fifty Piques and Halberds: Every Troop and Company marched by it self with five in a File or Rank; and afterwards drew up in the Market-place; where the Horse and Foot made a feigned skirmish for sport and diversion, and afterwards were all quartered within the Precincts of the City. The Bishop of *Cozco*, called *Frier John Solano*, attended with his Dean and Chapter came forth to meet and welcome the Marshal and his Army, and to give them his benediction. Howsoever, remembering the hardships he had endured when he accompanied *Diego Centeno* in his long marches, he was unwilling to follow the Camp, but rather chose to remain in his Church, and pray for their success, and the peace of the Countrey. From *Cozco* the Marshal issued out his Warrants and Orders to repair the Bridges of the Rivers of *Apurimac* and *Amancay*, intending to pass that way in quest of *Francisco Hernandez* of whom he had heard nothing of late, nor was it known what was become of him. At this time Advices were sent from the Justices of the ill success of *Paul de Alencas* at *Villacori*, and that the Rebels were encamped in the Valley of *Nanaska*: upon which intelligence, the Marshal altered his design, and returned back the same way he came, to avoid passing by *Arequipa* and the *Charcas*, which would have been a great hurt and damage to the Countrey, and a means to prolong the War. Wherefore the Marshal changed his Orders concerning the Bridges, which he commanded now to be burnt, to hinder the passage of the Enemy, in case they should design to return that way again. The Marshal departing from *Cozco* marched fourteen or fifteen leagues along the Road to the *Collas*, and then took the right-hand way which leads to *Nanaska*, where he expected to meet *Hernandez*: but hearing no News of him, he marched towards *Paribuanacocha*, though in the way thither he was to pass a rocky desert of above thirty leagues over: In this passage four Souldiers having robbed two Mules, one belonging to *Gabriel de Pernia* and the other to *Pedro Franco* (who were Souldiers of good reputation) and therewith fled over to *Hernandez*, the Marshal upon notice thereof presently commanded the two Souldiers to be strangled, suspecting, that they themselves had been consenting thereunto; which being esteemed by all to be a piece of great injustice and cruelty, caused murmurings and discontent in the Army, and a thousand Curses against the Marshal. As *Palentino* mentions, Chapter 41. These four Souldiers which revolted met with

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the Scouts of *Hernandez Giron*, and went with them to *Nanasca*, where in private they gave a true account of the force which the Marshal brought with him, and that he was coming to seek them by the way of *Parihuanacocha*: though in public, not to discourage the People, they reported, that his force was weak and inconsiderable: but *Francisco Hernandez* disabused his people, and told them the truth: for, as *Palentino* saith, he spake to them in these words.

Gentlemen, do not flatter or deceive your selves, but clinch your Fists close, for I assure you, that you have a thousand men coming against you from below on one side, and 1200 from above, which by the help of God, I esteem as nothing, for let me have but a hundred stout and valiant friends, who will stick to me, and I shall not doubt, but to defeat them all. And hereupon having prepared for his departure; upon the eighth of May he left *Nasca* and marched to *Lucanes* by way of the mountain, with intent to possess himself of *Parinacocha*, before the Marshal came thither, &c. Thus far this Author, Chapter 41.

Howsoever the Marshal *Alonso de Alvarado* continuing his March, entered upon the Defarts of *Parihuanacocha*, where by reason of the bad and craggy ways and tempestuous weather, or the unhealthfulness of the Climate, above fixty of their best Horse dyed, though they were led by hand, and well covered with Clothing, without any reason given for the same; the Grooms said, that they were taken with a shortness of breath like Horses that are broken winded, at which all people wondered, but none knew the reason; only the *Indians* esteemed it ominous, and to be a forerunner of ill success. *Diego Hernandez*, Chap. 42. speaking of this passage, saith, as follows. When the Marshal was come unto *Chumbibillas*, and had there provided himself with all things necessary for his Camp; he adventured to pass the desert of *Parinacocha*, which is about 32 leagues over, which was so full of boggs and morish places, snow and rocky asperous passages, and so many broken cliffs and water-galls, that many Horses perished in that desolate Land, which seemed at that time to be a corner of Hell, where was nothing but misery and famine, &c. Thus far this Author, whose Authority we have brought to confirm the truth of what we have before alledged.

The Marshal left Captain *Sancho Dugarte* in *Parihuanacocha* sick of a Flux or Disentery, of which in a few days afterwards he dyed: the Army still proceeding in their march the Scouts happened to take one of the Scouts belonging to *Hernandez*; and to save his life, they reported, that he voluntarily was coming to serve his Majesty, and from him the Marshal was informed, that *Francisco Hernandez* was not above twenty leagues distant from that place; for which reason he kept his people on the Watch, not to be surprized or to have their quarters beaten up in the night. When the Army was about two days march from *Parihuanacocha*, a bold action was performed by a certain *Negro* which alarum'd the Army, and was this:

Captain *Diego de Almendras*, according to his usual Custome, did often separate from the Army to shoot wild Beasts, of which there were very many in those Defarts; and being in this manner one day upon the ramble, it was his fortune to meet amidst those rocks with a *Negro* belonging to Serjeant Major *Villavicencio*, who had run away; and whom *Almendras* would have bound, and brought back to his Master. The *Negro* stood still, as if he would have submitted; but so soon as *Almendras* came near him, thinking to bind his hands with match, the *Negro* stooped down, and caught hold of the Ankles of his Leggs, and running his Head against his Breast, threw him backwards; and then with his own Dagger and Sword, he gave him so many Wounds, that he left him dead. After which the *Negro* fled to the rest of his Kindred and Relations who were with *Hernandez*; and having recounted to them this brave exploit, by which he made his escape, they all rejoiced, and gloried in the action, every one boasting of it, as if it had been done by himself. A young man of mongrel race half *Spaniard* and half *Indian* being with *Almendras*, and seeing his Master on the ground, and ill treated in that manner, took the *Negro* by the Shoulders to free his Master from him; but *Almendras* being sensible that he was mortally wounded, called to the youth to fly before he was killed by the *Negro*: and such was the Cry and Groans he made, as gave an allarum to all the Army: he was afterwards carried to *Parihuanacocha* to be there cured, but he dyed in his way thither, such was the end of this poor Gentleman, who lost his Life in hunting after another man's *Negro*; the which unhappy accident both *Indians* and *Spaniards* interpreted as an ill omen of their future Successes.

C H A P. XVI.

The Marshal receives intelligence of the Enemy: He sends some Forces against them: A Skirmish happens between the two Parties. The general opinion of the Officers to decline fighting with the Rebels.

THE day following after this unhappy misfortune befallen Captain *Almendras*; the Marshal receiving advice that the Enemy was not far distant he marched eight leagues farther with his Army; and then made a strong detachment, which was required to hasten with all expedition, and to carry no other baggage or incumbrance, than only Provisions for three days: and in this manner, as *Palentino* saith, they passed a desert Countrey full of marshes and boggs, and deep withering: and that night they lodged in the open Air, without Tents, or other covering: and having travelled eight leagues farther; the next day they came very weary to a People called *Guallaripa*, where they received News, that *Francisco Hernandez* had departed thence three days before, and was then at *Chunguilla* about four leagues distant from them, where he staid to refresh his Army, which was greatly tired and discompoled by the Fatigues of a long march over mountainous and desolate Countreys. At this time the Commissary *Romero* and *Garica de Melo* came to the Marshal with a thousand *Indians* that were Souldiers bringing Provisions and Ammunition to him from the Province of *Andaguaylas*; from them he received a relation of all matters concerning *Hernandez*, and how he had strangled *Diego Oribnel*, a Native of *Salamanca*, having taken him as he was coming to the Marshal's Camp to serve his Majesty. Thus far *Palentino*.

The Marshal having certain intelligence that the Enemy was near, he greatly desired to engage with them, and therefore resolved to detach two Captains with a hundred and fifty choice Musquetiers, who early in the Morning were to give the Enemy an Allarum, and receive such as would pass over to his Majesty's service. But the Captains and other persons of quality and interest, who were well informed of the strength of the place wherein *Hernandez* was encamped, would have dissuaded the Marshal from the design, giving him very good reasons, why it was not fit or safe to attempt the Enemy within their Fortifications, or to hazard the loss of an hundred and fifty of the choicest Musquetiers in the whole Army, on whose success the fortune of the day depended: but the Marshal replied, that he himself would follow them in the rear, and succour them with the whole Army, and second them so warmly with his Troops, that the Enemy should be able to prevail little on them: and so he instantly desired licence of the Captains to draw out from their Companies a hundred and fifty choice Musquetiers, which he committed to the command and charge of his Lieutenant General, and of Captain *John Ramon*, with Directions to approach as near to the Enemy as was possible. The Captains accordingly about midnight marched out with this detachment, and about three hours afterwards the Marshal followed them with the whole Army. *Hernandez* who was well advised of the near approach of a severe and incensed Enemy, was vigilant not to be surprized unawares; and having his forces always in a posture of defence, he kept Guards on the Avenues, which were but two, where it was possible to be attacked by an Enemy.

Before break of day in the morning the King's Forces came to the place where the Enemy was fortified; and without any noise endeavoured to surprize them before they who were on the other side of the River *Amancaes* could hear any thing of their approach: but whilst they moved thus softly, they were discovered by an *Indian* belonging to *Hernandez*, who presently ran to his Master, and told him, that the Enemy was near at hand.

Francisco Hernandez immediately caused an Allarum to be sounded; and disposed his people in such places as were most for their security; and on both sides Volleys of Muskets were interchanged without damage unto either, for they fired at a great distance. About nine a clock the Marshal brought his whole Army in sight of *Hernandez*; and then the skirmish was renewed with more heat and courage

rage than good discipline: for the Rebels having considered the situation of the place, ordered and disposed their Souldiers to the most advantage; It was no plain or open Countrey where they were to fight, but amongst Bushes and Trees, and great Rocks and Caves, by which the River *Amancey* passes. *Hernandez* his Souldiers divided themselves into several parties and places covered and sheltered with Trees and Bushes. The Marshal's men boldly and openly descended from a Hill, and being come within Musquet-shot, every one to signalize himself the better, told his Condition, and his Name, who and what he was.

The Ensign of *John Ramon* named *Gonzalo de Mata* came so near the Enemy, as to call to them, and cried out aloud, I am *Mata*, I am *Mata*; one of those who lay close in the Bushes perceiving him within Musquet-shot, answered him, I am a *Matador*, a *Matador*, or a Killer of him; and with that let fly at him, and shot him full in the Breast, with which he fell dead to the ground: the like happened to others, of which many were killed and wounded, without seeing who hurt them: And though the Marshal re-inforced the detachment with fresh Forces, so that the Skirmish continued untill three a clock in the afternoon, in which above forty principal persons were killed and wounded, yet no advantage was gained by this Engagement: amongst these a young Gentleman of about eighteen years of age, called *Don Felipe Enriquez* had the misfortune to be slain, and was much lamented by both Armies; and Captain *Ayrenaga* was wounded. The King's party having sustained this loss in the Skirmish, were not a little cooled in their courage and abated in their mettle. During the Fight two Souldiers belonging to *Hernandez* revolted to the Marshal, one of which was called *Sancho de Payona*: and one Souldier of the Marshal's passed over to *Hernandez*, named — *de Bilbao*, of whom we have formerly made mention, and how he declared, that wheresoever he felt *Hernandez*, he would fly to his Party.

The Skirmish being ended, and the Souldiers retired: *Palentino*, Chapter the forty fourth, saith; That the Marshal entered into consultation with *Lorenzo de Aldana*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, *Diego Maldonado*, *Gomez de Solis*, and other principal persons in the Camp, to whom he signified the great desire he had to engage the Rebels, upon assurance that *Bayona* the Souldier (who was just then come over from the Enemy) had given him, that for certain they would never stand a shock, but turn their backs at the first charge: but *Lorenzo de Aldana* and *Diego Maldonado* being of another opinion, took him aside, and persuaded him to decline an Engagement, and to have patience for a while: since he had such manifest advantages over the Rebels, both in men, and in the ground where they were encamped: and moreover, all the *Indians* and all that Countrey were disposed to favour and serve him. As to the Rebels, they had no other refuge or fortification than those Rocks and Woods; in which being kept in by the *Indians*, and as it were besieged on all sides, they must in a short time be compelled by famine to one of these two things, either to abandon their fast places, and then they will either disband, or separate of themselves, or be easily routed by us; or the greatest part of them, will pass over to us, without hazarding the life of any of those Loyal Gentlemen who are engaged in this quarrel: all which will easily be effected, by standing still without action, and onely keeping a good watch and ward in case the Enemy should make an attempt, and especially upon that high point of Land which runs out upon the River, and which oversees both Camps; which pass if he could make good, he would be better fortified and secured than the Enemy. In this advice and opinion most of the principal Officers concurred: onely *Martin de Robles* (to whom the Marshal had given the Company which belonged to *Diego de Almendras*) and some few others were of a contrary opinion, and insisted much to give them battle: howsoever *Lorenzo de Aldana* was so earnest in the matter, that the Marshal promised and gave him his word, that he would not fight. And upon this resolution he dispatched a Messenger away presently to the Camp of the Justices, to send him some small Field-pieces with a recruit of Musquetiers, to play upon that point of the broken part of the Mountain which the Enemy had possessed; for that driving them out from thence, they would either be forced to yield, or else to fight their way in open field. Thus far *Palentino*, by which appears the great desire of the Marshal to engage the Rebels, contrary to the opinion of all his Officers, and to the great and weighty reasons alleged by them; which Council not being followed, occasioned the ruine and destruction which ensued; as will speedily appear in what follows.

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C H A P. XVI.

John de Piedrahita alarms the Camp of the Marshal. Rodrigo de Pineda comes over to the King's Party, and persuades them to give the Enemy Battle. The debates thereupon. The Marshal resolves to engage.

SO soon as it was night *John de Piedrahita* with a party of thirty six Musquetiers divided into three Companies alarm'd the Marshal's Camp in three several quarters; which was not much regarded by them, and onely a few shot returned to shew that they were not asleep: so soon as the day began to break *Piedrahita* retired without effecting any thing, onely he thereby gave occasion to *Rodrigo de Pineda*, a Citizen of *Coxco* and Captain of Horse, upon pretence and colour of giving assistance to *Piedrahita*, to make his escape to the Marshal; of which *Palentino* gives this account:

So soon, says he, as *Rodrigo de Pineda* was come to the Marshal, he assured him, that many, if not the greatest part of *Hernandez* his Souldiers would have made their escape had it not been for the strict watch which is always kept, and that in the night when he came over, he found the River shallow and eafie to be forded: upon this advice, the Marshal presently called a Council of all the Captains and men of Interest and Estates then abiding in the Camp, and, having repeated to them all that *Pineda* had acquainted him with, he told them plainly, that he was resolved to fight the enemy, delivering his reasons for the same: but still many of the Council opposed this opinion, persisting, that it was not safe to make an attempt on a Fortification with so much disadvantage: when the Marshal saw that he was opposed by so many principal persons, he desired *Pineda* to repeat himself before them all what he had before declared, and what was his opinion concerning the state of *Hernandez* his Camp, and how and in what manner he believed they would act. Then *Pineda* told them, that the Forces which *Hernandez* had, might amount unto three hundred and eighty men, of which two hundred and twenty were Musquetiers, but all ill provided, and most of them inclined to desert him, and revolt to the Marshal; and that he might have about a thousand Horses and Beasts of Burthen. And as to what he believed of the state of *Hernandez*, he was of opinion, that they would march away that night if not prevented, being affrighted, and forced thereunto for want of provisions: That in case they did march away, the pursuit after them, through craggy and mountainous Countries, would be very difficult and ruinous to the Army, as well as destructive to the Kingdom: and that the passage over the River was eafie, and the way open to make an assault. Hereupon the Marshal declared positively his resolution that day to engage the enemy; and that he would not suffer them to escape out of his hands as they had formerly done from the Justices; and prevent them from doing any farther mischief than what they had already committed; and that to follow and pursue after them could not be done without hardship, damage and suffering of the whole Army: but some made answer and replied hereunto, that whilst *Hernandez* remained in that fast ground, it were more secure to let him escape from thence than to attempt him in that Fortification; for that it was probable, that having abandoned that place, his Forces would disband of themselves, without hazarding the life of one Souldier: but the Marshal was not satisfied with this answer, and said, that it was not correspondent to his duty, nor suitable to the honour of so many brave Cavaliers and good Souldiers as were there present, to suffer those Rebels to range and wander up and down robbing and spoiling the Countrey without controll, and therefore he declared himself resolved in despite of all opposition to give the enemy Battle. Herewith many of the principal Captains who were present at this Consultation in the Marshal's Tent, went out from thence much displeased and dissatisfied: and particularly *Gomez de Alvarado* said, Come, since we must die, let us go, for I am sure it will be my fortune to be killed. Thus far are the words of *Palentino*;

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When the Council was risen, several of the Inhabitants of *Cusco* and of the *Charcas*, being men of Estates, to the number of about thirty, returned again to the Marshal, amongst which were *Lorenzo de Aldana*, *John de Saavedra*, *Diego Maldonado*, *Gomez Alvarado*, *Pero Hernandez*, *Paniagua*, *Polo the Lawyer*, *John Ortiz de Carate*, *Alonso de Loaysa*, *John de Salas* the Agitant, *Martin de Meneses*, *Garcia de Melo*, *John de Berrio*, *Anton Ruiz de Guevara*, *Gonzalo de Soto*, *Diego de Truxillo* all of them Adventurers in the conquest of *Peru*; who taking the Marshal aside, did earnestly entreat him to retract his determination concerning the Battel; that he would consider of the situation of the place wherein the enemy was posted, which was very strong; and that his own was equal to it, and as advantageously seated as theirs: that he should observe and remember what *Rodrigo de Pineda* assured him of the scarcity and want of all Provisions in the Camp of *Hernandez*, by reason of which they would be forced to quit their quarters there in the space of three days; that he should expect until the end of that time and see the issue, after which he might consider farther, and take such measures as should then seem most advantageous and convenient: and in the mean time the enemy remained there before them, and could not take a flight through the air, but on the land only; on which they might be intercepted and obstructed in their passage by orders and instructions sent to the *Indians*, whereas on the contrary, it could not but prove destructive to attack the Enemy in so difficult a station; it was well known that the event of War hath been always doubtful; and that to play such a desperate game was to deliver up their Souldiers to slaughter, and to stand still until they were all killed by the shot of the Enemy; That he should consider the state of his own Forces, which were in a much more happy condition than the Enemy; for they neither wanted Provisions, nor the attendance of *Indians*, nor other necessities to converse them in the Camp. That the only game they had now to play was to stand still, and that then a Victory would follow of course, without loss or hazard of his men; and that it was not good to adventure, without some cogent reasons, the loss of what they had already gained. The Marshal, not reflecting, or calling to mind, that on the same River a Battel of the nature of this was lost (as before related) answered with some choler, that he had well considered all these particulars; but that it corresponded not with his duty, nor was it reasonable or suitable to their reputation, to suffer such a company of pitifull Rebels to march away with such boldness and insolence, and every night to alarm him in his Camp; which not being able to support any longer, he was resolved to fight them that very day, not doubting but that before Sun-setting, he should kill and cut in pieces three hundred of their men: wherefore he conjured them to talk no more of declining the Battel, but that every one should repair to his charge and command, and acquit himself of his duty, upon penalty of being proceeded against as Traitors and disobedient to the command of their General.

There was now no farther place for Answers and Replies, the Die was cast and the resolution fixed, which caused many of the principal men to depart with a heavy heart, and to discourse amongst themselves, that the Marshal was prodigal of the lives of his Souldiers; for if he looked upon them as his Friends, his Kindred, or Sons, he would not expose them in that manner to be destroyed and slaughtered by the Enemy. But what could be said more, it was their misfortune and unhappiness to be subjected to the command of a passionate and an inflexible General, who would not be persuaded to accept of a Victory which was offered to him, but rather yield it to his Enemy at the expence of their lives and fortunes: this and much more was expressed, lamenting their condition, and prelagging as it were that ruine which ensued within the space of six hours afterwards. Thus in despair, the Captains, and most considerate of the Souldiers, prepared themselves: though there were some, who taking their measures from the numbers, and looking upon themselves as twelve hundred to four hundred or three hundred and fifty, were so certain of success as if the Enemy had been already in their hands: but these did not consider the difficulties of the way; or that they had a deep and rapid River to pass, nor the turnings and windings, and narrow passages before they could come at the Enemy, whereby their Horse would become useless; and that nothing but their Fire-arms could serve, of which the Rebels were well provided, and their Souldiers such excellent Marks-men that they could kill a small Bird with a single Bullet; amongst which there were some of mongrel race, between *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and particularly one called *Granado* of the Country

Country of *Mexico* (who had taught the rest) that could shoot either upon Rests, or at Arms length, as they pleased. Moreover, it was certainly believed, that *Hernandez* compounded his Powder with a certain sort of Poison: for the Chirurgeons reported, that the wounds made by the Rebels Gun-shot, though never so slight, were incurable, and which was contrary to the nature of such wounds, which are always more easily cured than those which are made by Lance, or Sword, or Halbert, or such like Weapons: but notwithstanding all these difficulties engage they must, which cost many a man his life, to the defeat and ruine of the whole Army.

C H A P. XVII.

The Marshal draws up his Men in order of Battel. Francisco Hernandez does the like in defence of himself. The several Assaults that were made. The death of many principal persons.

IT was presently after mid-day when the Marshal gave the signal for the Battel, and having drawn up the Souldiers in their several Companies, he gave orders to Captain *Martin de Robles* with his Company of Musketiers, to march to the left, and attack the Enemy on that side; the Captains *Martin de Olmos* and *John Ramon* were commanded with their Forces to march to the right, and to make the on-set together at the same time, when they heard the Trumpet sound, which was to be the signal for the Assault: the rest of the Infantry, with all the Horse were commanded to defend by a very narrow passage, there being no other way than that to go down unto the River, which, having passed, they were to draw up in a little Plain, and then in a Body to attack the Enemy with all the fury possible. *Francisco Hernandez*, who from his station observed all this motion of the Enemy, and that they were disposed to assault them in three several places; called to his Souldiers, and said, Now, Gentlemen, we must either conquer or die, for the Enemy is coming upon us with all their fury: Hereupon a certain Souldier of good experience in the War, whom *Hernandez* and his men called Colonel *Villalva*, perceiving that the General and his Souldiers seemed somewhat cold and deponding; bid them, as *Valentino* reports, to be of good courage, for that the Marshal could never maintain his Order, nor was it possible for him to pass the River without being overthrown; and that the place where they were posted was so strong as could not be taken by ten thousand men; and that all of them must be cut off and perish in the assault, with which saying of *Villalva Hernandez* and his men were greatly encouraged, &c. And indeed it proved according to the words of the Colonel: For *Hernandez* having drawn up some of his Musketiers and all his Pikemen in a narrow way, commanded by *Piedrahita*, and *Sotelo*, with orders to fight jointly in a Body or separately, and to relieve each other, as occasion should require. Another great Body of above an hundred Musketiers he divided into several parties, of four and six together, and lodged them in the close passages, and behind Rocks, Bushes and Thickets which grew by the River side; where was no place to draw up men into a Body, but every one must fight by himself singly; And thence the Rebels could shoot with a steady hand, resting their Muskets on Bushes, or Stumps and Branches of Trees. *Martin de Robles* and his Company of Musketiers having passed the River, esteemed themselves so secure of Victory, considering the small number of the Enemy, that they pressed hastily to attack them, intending to gain the honour of the Victory unto themselves; which they did with so much precipitation, that they would not stay until all their men were passed over, but attempted the Enemy with the Van or Front only, whilst the rest were wading through the River with water to their middles, or to their Breasts, and some, intent on other matters,

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ters, suffered their Flasks of Powder to be wetted with hanging in the water; but others, more wary, carried their Powder and Muskets on their heads. Captain *Piedrahita*, seeing *Martin de Robles* in such haste and disorder coming to attack him, sallied out with great courage, and gave him such a volley of shot as killed him several men; which drove him and his men back again over the River; with which *Piedrahita* returned very gravely to his former post. By this time the Captains *Martin de Olmos* and *John Rymon* were come up near to the Fort of *Piedrahita*, who seeing how ill it had passed with *Martin de Robles*, were desirous to repair the disgrace and recover the honour which the other had lost; but the Enemy, being fleshed and encouraged with the late success, received the Assaults with the like Volley as they had done the others; and though the fight continued some time, yet at length the Victory inclined to *Piedrahita*, and the contrary party forced to retreat to the River, many of them being killed and wounded, and many of them repassed it again. Captain *Piedrahita*, being greatly animated with the success of these two encounters, returned to his former station, to be in a readiness to apply himself to those parts where necessity most required. Now whilst these two misfortunes had befallen the Marshal, caused by the hasty precipitation of *Martin de Robles*, who would not attend the signal of the On-set, nor the Orders given him; the Captains and the other parties of Souldiers descended down to the River, and passed it with extraordinary difficulty; for in that part the water was so deep that the Infantry wetted both their Powder and their Muskets, and the Pikemen lost their Pikes in the stream. Now the Musketeers of *Hernandez*, who, as we said before, were lodged in Ambushes, covered with Rocks, Thickets and Caves bordering on the Banks, seeing with what difficulty their Enemies were labouring to pass the stream, they assailed them within the water, and killed many of them in the River before they were able to pass over; for, shooting with their Muskets on Refts, they seldom failed to hit the mark at which they aimed; and so many were killed and wounded both in that Pass and in the Plain where they designed to draw up, that they could not dispose their Squadrons in the order intended.

The principal persons killed were *John de Saavedra*, the Serjeant-Major, *Villavicencia*, *Gomez de Alvarado*, Captain *Hernando*, *Alvarez de Toledo*, *Don Gabriel de Guzman*, *Diego de Ollos*, *Francisco de Barrientos* a Citizen of *Cusco*, and *Simon Pinto* an Ensign. The persons wounded were *Martin de Robles*, Captain *Martin de Alarcon*, and *Gonzalo Silvestre*, of whom we have formerly made mention at large; and who lost a Horse that day killed under him, for which, two days before, *Martin de Robles*, (to whom the President had given a Revenue of forty thousand pieces of Eight a year) had offered the sum of twelve thousand Ducats, and he refused to accept it, having occasion of a good Horse at that time for this Battel. We have mentioned this passage before in the sixteenth Chapter of the ninth Book of the first Part of these Commentaries; but not having specified their names in that place, it comes opportunely and to the purpose to insert them here, and to declare that *Gonzalo Silvestre* had his Leg broken with the fall of his Horse, but by the help of his Indian, who brought him another, though not so good as the former, was carried off, and conducted by him to *Huamanga*, where he served him untill the end of the War with as much fidelity and affection as if he had been his own Son. Besides these persons of note before named, sixty common Souldiers of good esteem were killed likewise, who never came to dint of Sword, or push of Pike, but were shot and birded off at a distance.

These were the most remarkable passages which happened in this Battel, for what succeeded afterwards was nothing but confusion and disorder; for the greatest part of the Marshal's Souldiers refused to pass the River, for they had had enough of the first day's Skirmish, having tried the smartness of the Enemy's fire; the fear and dread whereof remained on their spirits untill the total defeat.

A certain Souldier, named *Perales*, revolted over to the Marshal's side, and desired to have a Gun charged to shoot at *Hernandez*, for he said he knew him well, and had observed the colour of his Clothes: a Gun was accordingly given him, with which he made a shot, and killed *John Alonso de Badajoz*, whom he mistook for *Hernandez*, who had the same coloured Clothes, and was much of the same shape and proportion with him. Howsoever he publicly praised himself for the service he had done; but when the Victory appeared for *Hernandez*, he returned to him again, and told him, that he had been taken prisoner by the Enemy, but

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upon the rout they had released him; but this piece of Treachery did not pass unpunished: for some few days afterwards, when *Perales* was at *Cusco* with the Lieutenant General *Diego de Alvarado*, *Hernandez* was informed that *Perales* made his brags and boasted that he had killed him; whereupon *Hernandez* wrote to his Lieutenant to hang him, which he accordingly performed, for I my self saw him hanging on the Gallows in that City. But to return again to the Battel; *Piedrahita* observing the fear and confusion which was in the Marshal's Camp, sallied out of his Fort with about fifty men, crying out and singing, Victory, Victory, and firing as they went wheresoever they saw twenty or thirty in a company together; all which yielded themselves with their Arms and Powder, being that which they most needed; and in this manner they made Prisoners of above three hundred men whom they carried with them, and who durst not depart from them or leave them, lest they should fall into another Parties hand, who would treat them worse than those of *Piedrahita's* men to whom they had yielded themselves Prisoners.

C H A P. XVIII.

Francisco Hernandez gains the Victory. The Marshal and his Souldiers are put to flight. The Indians kill many of them on the way.

WHEN the Marshal *Alvarado* saw that many of his Souldiers declined the Fight, and would not pass the River; he in person led the way, in hopes to animate them to follow his Example: but all his Cries and Calls and Persuasions could avail nothing; for they all fled before *Piedrahita*, who was now in hot pursuit of them. Wherefore some of the Marshal's Friends told him, that it was in vain to endeavour to stop the flight of his Souldiers, being pursued by the Enemy; for that it was never known that ever any Army rallied again or stopped their course who had once turned their backs to the Enemy, unless some new succour appeared, or some strange accident offered it self for their encouragement.

This being said, the Marshal shifted for himself and as many as could followed him, and the rest were scattered in divers parts where they thought they could best have refuge: some whereof went to *Arequipa*; some to the *Charcas*, others to the new Plantation, and *Huamanga*, and others travelled along the Coast to join with his Majesty's Army under command of the Justices: some few, not exceeding seven Souldiers, returned to *Cusco*, of whom we will give some relation hereafter.

On the way, which was far and long, which those who fled from the Enemy were to pass, the Indians killed many of the Spaniards, for they having no offensive Arms with them, were exposed to the mercy of all they met. Amongst those who were thus killed, was the Son of *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, who was a person of great quality, of whom we have given a relation formerly, and that he brought eight hundred men with him into *Peru*: this Gentleman was named *Don Diego de Alvarado*, a Son worthy of such a Father; and his untimely and unfortunate death was much lamented by all those who had any acquaintance with his Father: That which induced the Indians to adventure upon this insolence and cruelty, was a Command given by the Officers of the Marshal's Forces, (I shall mention no man's name particularly) who fanning to themselves an assurance of victory, in confidence thereof gave Orders to the Indians to kill all those whom they should meet wandering and flying out of the battel; not expecting that this Command should fall on themselves, but on the Rebels onely whom they intended totally to destroy: but it had a contrary effect, and eighty of them were massacred by the Indians. The number of those killed in the Battel and in the first day's Skirmish was above an hundred and twenty, and (as *Valentin* saith)

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two hundred and eighty were wounded, of which above forty dyed for want of care and good attendance, and for want of Chirurgions, Medicines and good Diet; In fine, every thing was unlucky in that dismal and fatal day. So that the men killed on the Marshal's side, by one way or other, were near two hundred and fifty in all, and of the Rebels not above seventeen. The plunder of the Field (as this Authour saith) was very considerable, being the richest that ever had been in *Pern*: for the Marshal had engaged in this Battel an hundred of the richest and principal persons of that Countrey, and many who had spent six and seven thousand pieces of Eight, and other two, three, and four thousand pieces.

At the beginning of the Fight *Hernandez* gave order to his Serjeant Major *Antonio Carillo* to guard a narrow passage with eight or nine Horfe, to intercept such as should steal away out of cowardise, and fly from the danger: In the heat of all the Battel, *Albertos de Ordunna*, Standard-bearer General to *Hernandez*, came running to them trailing his Colours on the ground, and told them that they must shift for them selves, for that their General was killed, and their Forces defeated; whereupon they all fled and travelled eight or nine leagues that night: but the next day receiving intelligence from the *Indians*, that the Marshal was routed; and that *Hernandez* remained Conquerour, they returned to their Camp with sufficient shame and reproach for their Cowardise; though they pretended to have gone in pursuit of the Marshal's men, of which many were fled by those ways: and to countenance them herein, and not to shame them, *Hernandez* was pleased to own, that he had given them Orders to pursue those who had taken their flight by those ways. The Victory being thus gained by *Francisco Hernandez*, his Lieutenant-General was desirous at the end of the Fight to shew himself brave, and a Man of action, though during the Battel, he neither acquitted himself like an Officer, nor as the meanest or lowest of the Souldiers: but now to doe something, when the Souldiers brought a Gentleman of *Camora* prisoner, named *Romero* the Commissary, who but four days before had conducted a thousand *Indians* laden with provisions to the Marshal's Camp, as we have formerly mentioned, of which when the Lieutenant was informed, he sent an Emisary of his (whom he used to employ upon such like Messages, called *Alonso Gonzalez*) with Orders to put him to death, before he was brought into the General's presence, well knowing that he would grant him his Pardon, in case any intercession was made for him, which the bloody Hangman accordingly executed. Then they brought another Prisoner before *Hernandez*, called *Pero Hernandez*, the Loyal, having deserved that Surname of distinction for the service, duty and fidelity to his Majesty, having always been engaged on his side, but in the War against *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and also served in quality of a Captain under *John Vazquez Coronado*, a Citizen of *Mexico*, when the seven Cities were discovered, as we have given a relation in our History of *Florida*; And now also he was engaged in the Army of the Marshal against *Francisco Hernandez*; he had also the Title of Loyal, to distinguish him from other seditious and rebellious Subjects of the same name, such as *Pero Hernandez*, who was concerned in the Conspiracy of *Muscu* with *Diego de Rojas*, as we have already related. This *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal, as *Palenino* saith, was a Taylor, with which *Francisco Hernandez* reproached him after he had given him his Pardon at the instance and request of *Christopher de Funes*, calling him pitifull rascally Taylor, that should dare to rise from his Shopboard, to erect a Standard in the name of his Majesty. But this report of him was false; for I knew him all the time that he was in *Pern*, for he lodged and dined in my Father's house; for before he came into the *Indies*, he had been a domestick Servant in the illustrious and most Excellent Family of *Feria*, from which by the blessing of God my Father is descended by a younger Son. Wherefore in regard this *Pero Hernandez* had been a Servant to that Family, and a Vassal to those Lords, and a Native of *Oliva* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; my Father was kind to him, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been his own Brother: and on the other side this *Pero Hernandez* behaved himself like an honest worthy person, and kept his two Horfes, one of which he called *Paxarillo*, or Sparrow, for the swiftness of his running; I knew this Horfe very well, and I had reason so to doe; for with his Horfe after the Wars with *Hernandez* were ended, a strange accident full of danger befell me, but by the mercifull providence of God, I was preserved from death. This very man, *Palenino* says, was a Taylor; but it was a mistake of his, and must have been some other man, who was a Taylor, and that set up

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a Standard in *Cozco* against *Hernandez*: and not this *Pero*; for during all the time of this War, I remained at *Cozco*, and then in case this *Pero Hernandez* who lodged in my Father's house had set up any Standard or Colours, it could not have passed without my knowledge; and therefore in this matter I may rather be credited than this Authour. The Youth whom I mentioned in the twenty fifth Chapter of the second Book to have had an Infirmitie in his Eyes, and that by applying a certain medicinal Herb thereunto I recovered his Sight which was in danger to be lost, was the Son of this honest Souldier, and was born in my Father's house: and now in this year, 1611. he lives at *Oliva* in *Valencia*, his Father's Countrey, and is called *Martin Loyal*, whom his Excellency the Duke of *Feria*, and the Right Honourable the Marquis of *Villanueva de Barca Rosa*, do employ in their service whensoever they have occasion to buy Horfes, or breed them up to the Manage; for he became an Excellent Horseman in dressing the Genet, which was the Horfe that gained and conquered our Countrey, &c.

When *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal received the first Intelligence of the Rebellion of *Hernandez Giron*, he was then in the *Antio*, trading for the Herb called *Cuca*, which, with an Herb called *Tuna*, yields a great Revenue to his Majesty: And then leaving his employment, like a loyal Subject to his King, he went to the Marshal's Camp, where he remained 'till he was taken Prisoner at the Battel of *Chuguyuca*, and presented to *Francisco Hernandez* for a Person of Quality, and one eminent for the many Services he had formerly acted in service of his Imperial Majesty, for which reason *Hernandez* gave present order to have him executed; and accordingly the Hangman ordering him to kneel down, that he might put the Halter more conveniently about his Neck; and it happening at the same time, that a certain Souldier asking the Executioner some questions, which whilst he turned about his Head to answer, and was in discourse with the Souldier, up rose this *Pero*; and ran with such swiftness, that a Horfe could not have overtaken him; and directly coming to the presence of *Hernandez*, he cast himself at his Feet, and embracing both his Legs, he most earnestly prayed and begged his mercy: this Petition of his was seconded by all then present, and particularly *Christopher de Funes*, a Citizen of *Huamancu*, interceded for him, saying, that the poor Wretch had already tasted of death by the apprehensions he had conceived of it when the Halter was about his Neck; *Francisco Hernandez* at the importunity of so many friends, rather than his own inclinations, gave him his Pardon. This particular passed in the manner before related; for afterwards in the time of peace, I have heard the Story repeated in my Father's house, both in the presence and in the absence of this *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal; whose escape out of the hands of the Rebels unto his Majesty's Camp we shall relate in its due place.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIX.

The great Trouble and Disturbance which the News of the loss of the Marshal caused in his Majesty's Camp. The means which the Justices took to repair this Loss. The Disputes and Differences amongst the Officers, whether the Army ought to march, or not to march against the Rebels. One of the Captains of the Rebels revolts to the King's Forces.

THE same rumour which at the Battel of *Chinquina* affrighted *Antonio de Carrillo*, Serjeant Major to *Francisco Hernandez* and *Albertos de Ordunna*, and caused them to fly upon a groundless report that *Hernandez* was slain; and which afterwards was contradicted, and the truth divulged of the Victory he had gained: the same rumour being spread amongst the *Indians* was related to the *Spaniards* who lived in the Countries thereabouts, who taking the News upon Hear-say, wrote it to the Justices, with demands of a reward for their good ydings; but it was not long before winged fame brought the true relation of the fatal overthrow of the Marshal and his Forces, which raised great consternation and trouble in his Majesty's Army; and came to that height, that, as *Palentino* saith, Chap. 46. a Council was held amongst the three Justices, without any reason or cause for it, either to put the Justice *Sanitlan* to death, or to send him Prisoner into Spain, upon pretence that this *Sanitlan* had caused the loss of the Battel; but Doctour *Saravia* differing from the rest in his opinion, nothing was determined against him. And indeed we are not to think it strange, that men should imagine some foul play in this matter; for this Victory of *Hernandez* was so contrary to the expectation of all men who had any knowledge in the Affairs of Peru, that no man would believe but that the Marshal was betrayed, and sold by his own people, and consequently they pitched upon the persons whom they suspected and imagined to be the Contrivers of it: And herein they so confidently stood, and believed, that if an Angel from Heaven had come and revealed the truth, they would not have been persuaded into another belief; untill they saw many of those whom they suspected of this Treachery, and who were fled from the Battel, to come to his Majesty's Camp for refuge, showing the Wounds they received, and the Marks of their ill treatment; and then they were convinced of the Error they had received, and begun to entertain a good opinion of their faithfulness and loyalty: so soon as the people were recovered from their amazement, the Justices ordered *Antonio de Quimones*, a Citizen of *Coxco*, with a party of sixty Musquetiers, to march to the City of *Huamanga* for the defence thereof, and to receive such as were fled thither from the Battel, and to hinder the Enemy from taking any refreshments or succours from thence, of which they might stand in need; and so it happened accordingly; for *Hernandez* sent Captain *Cobo* to the City for Provisions and Medicines to cure his wounded men; but *Cobo* having intelligence that *Antonio Quimones* was coming thither, he retired from *Huamanga* without doing what he designed.

At this time two Letters were brought to the Justices from divers parts almost at the same instant, one was from the Marshal de *Alvarado*, complaining of his ill fortune and the refractoriness of the People who would not obey his Orders, nor follow his Directions: the other was from *Lorenzo de Aldana*, which in very few words gave an account of the ill success of the Battel, saying that it was done against the sense and opinion of all the principal Officers of the Army: as *Palentino* writes, Chap. 47. in these words:

Upon Monday last I wrote to your Lordship, signifying what I then suspected and feared; for I had no sooner concluded my Letter, than *Lucifer* entered into the Marshal and moved him to resolve instantly to assault *Hernandez* in the Post where he had fortified himself against the sense and opinion of all his Officers, and particularly

particularly against mine: the which was performed with that disadvantage to us, that *Hernandez* shot and killed our people, and defeated us, without moving out of the covert of his Fortification, many of our principal men and persons of Quality are killed; the precise number I cannot tell, because the Marshal retired before *Hernandez* sallied out of his Fortification: they say the Marshal is wounded, but I am sure it was neither with fighting nor giving encouragement to his Souldiers, &c. Thus far *Palentino*.

The News of the loss which the Marshal sustained being now confirmed by all hands; the Justices commanded that the Army should march, and follow *Hernandez*; and resolved, that the Court of Justice should accompany the Army, to give greater authority and reputation, as *Palentino* saith, to their Cause and Proceedings, and to take off the murmurings of the Souldiery, who perhaps might complain of the hardships they underwent, whilst the Justices were sojourn and enjoying themselves at home: but Judge *Altamirano* opposed this resolution, alleging that his Majesty having confined the Court of Judicature to Lima, the Bench had no power or authority without the Precincts of that Jurisdiction; nor ought they to remove from thence without express command from his Majesty. But Doctour *Saravia* earnestly insisting that the Court was in this emergency obliged to move with the Army; *Altamirano* positively declared, that he was resolved not to stir, for that the King had not given him a Commission to fight, but to sit upon his Bench, and there to judge such Causes as should be brought before him. To which Doctour *Saravia* replied, that he would suspend him of his Office in case he followed not the Army, and that he would send Orders to the Officers of the King's Treasury to stop the payment of his Salary; and accordingly the same was notified, though afterwards it was made good by a particular Warrant from his Majesty. Thus far *Palentino*.

After long Disputes of this kind, it was at length determined, that the three Justices, viz. Doctour *Saravia*, Judge *Sanitlan*, and *Mercado*, should attend the Royal Army; and that *Altamirano*, who had professed himself ignorant and unskillfull of Arms, and would wage no other War than civil Pleadings at the Bar, should remain in the City of *Los Reyes* in quality of Lord Chief Justice; and that *Diego de Mora*, a Citizen of *Truxillo*, (who, as we have said, brought a good company of Musquetiers to the Army,) was appointed Governour of the City, and his Company given to another Captain called *Pedro de Curate*. Things being ordered and disposed in this manner, and a sufficient Guard being appointed for the Sea-coast, the Royal Army marched to *Huamanga*, on the way whereunto, a Souldier of great reputation, named *John Chacon*, came to them, having been formerly taken by the Rebels in the Rout at *Villacori*; but having the credit and esteem of a good Officer, *Hernandez* was very desirous to oblige him to be his friend, and for that reason had given him the command of a Company of Musquetiers: but *John Chacon*, being a person of Loyal Principles to his Majesty, secretly plotted with other friends to kill the Tyrant; but as at that time there was no faith or honesty amongst that sort of People; but that they fold and betrayed one the other, as they could best make their Market; so they discovered to *Hernandez* the Plot intended against him, of which *John Chacon* having intimation, he escaped before they could seize him, and ran away in the sight of *Hernandez* and all his Souldiers: howsoever in the way his Life was in great hazard; for (as we have said before) the *Indians* having received Commands to kill all those who fled from the Battel, they had certainly also killed *Chacon*, had it not been for a Carbine he carried with him, which he often presented at the *Indians*, and thereby saved his Life: howsoever he came wounded to the Royal Camp, where he gave a large account of the State of *Hernandez* and his Forces, and of what they intended and designed to act; which information the Justices made use of for their better government, and with much satisfaction they marched to *Huamanga*; where we will leave them to relate what *Francisco Hernandez* was doing at the same time.

C H A P. XX.

What Francisco Hernandez acted after the Battel. He sends Officers to several parts of the Kingdom to plunder the Cities. The quantity of Silver which they robbed from two Citizens at Cozco.

AFTER the Battel Francisco Hernandez remained forty days within his Fortification; both to please himself with the thoughts of Victory, and to cure those of the King's Party who had received wounds in the Fight, whom he caressed and treated as kindly as was possible, to oblige them to remain his Friends, of which many followed him until the day of his overthrow: during which time, he dispatched his Lieutenant-General Alvarado to Cozco in pursuit of those who had escaped out of the Battel: and likewise ordered his Serjeant-Major Antonio Carrillo, to go to the City of Peace, to Cucuito, Potosi and the City of Plate, and to travel over all the Provinces to gather what Men, Arms and Horses he could find; that by such an employment he might divert and recover himself from the melancholy he had conceived for his late shameful flight out of the Battel of Chuquina: and particularly he charged him to get what Gold and Silver he could find, and also the Wine which was hidden; for a certain Souldier, lately of the Marshal's Army, named Francisco Boloma, told him, that he knew where a great quantity was concealed: to bring which, Antonio Carrillo, with a party of twenty Souldiers, taking Francisco Boloma together with them, was ordered abroad; of which twenty Souldiers two onely were belonging to Hernandez, and the rest had been the Marshal's men: for which reason it was generally suspected, and secretly whispered, that Hernandez had sent his Serjeant-Major with these men to confound and destroy them, and not to the end declared; which accordingly happened, as we shall see hereafter. Likewise John de Piedrahita was sent to the City of Arequipa, to provide what Men, Horses and Arms he could find: and upon this occasion he gave him the Title of his Major-General of the Army of Liberty; for so Hernandez styled his Forces, calling them Restorers of the People's Liberty: And then to Alvarado he named him his Lord Lieutenant, that with these swelling Titles these two great Officers might be encouraged with more pride and vain-glory to act the part they had undertaken.

According to Orders Alvarado went to Cozco in pursuit of those who had fled from the Battel at Chuquina; and the day before he entered into the City seven Souldiers of those formerly belonging to the Marshal came thither (the chief of which was called John de Cardona) and brought the sad news of the Marshal's defeat, to the great grief and amazement of the whole City, who could not believe it possible for such a ruinous fellow as Hernandez to gain such a Victory: and being now affrighted with the cruelty of this Tyrant, they resolved all to fly, and abandon the City rather than to fall into his merciless hands. Francisco Rodriguez de Villafuerte, who was then High Constable, gathered what people of the City he could together, which, with the seven Souldiers that were fled, could scarce make up the number of forty men, and with these he marched by the way of Collao: some of these took up their lodging for the first night about a league and a half from the City of which the High Constable was one, but others proceeded three or four leagues farther, by which means they preserved themselves: for this honest John de Cardona seeing the Constable take up his Quarters so near the Town, he stole privately away from them, and came to Cozco about midnight, where he gave information to Alvarado where Villafuerte and about twenty others with him remained about a league and a half from the Town: whereupon he commanded Alonso Gonzalez the Hangman General with a party of twenty men immediately to march forth and take Villafuerte and his Companions; which was performed with that diligence, that the next morning before eight a Clock Villafuerte and his Companions were all brought back to Cozco, and delivered into the hands of the Lord Lieutenant Alvarado; who intended to have put Villafuerte and several of those with him to death; but in regard no crime could be laid to their charge, the inter-

intercession of the Friends and Relations of Hernandez Giron in their behalf, prevailed for them, and obtained their Pardon. Amongst the many Evils and Impieties which this Alvarado committed by order and direction of his General in this City of Cozco; it was none of the least, that in a Sacrilegious manner he robbed the Cathedral Church, and the Monasteries of the Bells belonging to them. For from the Convent of our Lady of the Merced, they took one of their two Bells, from the Dominicans they did the like; but from the Convent of St. Francis they took none, because they had but one, which at the earnest intreaty of the Friars, they were persuaded to leave. From the Cathedral, out of five Bells they took only two, and would have taken them all, had not the Bishop with his Clergy appeared in their defence, and thundered out his Curses and Excommunications against them; for the Bells of the Cathedral were very great, and had been blessed and consecrated by the Hands of the Bishop with Chrism and holy Oyl. Of these four Bells they founded six pieces of Cannon, one of which burst upon the tryal; and upon the biggest of their Guns they impressed the word LIBERTIE, which was the plausible name they gave for a pretence of their Rebellion. These Guns which were made of hallowed and sanctified Metal, did never do any service, nor was any Man killed thereby, as we shall see hereafter. Besides this piece of Sacrilege, this Lord Lieutenant committed several Robberies and Spoils upon the Estates of those who were fled, and of those who were killed at the Battel of Chuquina, and had the reputation of being rich, because they were better Husbands, and not so prodigal as others who lived in that City; and who, as it was believed, had many Bars of Silver in their possession: Alvarado by his Industry, and by threats and menaces affrighted the Indians into a discovery of two Pits which Alonso de Mesa had made in the Garden of his House; from each of which they drew out sixty Bars of Silver, every Bar being of the value of Three hundred Ducats. I my self had the fortune to see them taken out, for the House of Alonso de Mesa being in the middle of the Street where my Father's House is, I went thither at the shous they made upon the discovery of so great a prize. Some few days after they took away from the Indians, belonging to John de Saavedra, an hundred and fifty Sheep of that Countrey, laden with three hundred Bars of Silver, all of the same size and value with the others. And now it was believed, that the reason why this John de Saavedra would not fly out of the City the night on which Hernandez began his Rebellion, as my Father and others would have persuaded him, was to conceal and secure his great quantity of Silver, which was the cause he lost both that and his Life with it. These two parcels of Silver, according to the usual valuation, amounted unto a hundred twenty six thousand Castilian Ducats, of three hundred seventy five Maravedis to each Ducat. And though Valentino saith, That Diego Ortiz de Guzman had some share in the loss thereof; for my part, I must say, That I knew nothing of it, nor did I ever hear, that any other was concerned besides the two before mentioned.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Robbery committed by Antonio Carrillo, and of the manner of his Death. The successes of Piedrahita at Arequipa; the Victory which was obtained by means of the differences which arose there.

NOR had the Sargeant Major Carrillo been less notorious for his Robberies (had his Life continued) than were those before named; for he sacked and plundered the new Plantations, and the other Cities of the District of Collasuyu; and in a very few days he plundered the Caciques of that Jurisdiction

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of the Tribute which they owed to their Masters, and of other things, which amounted to an incredible sum, as *Palentino Chap. 49.* declares, in these words,

Antonio Carrillo took the Collectors of the Monies belonging to Men who had Estates in that Country, with all the Caciques, and kept them Prisoners, threatening them with Punishment and Death, unless they delivered up the Moneys and Tributes belonging to their Masters; from whom, and from many Pits where Silver was buried in the Monastery of *St. Francis*, and other parts within the City and without, they robbed in the space of five days above the value of five hundred thousand pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver, besides Wine and other things, &c. Thus far this Author.

All which was effected by the Directions and Contrivance of *Francisco Bolan*, who was well acquainted with all the secret concealments of those things; and this Plunder and Robbery had proceeded farther, had not the discoverer thereof, by the checks of his own Conscience, and by the persuasion of *John Bazquez* Governour of *Chucuma*, been instrumental to restore all the Plunder back again to the true Proprietors; for he and other Comrades of his killed poor *Antonio Carrillo* with their Swords and Daggers in his own Chamber, and reduced the City to the Service of his Majesty, as formerly it had been: And in this manner the unfortunate *Carrillo* ended his days. But the Major General *John Piedra* succeeded better in *Aréquipa* than the Sargeant Major *Carrillo* had done, by reason of the dispute and difference between the Governour of *Aréquipa*, and Captain *Gomez de Solis*, whom the Justices had sent thither with Commission to Command in Chief all the Forces which were raised there against *Hernandez*. At which the Governour took great offence, esteeming himself a better Soldier, and more experienced in the War than *Gomez de Solis*. As *Diego Hernandez* relates, *Chap. 31.* in these words,

When *Gomez de Solis* was departed from his Majesties Camp with his own Commission, and another for his Ensign *Piencio de Monte*, the news of his coming was brought to the City before his arrival, which caused many to prepare themselves to go forth and meet him; but the Governour *Gonzalo de Torre*, highly resenting to have another set over him, declared, That the Justices had no power in his Jurisdiction; and consequently, that *Gomez de Solis* was not authorized by sufficient warrant, nor was any person capable of such Command whilst he was Governour in that City; and thus publicly professing his dislike of this matter, would not consent that any person should go forth to meet, and receive him, &c. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*.

Whilst these matters were in debate, news was brought, That *John de Piedra* was marching thither with a hundred and fifty Men, of which a hundred were the most expert Musketeers of any amongst all the Forces of *Hernandez*, with affrightment of which all the Inhabitants ran into the Great Church, carrying their Wives and Children, and Householdstuff along with them, and fenced it about with a high Wall, to hinder the entrance of the Enemy thercinto: and at the corner of every Street they placed those few Musketeers which they had in the Town, to fire on the Enemy from the Windows and Loop-holes, without being seen by them. But in a Country where Civil wars are, there are always Factions, and Parties, and false Brethren, by whose means *Piedra* received information of the Ambush which was laid for him; wherefore altering his course, he entered by another Street, by way of the Bishop's House, where he met with a small resistance, but nothing considerable. In the mean time came a Dominican Friar sent from *Piedra*, who allured them, That *Piedra* would not break with them, but desired to maintain a Friendship, and good Correspondence with them, leaving the Soldiers of one side and the other free, and at their own choice, either to serve the King, or to joyn with *Hernandez*, as they were guided by their Inclinations, only the surplussage of the Arms, of which they had no use, he desired might be surrendered up into his Hands. *Gomez de Solis* would not accept of these Conditions, it seeming an infamous action for him to relinquin Arms to an Enemy, though such are superfluous; howsoever the next day he condescended to the Articles, and even begged for them, because that night they had burnt some Houses of his, (though his Estate was chiefly in the Churches) with other principal Houses of that City. And though they made a Price for three days, yet the

the Rebels broke it so soon as they heard that many of *Gomez de Solis* his Men were fled, and the rest refused to fight, upon which they were so encouraged, that they attempted the Wall and Barracadoe which was made. When *Gomez de Solis*, and other Men of Estates, who were with him, perceived that their Men would not fight, they fled, and made their escape in the best manner they could, leaving *Piedra* in possession of all the Riches and Wealth they had gathered, with which the Enemy returned fully laden and successful to their Captain General *Francisco Hernandez*: And though in the return, above twenty of those Souldiers formerly belonging to the Marshal, which *Piedra* carried with him, fled away and left him, yet he considered them as nothing, being forced Men, nor valuable in respect of that immense booty and spoils which they had taken, in Gold, Silver, Jewels, Arms, and Hories.

Hernandez (whom we left in the Fortrefs, where he fought the Battel of *Chunquina*) having remained there a Month and a half, for the sake of the wounded Men; marched afterwards in the best manner he could to the Valley of *Antabuailla*, being highly incensed against the Indians of the *Charcas* for daring to fight against him at the Battel of *Chunquina*, where they killed several of his Souldiers with Stones and Slings; wherefore being come into those Provinces, he gave orders to his Souldiers, as well Negers as White-men, to plunder the People, and burn their Houses, and to do them all the ruine and mischief they were able. From *Antabuailla Hernandez* sent for his Wife, and for the Wife of *Thomas Vazquez*, for whom the Souldiers made a Solemn Reception, and were so foolish and impudent as to file *Hernandez* his Wife Queen of *Peru*. Having remained a few days in the Province of *Antabuailla*, and there vented their Anger and Spleen against the Indians, they marched towards *Cozco*, and having intelligence that the Kings Forces were coming after them, they passed the two Rivers of *Amancay* and *Apurimac*; which *Hernandez* surveying, and observing the many difficult passages which were there, and places so naturally strong, as might easily be defended against any Army which should assault him therein; he would often say, That in case he had not sent away his Major General *Piedra* with his choice Men, he would have stay'd and given the Justices Battel in some of those strong and difficult passes: Whilst *Hernandez* marched in this manner, six Souldiers of note, which formerly belonged to the Marshal, adventured to run away in sight of the whole Army, with their Hories, Arms, and other Conveniences. Nor would *Hernandez* suffer them to be pursued; for since they were no more than six in all, he was contented to let them go, rather than to adventure others to fetch them back, lest they also should follow their example. Those six Souldiers being come to his Majesties Camp informed them, How that *Hernandez* was marching to *Cozco*, with intention to proceed to the *Collao*. Upon which intelligence the Justices gave order to the Army to march with all expedition, and yet with such due caution and circumspection as was requisite, though by reason of the many animosities and differences which arose amongst the principal Officers, the progress of matters was much obstructed, and his Majesties Service prejudiced and delay'd.

C H A P. XXII.

Francisco Hernandez dares not to adventure into Cozco; he carries his Wife with him from thence.

Francisco Hernandez passed all his Army over the River *Apurimac* by way of the Bridge, to guard which, he left one *Valderravano* with a Party of twenty Souldiers; but not confiding in the Honesty or Conduct of the Man, he sent two days afterwards *John Gavilan* to take that Charge, and ordered *Valderravano* to follow him to his Head-quarters. *John Gavilan* having the Guard

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of the Bridge committed to him, he had scarce been there two days, before the Van of his Majesties Army appeared; upon sight of which, notwithstanding any longer, or observing who they were, or in what number, he set fire to the Bridge, and burnt it, and afterwards returned to his Captain General with all expedition; which Action, as *Palentino* saith, so much displeased *Hernandez*, that he gave *Gonzalez* very severe words for having so done: Though I cannot imagine, what reason he should have for it; for since he had no intention, as may be believed, to return again by that way, I know not what damage his Party could receive thereby; and it is very evident on the contrary, that the enemy was damaged and forced to great trouble, and difficulties in their passage over. *Hernandez* marched by the Valley of *Tucay*, to enjoy (tho' but for 2 days) the pleasures of that delightful Country: and being come with his Army within a League of *Cozco*, he turned off by the left hand; being persuaded by the Astrologers, Diviners, or Prognosticators, not to go thither; saying, that his entrance there, would be unfortunate, and prove his overthrow: to evidence which, they produced many Examples, as well of Indian Captains, as of Spaniards, who had been defeated after their entrance into *Cozco*; but they did not specify those who had been successful, of which we could give many particulars, in case it were pertinent to our purpose. In confirmation hereof, *Diego Hernandez*, (Chapters 32. and 45.) names 4 Spaniards, and a Morisco Woman, who were esteemed skilful in the Art of Necromancy, and who gave out, that they held a correspondence with a familiar Spirit, which discovered to them all the secret counsels, and actions which were resolved, and which passed in his Majesties Camp; which report served to keep many people so in awe, that they durst neither adventure to fly, nor act any thing to the prejudice of the Rebels, lest the Devil should make a discovery of their intentions. I my self saw a Letter which *Hernandez* wrote to *Piedrabita* at *Cozco*, when orders were sent him to go to *Arequipa*, as we said before: And in that he tells him, that he should not remove out of the City on such a day of the Week, but on such a day; and that his name of *Juan* was not to be written henceforward with an *O*. but with an *O*. of which nature were many other things in the Letter, which I cannot so particularly remember, as to deliver them in Writing, only I can say, that he was generally esteemed for a Cheat, and an Imposter: And by this sort of Conjuring and Tricks, (as is usual) he hastened his own ruine and destruction, as we shall see by the sequel.

The Well-wishers of *Hernandez*, who were acquainted with the Correspondencies and Compacts which he had with Wizzards; made it a question amongst themselves, why he made no use of the *Indians* of the Country who were famous for Conjurings, and Diabolical Arts: To which answer was made, that their General had no Opinion of the Magick and Witchcraft of the *Indians*, which were fooleries, rather than any real contract, or dealing with the Devil. And herein they had some reason, as we have proved and evinced by several Instances, in the first part of these Commentaries, Book the 4. Chap. 16. One of which, was their Prognostication of good or bad Fortune, by the palpitation or twinkling of the Eye; and another sort of Divination they took from the buzzing, or ringing of the Ears, which, as we mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, so we shall hear repeat it again; having the Authority of a Synod held in that Empire, whereby this vain Superstition is condemned by a Catholick Cannon; and Advertisements are given to Confessors, to let them know, that the *Indians* take their Superstitious Divinations from seeing and hearing: That of the hearing, I have observed many of them to use in this manner, when they found at any time a humming or buzzing in their right Ear; they said, that some Friend or Kinsman was speaking well of them; and to know who this Friend was, they would clap the Palm of their right hand to their Mouth, and breathing hard upon it, they would think of some Friend, and then carry it close to the Ear; and if the humming did not presently cease, they would think of another Friend, and do as before; and then of another; and he, with thoughts of whom the humming went away, it was concluded, that he was the person who spake well of the Party.

In like manner, when they found a humming in their left Ear, they would say, that an Enemy spake ill of them; and to find out who it was, they used the like application of their left hand, and he, with whom in their thoughts the

the humming ceased, they concluded, such person to be the evil speaker, and from that time, they would conceive malice against him, and for ever prove his Enemy. And upon such fooleries as these, the Friends of *Hernandez* declared, that the *Indians* had no Art in Necromancy, nor was any Faith to be given to their Prognostications.

The Rebel *Hernandez* overtook his Army in a plain, which is behind the Fortresses of *Cozco*, where, as *Palentino* saith, he made a visit to *Francisco Rodriguez de Villa fuerte*, who was Justice in ordinary of that City; complaining highly of the Citizens of *Cozco*, and swearing that he would kill and destroy them, because they had done him all the mischief that they were able: but he had a mind to quarrel with them because they espoused not his Cause, nor followed him as he desired. From thence he marched his Army over those Hills which are Eastward from the City, as his Astrologers had directed, and carried his Wife with him to the great grief of all her Friends and Relations, saying, That he would not leave her in the power of his Enemy, to revenge themselves on her for the Crimes of which he himself was only guilty; and so he proceeded to the Valley of *Oreo*, about five Leagues from the City: And here I will leave him for a while, to speak of the Present which the Son of this *Francisco Rodriguez de Villa fuerte* made me in Spain, though I had formerly never seen him, nor had any other acquaintance with him than by intercourse of Letters. The second Son, I say, of this Gentleman, was sent into Spain to study, and lived in *Salamanca* several years, where he improved greatly in all Sciences; he was called *Don Feliciano Rodriguez de Villa fuerte*, which name agreed properly with the Gallantry and Ingenuity of his Spirit. At the beginning of this Year 1611, this Gentleman did me the favour to send me a little Box about the length and breadth of half a Sheet of Paper, all filled with Holy Reliques, wrapt up in several parcels with inscriptions thereon, what, and of whom they were; and amongst the rest, there was a little piece of the Holy Cross, put into a Frame of Wood curiously Carved, and covered with a Glass, and gilded about the Cross, which was easy to be seen. With this Box of Reliques he sent me two Dials made by his own Hand, one of the Sun, with a Needle turning to the North, the Shadow on which perfectly shews the Hour of the Day. Another Dial was of the Moon curiously wrought according to the exact Rules of Astrology, with all the Circular Motions divided into twenty nine parts, which make up the Days of the Lunary Moneth: It hath also the true Figure of the Moon with its Increase and Decrease, its Conjunction and Full: It also by the shadow cast on it (the Gnomon thereof being altered according to the age of the Moon) shews the Hour of the Night; it hath also many other Curiousities which I shall omit in this place, all which was made by his own Hand, without any other aid or directions whatsoever, both as to the Material Part, as also to the Mathematical, to the great admiration of many curious Men, as well *Virtuosi* as others: And for my part, I cannot but glory and boast very much to see a Man born in my Country and my City, to have been the Master of so excellent a piece of Ingenuity and Learning, so much admired by the Artists of this part of the World; the which may serve for a demonstration of the Natural Genius of the People of *Peru*, and their capacity to receive all Arts and Sciences, as well those who are of Mongrel Race between Spaniards and Indians, as all others born there, the which we touched upon before, and signified how much some have been improved therein by the Industry and Authority of our Schoolmaster *John de Cuellar*, who was a Canon of the Holy Church of *Cozco*, who taught Grammar in that City, though but for a short time. Praised be our Lord God for the same. Amen. Which having said, we shall return to *Peru*, to relate the success of his Majesties Army in their March, having left them formerly in the City of *Huancayo*.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Royal Army passes the Rivers of Amancay, and Apurimac, with more facility and ease than was expected. The Scouts and Van of the Army come to Cozco.

WHEN the Kings Army marched out of *Huamanga* in pursuit of *Francisco Hernandez*, of whom they had received intelligence, that he had taken the way towards *Cozco*; they proceeded with all care and due circumspection, having their Scouts and Spies before them: When they came to the River *Amancay*, they forded it over where it was most shallow; but for their Footmen, who were laden, and such as carried the Artillery, they made a Bridge at a place (with much ease) where the River is very narrow: At this place an unlucky accident fell out, which was this, Captain *Antonio Luxan* having passed the River, stooped down on the side of the Bank to drink, and taking up the Water with his Hands, as he was rising up, both his Feet slid from under him on the Rock whereon he stood, and so he fell backwards into the Water, and sunk down, and never appeared more, though all possible care and diligence was used to recover him; only about two years afterwards the Indians brought his Coat of Mail unto *Cozco*, at the time when my Father was Chief Justice of the City. The Command of his Foot Company was afterwards conferred on *John Ramon*, though he had lately lost his former Company in *Chusquina*.

The Army being come to the River of *Apurimac* received the news of this unhappy accident; and also was informed, That one of the Scouts named *Francisco Menacho* with about forty more of his Companions had passed the River, and that he like a brave and resolute Souldier had shewed and led them the way which never any had attempted before; and that he had boldly cast himself in at the place which is now called the *Ford*, and that he had passed and repassed it several times whilst the Camp was marching thither, the which rash and precipitate action in him gave boldness to the whole Army to follow his Example, and to pass over without loss of time, which would have caused great delay, had they attended there until a Bridge could have been erected: And for the better security of their Footmen with their Burdens, and for the Indians, who carried the Artillery; the Horse were ordered to flank them on the side to break the force of the Current, by which means all the Footmen and Indians who were laden, came safely to the other side without any loss or danger; as *Palentino* confirms, *Chap. 50.* And herein the Providence of God is much to be admired, for though an Army passed then without danger, yet since that time no single person hath adventured upon it, nor durst any Man attempt to wade or ford it over. And now being got to the other side, they entered on a Mountainous and Rocky Way, full of labour and difficulty, and the second Day afterwards they came to *Arimacrampu*, seven Leagues distant from the City: And from thence they proceeded farther the very Night they came thither, though the Officers were much disquieted and troubled to see the Orders given by one Party, to be again presently Countermanded by others of a different Faction; which was the cause that the Scouts and Van of the Kings Army, and of *Hernandez* his Forces, marched always in view each of the other; for the Rebels seemed not to fly, but to proceed on their way in an orderly manner, as if they apprehended no danger from their Enemy in the Rear: Thus at length they came to *Sacabumana* four Leagues from the City, from whence those who were Citizens of *Cozco*, were desirous to be ordered abroad upon the Scout, with which occasion they made a visit to their Wives and Children at home, where they came about Noon, and the same Day in the Morning *Alvarado* the Lieutenant General of the Rebels had departed thence. That Night the Citizens would not lie in their own Houses, lest the Enemy should

should return, and surprize them, but they contrived to lodge altogether with some few Souldiers, which they had brought with them, and fortified themselves in the House of *John Pancoroo*; to which there was no entrance, or access, by any back passage, but only by the Fore-gate of the principal Street; and at the distance of seven or eight paces from the Gate, they raised up a Breast-work, with Loop-holes to shoot out at with their Musquets, by which they could fire into three Streets, one on the right hand, and the other two on the side, where they remained all night in security, having placed their Centinels in all Avenues leading towards the House: I was with them all the night, and was sent three or four times with Messages to the Neighbours Houses.

The next day, being in my Father's Court-yard, about 3 a clock in the Afternoon, I saw *Pero Hernandez* the Loyal, come galloping in at our Gate, on his Horse *Paxarillo*; at which I was so over-joyed, that, without speaking to him, I ran in to my Father to carry him the good news; on notice of which, my Father instantly ran to meet him, and they both embraced with great kindness: And *Pero* told him, that the day before the Rebels marching, something more than a League from the City; he took an occasion, on pretence of some necessities of Nature, to go aside from them, and taking towards the left hand of the way amongst some high Rocks, he hid himself there for a while, and then climbed up the Mountain, whence seeing the Rebels at a distance, he made his escape, and was come thither. After which he went with my Father to the King's Army, and there served until the end of the War, and then returned back again with my Lord *Garcilasso* into *Cozco*. Of all which I was an Eye Witness, and as such have given this faithful Relation.

C H A P. XXIV.

His Majesties Camp enters into Cozco, and from thence marches forwards: An account is given how the Indians carried the Train of Artillery on their Shoulders. Part of the Ammunition arrives at the Royal Army.

THE third day after the Citizens had made a visit to their Relations and Concernments in the City, the Royal Camp made their Entry with the Troops and Companies in good order. The Infantry drew up in the Chief Place or Square, and the Horse skirmished with the Foot, according to the Rules of Military Discipline, and both charged each other with handsome Volleys, and quick Fire; for the Souldiers were become very ready and expert at their Arms. And though *Palentino* saith, that *Don Phelipe de Mendoza*, who was General of the Ordnance, brought his great Guns into the Parade, and fired them several times, and that the Musquetiers, marching the Round, made several handsome Volleys; but herein this Writer was much mistaken, as he hath been in many other Passages; for the Artillery could not be easily fixed, and put in order, so as to be used at every turn, and unnecessary occasion; for they were not drawn on their Carriages, but carried on the Indians Shoulders, and that with so much difficulty, that to manage eleven pieces of Cannon only with their Carriages, was the work of ten thousand Indians: I my self saw them brought into *Cozco*, and was then in the place when they were again carried out; and the manner how they mannaged them was this.

Every piece of Ordnance was fastned to a large Beam of about forty foot in length; under this were fixed several cross Bars, about the bigness of a Mans Arm, at two foot asunder, and of about half a yard long on each side the Beam; under which two Indians were placed, one on one side, and one on the other, after the manner that the *Palanquines* are carried in *Spain*. The burden they carried was laid on their Shoulders close to their Necks, where they wore

wore a Pad or Pannel to keep them from galling with the weight, and at every 200 paces they were relieved by a fresh Company. And here we may leave the Reader to consider, with how much trouble and labour these poor *Indians* carried these weighty Burdens over those Rocky and Mountainous ways which are in my Country; and over ascents, and descents of three and four Leagues long, and so keep, that many *Spaniards*, whom I have seen travelling, have for ease of their Horses and Mules, alighted off from their backs, especially at a descent, which are many times so steep that a man cannot sit in his Saddle, but it will be on the horse-neck, notwithstanding the Crupper, which often breaks; and such kind of way as this we have from *Quish* to *Coxco*, which are 500 Leagues distant; but from *Coxco* to the *Charcas* the way is more pleasant, being for the most part a plain Country. And hereby we may understand, that, what *Palentino* saith concerning the Artillery, which *Felipe de Mendoza* brought into the *Parade*, and fired several times, was rather to speak fine things, as in a Romance, and to embellish his History, than that any such thing was really acted, or put into practice; as we have said before.

His Majesties Army marched out, and encamped about a League from the City, where they continued about five days to put all things in a readiness, and make Provisions of every thing they stood in need; and until the *Indians* of the neighbouring Places could bring in the Victuals and Stores they had gathered; there was need of Horse-Shoes and other Iron-works; and before the one could be forged, and the other got together, time was required: And this certainly was the reason that detained the Army so many days; and not what our Author alledges, Chapter the 50th, in these words, The Camp, saith he, remained in the *Salinas* five or six days, in expectation of *Indians* to carry the Baggage; but they came not, but rather several of them fled to their own Homes; and because they belonged to Planters, who had their Estates and Lands near to *Coxco*, it was suspected that they were sent away by order of their Masters. I am troubled to find this, and such like Passages in the History of this Author, which argues some kind of Passion or Pique he had against the Inhabitants of *Coxco*, whom he frequently blames on all occasions, in matters whereof they never were guilty: And indeed it were more reasonable to believe, that these Citizens, and Men of Estates, should contribute all they were able to put an end to this War, rather than to do any act which might be a means to protract and hinder the final determination of it; nor could it be to the advantage of the Citizens, to be accessory to any Act (such as sending away the *Indians*) which might occasion the stay of the Army in parts so near the City, from which they could not expect other than troubles, perpetual molestations, and damages to their Estates, during all the time of their quarters in that place. And moreover this Author seems to contradict himself, in saying, that the Army was detained in expectation of *Indians* to carry their Baggage; and for want of them they could not proceed; and then afterwards, he saith, that many of them fled away, and yet the Army raised their Camp, and departed without them: But the truth of what passed in this particular, was this; That, by order of the General, many of the *Indians* who were appointed to carry Burdens were dismissed, by reason that the way afterwards being plain and without Rocks, or Mountains, or hollow Cavities, they stood not in need of the Service of so many *Indians* as formerly, and therefore discharged several of them as useless and cumbersome to the Camp. In fine, the Army, after five days stay, departed from their Quarters near the City, and marched in good Order, and always in a readiness to engage the Enemy, in case they should be attacked by them in any of those narrow passages which are between the City and *Quequesana*: But the Rebels had another Game to play, suffering them to pass quietly and undisturbed, until they came to the People called *Pucara*, about forty Leagues distant from *Coxco*, only they found themselves something distressed for want of Provisions, because the *Negers*, who were Souldiers to the Rebels, having divided themselves into two bands on both sides of the Road, had driven all the Cattel away, and taken all the Provisions with them that they could find, leaving nothing behind for subsistence of his Majesties Army. And now the Scouts of both the parties met each with the other, and yet no Skirmishes, or Encounters passed between them: only the Justices received Intelligence, that the

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Rebel's Army expected them in *Pucara*, with intention to give them Battle; for at that time there were Fugitives from both Parties; some of the King's Army flying to the Rebels, and some of the Rebels to the Royalists, so that by such an intercourse no Councils or Designs could be concealed. The Justices being on the march to *Pucara*, sent away with all haste to have the Powder, Ammunition, Match and Bullet to be brought to them, which had been left behind in *Antabaila*, by the negligence of some Officers: Howsoever by the care and diligence of *Pedro de Cianza*, who was appointed for that Service, such expedition was made, that the Ammunition arrived at the Army in good time, and the day before the Battle, to the great satisfaction and encouragement of the Army.

CHAP. XXV.

The King's Army comes to the place where the Rebels had fortified themselves. They encamp in a Plain, and intrench; several Skirmishes happen, to the disadvantage of the King's Party.

THE Justices, as they were on their march, received the ill news of the unfortunate loss of *Gomez de Solis* in *Arequepa*; at which though they were much troubled, yet being that which could not be remedied, they dissembled the resentment of it, and proceeded on their way to *Pucara*, where the Enemy had fortified themselves to great advantage, in a place so situated, and strong by Nature, that they could not be attacked on any side: it being encompassed about with a Mountain so steep and cragged, that it was not passable without much difficulty, and seemed to be a wall made by Hand and Art; the entrance thereunto was very narrow, with windings and turnings to the right, and left, but the lodgment therein was wide and capacious, sufficient to receive their men, and beasts, with all the appurtenances belonging to their Camp. They had store of all Provisions and Ammunition, for after so signal a Victory as that obtained at *Chiquinca*, they could want nothing; and moreover their bands of *Negers*, or black Guard, brought daily in such Provisions as they found in the neighbouring Parts. On the other side, his Majesties Camp was pitched in an open plain, without any natural Fortification or defence, and ill-provided either with Victuals or Ammunition, (as we have said); howsoever not to lye open, and exposed to the Enemy, they intrenched in the best manner they were able; casting up earth breast high round the Camp; which was not difficult to be done, by the help of so many *Indians*, who having been formerly employed in carrying the Artillery, did now serve for Pioneers, and other Offices belonging to the Camp; and by their labour in a very short time a Trench was cast up quite round the Army. *Francisco Hernandez*, observing in what manner his Majesties Forces were encamped, mounted a battery of Cannon on the top of a Hill, from whence he could shoot into the Enemies Camp; and oftentimes in bravery would shoot over into the plains; and thus continued firing day and night, to the great disturbance of the Justices and all their Army: and howsoever (which is strange) the Bullets, as if they had been pellets of wind, did no hurt either to Man or Beast: The which we must attribute to the Mystery of Divine Providence, which would not permit those Guns made, and founded out of the consecrated Metal of Bells dedicated to God's Service, to be useful in such bloody Tragedies, as was observed by considering men, both in one Camp and in the other. Both Armies being thus encamped in sight of each other; the Officers and Souldiers desired to signalize their valour by some feats of Arms; in the first Skirmishes two Souldiers of good Reputation on the King's side were killed, and five or six others ran

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away to *Hernandez*, and gave an account of the State and Condition of the Royal Army; and how that some few days before their coming to *Pucara*, the General *Pablo de Meneses*, in discontent, would have laid down his Commission, by reason of the Factions and Differences which were continually amongst the Officers, who would not obey his Orders, but rather contradicted, and opposed them; so that he desired rather to have no Charge, or Office at all, than one so incumbered, by the refractory humour of Souldiers, who would not obey, but pretend to Command: And accordingly *Meneses* would have acquitted himself of his Charge, had he not been persuaded to the contrary by Doctor *Saravia*, who told him, that in the present Conjunction he should rather lose his Honour by such an Action, than gain Reputation. This was joyful news to *Hernandez*, and his Souldiers, who hoped by such Dissentions as these, to make their Benefit, and such advantage as should with time facilitate their Victory.

On occasion of these Skirmishes, some pleasant sayings were uttered by both sides; which being (as *Diego Hernandez* saith) the Jest of Souldiers, they may come pertinently to be inserted in this place; and which we shall explain more clearly than this Author, who, in the 5th of his Book, speaks confusedly, and darkly, as followeth.

As some Souldiers came forth to skirmish, it was the Fortune oft-times for Friends and Acquaintance to meet, and they instead of fighting would enter into Discourse, and expostulate the matter: *Sesio Ferrara* who was of the King's Party, met with *Pavia*, who had been fellow Servant with him in the Family of the good Vice-King, *Don Antonio de Mendoza*: and he began to use persuasive Arguments unto him, to bring him over to the King's Party; to which *Pavia* made answer, that the Party with whom he was engaged, had honestly won him by War; and so if they were desirous to regain him, it must be in like manner by War, &c.

This *Pavia* said in reference to the Battel of *Chunquinca*, where he was taken by the Rebels, and kindly used and treated by them, which made him to say, that he could not deny them, but if the King's Party were desirous of him, they must win him, as the others had done. In like manner, Captain *Rodrigo Nimmo* entertained Discourse with *John de Piedrahita*, persuading him to come over to the Service of the King, with Promises of great Rewards and Promotions from the favour of the Justices: to which *Piedrahita* made answer, that he knew very well how the Justices did use to reward those who deserved their favours, which might incline him at another time to a different resolution, but for the present he had a prospect of the Game he intended to play. This was the reply of *Piedrahita*, depending with others of *Hernandez*, his Confidants, on the vain Delusions and Predictions, which Witches, and Men pretending to Necromancy, had insinuated them with, assuring them of Victory over the King's Forces: tho' a few days afterwards he was undeceived, and changed his mind, as we shall see hereafter. And this Author proceeds, and farther says, That the like Conferences passed between *Diego Mendez*, and *Hernando Guilaada*, and also between Captain *Ruybarba*, and *Bernardino de Robles* his Son-in-Law: But no Benefit, or effect, resulting from these Discourses, the Justices commanded for the future, that no Man, upon pain of Death, should entertain any Communication with the Enemies Party. However it was agreed between Captain *Ruybarba*, and *Bernardino de Robles*, to meet again the next day, and to finish their Discourse; and the better to know each other, they appointed to wear their Scarlet Cloaks. *Bernardino de Robles* came attended with 10 or 12 Officers, and treacherously seized upon *Ruybarba*, and carried him before *Hernandez*, giving out amongst the Souldiers, that he came in voluntarily, and of his own accord; which when *Ruybarba* heard, he denied it, and said, That whosoever reported, that he came in with his own Consent, did not say true; which, with License of *Hernandez*, he was ready to make good, either a Foot, or Horse-back, against any Man whatsoever, unless against his Son-in-Law, by whose Treachery he was betrayed into the hands of his Enemies. *Francisco Hernandez* was over-joyed to see him brought in, and went with him to his Wife *Donna Mencia*: See, Madam, said he, what a Prisoner I bring you, look to him well, for I commit him to your Charge. I accept, said *Donna Mencia*, of the Trust, and shall take care of him, as you require. After this *Randona* made a Sally abroad, and had soon Discourse with *John de Villanes*, Sergeant Major to *Hernandez*: *Randona* thinking to take him by the swiftness

of his Horse, let loose his Rein, and spurred after him in full speed; but his Horse being faint, and low, he was too far engaged to get off, and so was himself taken. As they were carrying him away Prisoner, he told them, that he had promised the Justices not to return without a Prisoner of the best quality amongst the Enemy, and for that reason he had given chase to the Sergeant Major. At which saying some of the proudest of them were so offended, that they protested not to fight, unless *Randona* was first put to Death, for that such insolent and daring Persons as these, ought not to be suffered to live. Hereupon they immediately committed him to the Tent of *Alvarado* the Lawyer, and advised him to make his Confession; and in the mean time *Alonso Gonzalez* kept the door, to advise them in case *Hernandez* should pass by, that they might kill him before he could come to interpose his Authority: *Toledo* the Lawyer, Advocate General to *Hernandez*, and Captain *Ruybarba* prevailed with *Hernandez*, to spare *Randona*, and grant him his Life. To which he assented, and in token thereof sent his Gloves by the Messenger, who carried the Pardon. *Alonso Gonzalez* having intimation, that the Act of Grace was coming, he entered into the Tent, and charged the Priest to make an end of his Work, for he would not stay longer; whereupon the Father hastening the Absolution, so soon as it was ended, *Gonzalez* cut off his Head with a great Knife, which having done, he went out of the Tent, saying, That he had made good the word of this little Marquess, who had promised the Justices, to bring the Head of an Enemy, or to leave his own with them: and causing his Body to be drawn out, it was exposed to publick view, to the great trouble of many of the Spectators, but more especially to the sorrow of his Friends in the King's Camp, when the news thereof was made known to them.

This *Randona*, as we have said, was a rash Souldier, more Courageous than Wife: his Horse was very good, but he used him ill, being always on his back, shewing how well he could prance, and carvet; which was the reason, as *Valentino* saith, that he fail'd him, when he had most use of his Service. We may see also how wise he was to tell the Enemy what he had promised to the Justices; upon which the Executioner General *Alonso Gonzalez* took occasion to exercise his Cruelty. *Valentino* on these passages proceeds and says, That the Justices sent several Pardons to particular Persons, by the hands of *Negers*, and *Indian* Domestick Servants, who continually passed between both Camps, carrying intelligence from one to the other, all which were brought to *Hernandez*, who caused them to be publicly cryed, and with Scorn and Contempt declared as insignificant and of no value: Moreover they cut off the Hands and Noses of those who brought them, and tyed them about their Necks, and in that manner returned them to the King's Camp again. Thus far this Author, and therewith he concludes this Chapter.

C H A P. XXVI.

The treacherous practices of some false Souldiers. Piedrahita gives an Alarm to the King's Army. Hernandez resolves to give Battel to the Justices, and in what manner it was prevented by them.

SUCH Affronts as these were daily offered to his Majesties Camp, during all the time that *Francisco Hernandez* was lodged in *Pucara*: For scarce a day passed without some remarkable disadvantage to the King's Forces, who continually lost Men, Horses, and Arms: For many of the Souldiers being of a Mutinous and Seditious temper, and false and perfidious in their dealings,

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did oftentimes appear to go forth and skirmish, and with that occasion yielded themselves Prisoners, and called for Quarter to the Enemy, saying, I submit and surrender my self, together with my Arms: And this was the subtle design of these Souldiers to save themselves; for in case the King overcame, they had to alledge, That they were taken Prisoners by the Rebels; and if the Rebels were victorious, they could plead, and say, That they had revolted to them, and had contributed to the fortune of the Day. The Justices suspecting this piece of policy amongst the crafty Souldiers, they gave Orders, forbidding all Skirmishes for the future, and all Communications and Conferences with the Enemy, though on pretence of Kindred, Friendship or Alliance; for that no good effects did ever result from such Interviews. *Francisco Hernandez*, observing, that an end was put to the Skirmishes and Conferences between the Souldiers; he gave Orders to his Major General, Captain *John de Piedrabita*, to alarm the Kings Camp, thinking thereby to provoke them to fight; and with eighty Musqueteers to assail them by Night; and gave them particularly in charge to observe with what readiness and vigilance they were received by the Enemy; and with such Allarms they intended constantly to molest and disturb them, until in this manner harrassing the Souldiers, they should with watchfulness and continual Duty tire them out, and defeat them. *Piedrabita* accordingly alarmed the Enemy with his Souldiers as far as he durst adventure; but to little effect; nor did the Kings Forces return any answer, seeing that all was but a Bravade, without any real Design to engage: howsoever *Piedrabita* returned to *Hernandez* boasting much of the great Actions he had done, and how he found the Enemies Camp without Guards or Centinels, and sleeping with such security, that in case he had had but two hundred and fifty Musqueteers with him, he should not have doubted but to have defeated the Enemy, and have taken the Justices and all their Captains Prisoners. Besides which he vapoured, and told many other Stories of the like nature, as is the custom of Bravadoes, who talk more than they do; and though *Piedrabita* was an eminent Captain in this Rebellion, and had been successful in many Encounters; yet in this last he did nothing more than what we have mentioned, and talked more than what he had acted.

Francisco Hernandez founding himself much upon the Reports he had received from his Major General, conceiving them all to be true, and also upon the Informations which were given him by certain Souldiers, who were revolted from the Kings party unto his, did really believe that the Kings Camp was in great want of Powder, Match, and all sorts of Ammunitions: in confidence of which, he resolved one of those Nights to attack the Enemy, seeing that they designed not to assault him within his Fortifications; which he interpreted to be such a piece of Cowardice and lowness of Spirit in the Enemy, that he esteemed them already his own, and conquered by him. Hereupon he called his Captains to a Council of War, laying before them the state of the Enemies Camp, with the Circumstances of it, and his Opinion to attack them, desiring their Concurrence with him; assuring them of Victory, not only because the Enemy was weak and discouraged, but also from certain Predictions which Wise Men had foretold of these matters, which he termed Prophecies, though they deserved no better name, than of Witchcrafts and Sorceries. The Captains however were of a different Opinion, and said, That there was no necessity of engaging the Enemy, and that their business was only to remain quiet, and on the defensive part, which they could easily do, being well fortified in a place inaccessible to an Enemy, and provided with all things necessary for their subsistence: when on the contrary, the Enemy laboured under great wants of Victuals and Ammunition: And in case they desired to reduce them to greater extremities, they had nothing to do but to march away to the *Charcas*; where having seized all the Silver of the Country, and wherewith paid the Souldiery, they might afterwards march along the Coast by the Sea side, to the City of *Las Reyes*, which they would find open to them, and without Souldiers or Garrison to defend it. Moreover the Enemy wanting Horses, and Beasts of Burden, and Iron to Shoe them with, were not in a condition to make a pursuit after them; and in case they did, they might easily worst them, whensoever they made Head to oppose them. And since that, by

this

this method, things had succeeded well, it were not good to change the course of their proceedings, lest therewith they should change and alter the Current of their Fortune: An Example whereof they had seen and proved by the Enemies success at *Chinquica*. How confident, said they, were they of Victory, and with what heat and courage did they assail us, and how on a sudden were they overthrown and defeated? Notwithstanding all this Discourse, *Hernandez* declared his Resolution to beat up the Enemies Quarters that Night with the force of all his Army; and that he would never turn his Back to the Justices; for some Wife Old Woman had foretold good success to him in that place: wherefore he intreated them all, not to contradict or oppose him in this matter, but to prepare themselves for that night's Enterprize.

Thus ending the Consultation, the Captains arose very much discontented, and out of humour, seeing such a Resolution taken as was contrary to the common Opinion of all the Officers of the Army, and which was so full of hazard and danger, that they seemed rather to be led forth to Slaughter, than to the doubtful chance of War: And though the General observed sadness and a cloud on the Brow of all his Captains, yet depending on his Sorceries and Enchantments, nothing could alter the Resolution he had taken; but Orders were given to prepare for an Assault after Midnight, about setting of the Moon, and because it would be then dark, every one was to be clothed in White, to distinguish themselves from the Enemy. After Sun-set a Muster was taken of all the Souldiers, whereby two Souldiers appeared to be wanting, who formerly belonged to the Marshal, and were suspected to be revolted over to the King's Party; but some, who were willing to please *Hernandez*, did aver, that they were informed by Indians, That one of those missing, who was the most considerable of the two, was seen and met on his way towards the *Charcas*; and the other of less account, was a Man so silly, and without Sense, that the Justices would never give credit to any Report he should make them. These Stories were sufficient to satisfy *Hernandez*, who with an unparalleled temerity gave orders for all things to be in a readiness against the hour appointed. The two Souldiers, who they gave intelligence of the intention of the Enemy to attack them that Night in two Bodies, for perceiving that they did not attempt them within their Fortification, they resolved themselves to be the first Assailants. The Justices, Officers, and Counsellors, who were of the most Ancient Conquerours of *Peru*, and who by long experience in War, were become great Souldiers, were of Opinion, that it was better to fall out of their Intrenchment, and to draw up their Forces in the open Field, rather than to fight within their Trenches, which were strait, and filled with Tents, Mules, and Indians, which would be incumbrances, and obstructions in the time of Battel. And though many things were urged against this design, saying, That Cowards, and Men of little Courage, would fight better under the shelter of a Mud-wall, than in open Field; yet by Gods Mercy and Providence, the first Resolution prevailed, and both Horse and Foot were drawn forth into the Plain, which formed a very handsome Squadron, well furnished and provided with Musqueteers, and lined with Pikes and Halberds, and eleven pieces of great and heavy Cannon.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXVII.

Francisco Hernandez proceeds forth to Battel: He misses of his design, and retreats back again to his Camp. Thomas Vazquez revolts over to the King's Party. Hernandez the Rebel declares a Prediction which was made concerning himself.

THE time being come, that the Rebel calculated to be the auspicious hour, he sallied out of his Fortrefs, with 800 Foot, of which (as *Palentino* says) 600 were Musqueteers, and the rest Pike-men; his Horse were few, and not exceeding thirty in all: His Neger Souldiers, or black Guard, to the number of 250, he sent by another way, joining about seventy Spaniards with them, to lead them on, and to govern and direct them in what they had to do: But in these they reposed no great Confidence, intending them only to divert, and amuse the Enemy, who in the Night could not distinguish the difference of one from the other. The Orders were, that these Negroes should assail the Justices in the Front, and *Hernandez* in the Rear; and in this manner they silently marched towards his Majesties Camp, with their Matches and Lights covered. In like manner the King's Squadrons were all drawn up in posture of battel, and remained quietly, and without noise with their Fires covered. The black Guard came first to the Intrenchment before *Hernandez*, where finding no resistance, they entred in, and killed all the Indians, Horses, and Mules, which they found there, together with five or six Spanish Souldiers, who out of Cowardise had left the Army, and hid themselves within the Intrenchment. *Hernandez* coming afterwards, fired a whole Volly of shot into the Fortification, without receiving any return from thence; but finding that the King's Party fired all their Muskets upon them, with their whole Train of Artillery, from another place; they were much amazed, in regard that contrary to their expectation, the Enemy had quitted their Intrenchments, and drawn up in open Field: Howsoever no great hurt was done on either side, for the Night being very dark, every one shot at random, and without any aim: Had these Vollies of above 1300 shot passed by day, and so near each to other, it had been impossible, but that the Fields should have been covered with the Bodies of the slain. The Rebel perceiving that he was disappointed of his design, gave himself over for lost, and so retreated back to his Fortification in the best order that he could. Howsoever he could not retire in such manner, but that 200 of his men forsook him, who formerly belonged to the Marshal, and who now making use of this occasion to escape, threw down their Arms, and revolted to the Justices. In the mean time, the King's Forces would have pursued the Enemy in their flight, but were countermanded by their General, and other Officers, who ordered that no man should stir out of his Rank, but should keep his ground; the which Rule was happily observed; for a Party of Horse perceiving that the Enemy intended not to fight, sallied out upon them to obstruct their retreat; in which Action a Cornet of Horse was killed, and three Citizens of *Cozco* were wounded, namely *Diego de Silva*, *Antonio Ruyz de Guerrara*, and *Diego Maldonado* the Rich; the Wound of this last was never cured to the day of his death, which happened to be eleven or twelve years afterwards; for it was always kept open by the advice of Chyrurgeons, and Physicians, who were of opinion that the nature of the Wound was such, that it would prove mortal, in case it were closed up and healed. By this resistance which the Rebels made, they made good their retreat, and returned to their strong Hold; and greater had the slaughter been, had they been intercepted in their passage thither. And now *Hernandez* having not much reason to boast of his success, abated greatly of his pride and haughtiness, when he found that his

his Magick Spells failed, and that he was deluded by the vanity of Prophecies, in which he most confided: Howsoever not to discourage his Souldiers, he put a good face upon the matter, but could not so well dissemble, but that his melancholly was discovered through all his disguises.

This was the whole Action of this Battel, and all that passed; for *Palentino* saith, that of the Justices side five or six were killed, and about thirty wounded. Of the Rebels about ten were killed, and as many wounded: The Prisoners, which this Author says were 200, were such as had been Souldiers to the Marshal, and who with this occasion returned again to their Duty; but of *Hernandez* his Souldiers, not above fifteen were made Prisoners. Those who were killed and wounded in the King's Camp, were for the most part killed and wounded by their own men; for the night being dark, as we said, the Rear-guard, commanded by Captain *John Ramon*, firing at random to affright the Enemy, happened to kill and wound their own People; the which is evidenced by the Wounds they received, which were all in their backs and hinder parts: amongst which a Gentleman was slain, called *Suero de Quimones*, Brother to *Antonio de Quimones* a Citizen of *Cozco*; and a Cousin German of his, called *Pedro de Quimones*, was likewise wounded. The day after the Battel nothing happened considerable on either side, only towards night the King's Forces, upon a report that the Rebels designed again to beat up their Camp, drew out, and put their Squadrons in posture of defence, as they had done the Night before; but the intelligence was false, nor was there any ground for it, for the unfortunate *Hernandez* was rather contriving within himself, how he might fly, and escape Death, than of a manner how he might make another assault on the Enemy. The third day after the Battel, *Hernandez* to shew his Spirit and Courage, gave orders to his Captains and Souldiers to draw out into the Field, and skirmish with the Enemy, and provoke them to an engagement; but this bravado produced nothing of moment; only it gave occasion to *Thomas Vazquez* with ten or twelve more of his Friends, to revolt over to his Majesties Forces, bringing with them a silver Helmet belonging to their Major General *Piedrabuira*, which he sent as a Token and Assurance of his intention also to leave the Rebels, which he desired for a while, until he could decoy and bring more Companions with him. The coming in of *Thomas Vazquez* and his Friends, and the news they brought with them, was extremely welcome to the Justices and the whole Army, who now began to look on the Rebels as totally overcome, and an end put to all their Violences and Cruelties: For this *Thomas Vazquez* was esteemed the principal and main support of all their Actions, and one of greatest interest, by whose failure it was expected that all their designs would come to ruine: Hereupon those who sallied forth to skirmish, made their retreat back to their Quarters: And left the Souldiers should be discouraged, and become over sensible of the loss of *Vazquez*, he made them this short Oration, which we find in *Palentino*, Chap. 55. in these words.

My Masters, and Gentlemen, I formerly acquainted you with the cause, and reasons which induced me to commence this Enterprize, which was grounded on the agrievances, and oppressions under which this whole Kingdom groaned; for both Citizens, Planters, and Souldiers had their Estates taken away, and were deprived of the services and vassallage of their Indians, without any remedy or course of Justice. Those who were principally engaged in this Enterprize with me, and complotted with me herein, have abandoned me at the most critical time of any, amongst which is this *Thomas Vazquez*: But I beseech you not to be troubled for this his treacherous desertion of us, for he is but a Man, and no more. I would not advise any person to trust to the Pardon they shall give him, for the next day they may hang him with that about his neck. Consider well therefore, Gentlemen, your present case, for we have a better game to play, than *Thomas Vazquez*, and all those who revolted with him, whom notwithstanding all their kindneses and careleses to them at present, they shall sentence to death and execute, so soon as I come to fail, and am subdued. I am not troubled for my self, being but a single man, and if by my life I could rescue and save yours, I would sacrifice it immediately for your preservation: But I am well assured, that whosoever escapes the Gallows, will at least be condemned to perpetual slavery in the Gallies.

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Consider therefore your condition, and encourage one the other, to consult your safeties by a valiant pursuance of our first Engagement: Our case is not desperate, but hopeful; for having 500 men on our side, 2000 against us can never hurt us, unless we prove false to our selves: See then to the main point, and consider what will become of you if I miscarry. These and many other things to this purpose, were spoken by *Hernandez* to his Souldiers, who, notwithstanding all that was said, could not but be sensible of the loss they sustained by the revolt of *Vazquez*, &c. Thus far *Palemينو*.

That which *Hernandez* said concerning the Pardons, That they would be hanged with them about their Necks, was fulfilled with more certainty than all the Predictions and Prophecies in which he trusted: for tho' neither *Vazquez*, nor *Piedrabita* were hanged, yet they were both strangled in the Prison, notwithstanding their Pardons, which they sued out of Chancery under the Great Seal, and notwithstanding the Pleas they made, that a Man having obtained his Pardon, and not committed any offence afterwards, ought not to suffer Death or any other Punishment. Thus what *Hernandez* foretold of this matter was accomplished, which we having anticipated out of its due place, we shall not need to repeat, or enlarge upon it hereafter.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Francisco Hernandez flies away alone. His Lieutenant General with a hundred men take another way. They are pursued by Paulo de Meneses; and are taken, and brought to Justice.

NOTwithstanding all that *Hernandez* had said to his Souldiers, he was yet so troubled and confused within himself for the loss of *Vazquez*, that he resolved that very Night to run away, and leave his Souldiers; for suspicion and jealousy had so seized on all the faculties of his Soul, as to afflict him with all those torments, which the Divine *Aristo* describes in five Cantos of his Poem; which caused him to believe, that his own Souldiers would kill him, in hopes by such a piece of Service, to escape the punishment they had deserved, by joining with him in all his bloody Murders and Treasons against his Majesty. As *Palemينو* saith, Chapter 55. in these words.

In Fine, *Hernandez* resolved to leave his Men, and run away that night, upon a secret intimation given him, That his Captains were conspiring his Death, &c. And tho' in reality there was no such Plot or Design, but that every man would certainly have died with him, had he trusted to their Fidelity, as will appear hereafter: Yet so violent was the Jealousie he conceived of this matter, that he would not entrust this secret to his Wife, though a Woman both Noble and Vertuous, nor to any of the most faithful and intimate of all his Confidants: But so soon as it was Night, telling his Wife, and those then present with him, that he was going about some business relating to the Army, he called for his Horse *Almaraz*, which he so named from *Almaraz* his Kinsman, from whom he had bought him; and mounted on him, saying to those standing by, that he would presently return; and so parted from them, not knowing or designing any place whereunto to repair; for so prevalent was the fear which possessed him, that he could not be at rest or repose in his own mind, until he had quitted his Friends and Souldiers: Nor did any thing appear comfortable or pleasant to him, but only solitude. Thus did this miserable *Hernandez* wander without any Companion; only two or three Friends followed him by the track, whom when he heard coming, he stole away from them, and hid himself in a hollow Cave:

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and in such a blind manner did he wander all night, not knowing where he went, that upon break of day in the Morning, he found himself near to his own Fortification; which when he perceived, he presently drew from thence, and desperately entered into the Wilderness of a Snowy Mountain, not knowing which way to come out from thence; though at last by the goodness of his Horse, he made a shift to get thorough, tho' not without much danger of being drowned or swallowed up in the Snow. This was all the noise, or Ceremony that was made at the departure of *Hernandez* from his Army; tho' *Palemينو* tells us a long story of the Discourse which passed between him and his Wife, with the Tears and Sorrows with which they parted; which in reality never was, for such was the Violence of his Jealousie, that he would entrust none with the Secret. The Lieutenant General who remained in the Camp, resolved with such as would follow him, to go in quest of *Hernandez*, of which a hundred of those the most Guilty, and deepest engaged in the Rebellion followed him; howsoever several of the Chief Leaders, and who had been as Criminal, as any in the Rebellion, namely *Piedrabita*, *Alonso Diaz*, Captain *Diego Gavilan*, with his Brother *John Gavilan*, Captain *Diego Mendez*, and Ensign *Marco del Saux*, with several others of the same Quality, who were as black in their wickedness as any whatsoever, knowing that *Hernandez* had deserted his Camp, came all over to the Justices, and claimed his Majesties gracious Pardon; the which was accordingly given to them, and passed under the Great Seal; and all of them were received with great satisfaction, and a kind welcome by the Justices, who notwithstanding remained all the night drawn out in posture of Battel, expecting the event of these matters, for they seemed not to trust to the reports of those Fugitives. The day following the Justices being well assured of the flight of *Francisco Hernandez*, and his Souldiers, gave orders to the General *Paulo de Meneses* with a detachment of about a hundred and fifty men, to make pursuit after them, and to take, and punish them according to their demerit. The General was in so much haste, that he could not stay to get together above a hundred and thirty Souldiers, with which he followed the Path and Track of *Diego de Alvarado* Lieutenant General to *Hernandez*, who having about a hundred Spaniards, and twenty Negers in his company, could pass no way, but Tidings were given of the places where they quartered and lodged: So that after having been in pursuit of them for the space of eight or nine days, he overtook them; and tho' they were fewer in number than the Enemy, by reason that many Souldiers, who were ill mounted, and whose Beasts could not endure such long marches, were left behind, yet the Rebels yielded themselves without making any resistance or defence. The General presently did justice on the Chief Leaders, namely *Diego de Alvarado*, *John Cobo*, *Diego de Villalva*, de *Lugones*, *Aberto* de *Ordumna*, *Bernardino de Robles*, *Pedro de Sotelo*, *Francisco Rodriguez*, and *John Henriquez de Orellana*; the last of which, whose name was honourable, yet he availed himself much on the Office he had to be the Executioner and Common Cryer; this man was he, who, as we have said, hanged *Francisco de Carvajal*, and was now made the Executioner of *Alvarado* and others, by order of the General *Paulo de Meneses*; who said to him, since thou art so skillful in this Office, I would have thee hang these Gentlemen thy Friends, and the Justices will give thee a reward for thy pains. This Hangman hereupon whispered in the Ear of a certain Souldier, whom he knew, and told him with a low voice, I believe that my reward will be to be hanged my self, after I have executed the Sentence of Justice upon these. And indeed the matter happened just as he said, for after he had done his Office in hanging his Companions, and had cut off their Heads, who were about eleven or twelve Souldiers, he was himself strangled by two Negers. *Paulo de Meneses* sent the Prisoners he had taken to *Cozco*, under a secure Guard, with nine Heads of those whom he had killed. I saw them all in the House of *Alonso de Hinojosa*, where *Diego de Alvarado* lodged when he acted the part of Lieutenant General to *Hernandez*; and to imitate *Francisco de Carvajal*, he always rode upon a Mule, for I never saw him on Horse back. And now since we are almost at an end of the Violences and bloody Tragedies acted by the Rebels: I cannot omit one Story,

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which shews the impudence of those Souldiers, which was this, The very next day after the flight of *Francisco Hernandez*, my Master *Garçillaço de la Vega* being at dinner with eighteen or twenty Souldiers, for he commonly kept an open Table for such a number; it being the custom in the time of War, for all Men of Estates, to be hospitable in like manner according to their ability; he observed amongst his guests a certain Souldier belonging to *Hernandez*, and who had been with him from the beginning of the Rebellion, to croud in at the Table with all the boldness and freedom that an honest Gentleman might presume to use; he was by his profession and trade a Black-smith, but in the War he was as richly clothed as the greatest Gallant of them all. My Father, seeing him sit down with much Confidence, said to him, *Diego de Madrid*, since thou art seated at the Table with these Gentlemen, eat thy Dinner, and welcome: But come no more hither, I charge you; for he who yesterday would have cut off my head, if he had been able, and therewith have gained a Reward from his General, is not company for me to day, nor for these Gentlemen, who are well-wishers to my Life and safety, and devoted to his Majesties Service. To which *Madrid* made answer, Sir, if you please to command me, I will arise at this instant: No, said my Father, I do not bid you rise now; but if you have a mind so to do, you may use your pleasure. Hereupon the Smith arose, and quickly departed, leaving sufficient Subject of Discourse to the Guests, and to admire and quarrel at his impudence. Thus were the Souldiers of *Hernandez* hated, and detested by all mankind; for their Rebellion and Treason against his Majesty was not to be paralleld in any Age, whereby a company of pitiful Rascals pretended to deprive him of his Empire, and to assassinate and murder all the Gentlemen of Estates, that they might possess and inherit their Lands, and Indians. The Wife of *Francisco Hernandez* remained in the Power of Captain *Ruybarba*; and his Sister in Law was committed to the care of *John Rodriguez de Villa Lobos*, to carry her to *Cozco*, and there to deliver her into the hands of her Kindred and Relations, which was accordingly performed.

C H A P. XXIX.

The Major General Don Pedro de Portocarrero is sent in search of Francisco Hernandez. Other two Captains are sent by another way, whose Fortune it was to take the Rebel, whom they carried to Los Reyes, and entered with him into the City in manner of Triumph.

THE General *Paulo de Meneses* having sent the Prisoners he had taken to *Cozco*, with the heads of those he had cut off; and hearing no news of *Hernandez* himself, he resolved to return, and render an account to the Justices of what he had acted in this Expedition. The Justices having routed, and dispersed the Rebels, marched to the Imperial City, where they received intelligence, that *Hernandez* was gone towards *Los Reyes*; upon this advice, they dispatched *Don Pedro Portocarrero* the Lieutenant General in pursuit of him, with 800 men, by way of the Plains: And two Captains, who were come from the City of *Huanaco*, with two Companies to serve his Majesty in this War, were ordered to make search after the Rebels by way of the Mountains; and that he might not escape either by one way, or the other, they had a Commission given them, to execute speedy justice on all such as they should take: The Captains, who were *John Tello*, and *Michael de la Serua*, having eighty men under their command, performed every thing according to the Instructions

Instructions they had received: And being come to the City of *Huanaco*, they were informed that *Hernandez* was gone to *Rimus* by way of the plains; and according to that Intelligence they followed him, and after a few days March, they were advised that he was quartered about fifteen Leagues from them, with 300 Souldiers, of which 150 were Musqueteers. The Captains, not affrighted with his numbers, continued their pursuit after him, and the next day they were told by the Indians, that they were only 200, and so daily the report of their numbers decreased, until they were said to be no more than one hundred. This variety of reports given by the Indians concerning the number of the Enemy, had something of truth, and foundation in it; for *Hernandez* being fled, his Souldiers dispersed themselves by twenty and thirty in a Company, and at length came to meet together, and form a body of about 200 men, most of which had belonged to the Marshal, but afterwards taking affection to *Hernandez*, they followed his Fortune.

But in regard they were men running away, and possessed with a fear of Enemies pursuing after them, they were forced to hide themselves in Woods, and Caves, wanting all things necessary for their convenience and support; so that when the King's Forces approached near to them, they were not above one hundred in all: For the Indians in the first report they gave of them, accounted them to be more than they really were, in the second relation they reckoned those whom they found wandering on the way, and in the last, those who were met and joyned in a Body. So we may believe that if *Hernandez* had not forsaken and abandoned his Souldiers, he might still have conserved himself and them, for it would have been very difficult to have taken, or destroyed them. The Captains being now about three Leagues distant from the Enemy, dispatched away a Spaniard, who was very diligent and nimble, together with an Indian for his Guide, to view the Enemy, and bring certain intelligence of their strength. The Spy having taken an exact survey of their numbers, wrote a Letter advising that they might be 80, and no more. Hereupon the Captains hastened their March all they were able, until they came within sight of each other, with Drums beating, and Colours flying, and attended with about eighty Indians, whom the *Chiracas* had sent for Service of the Spaniards. The Rebels having discovered the Enemy coming upon them, and feared to be surprized, and surrounded by the Horse who were forty in all, took up to the Mountain, and sheltered themselves under some Rocks, which served them for a Parapet or Fortification. The Captains notwithstanding resolved to attack them in their strong holds, trusting to a Band of 200 Indians ill armed, who voluntarily and of their own accord were come in to them, with intent to destroy the Rebels or *Aucas* as they called them, who were the Pelt and trouble of the Country. The Captains being now within Musquet-shot of the Enemy, four or five of them, amongst which an Ensign to *Hernandez* was one, came to them, and instantly desired not to fire upon them; for that without force, or the death of any man, they intended to yield themselves Prisoners; and upon these terms they stood, when about ten or twelve more came in and submitted, tho' the Indians all the time pelted them with Stones, until the Captains commanded them to desist: After which all the Souldiers of *Hernandez* came in, and surrendered themselves, leaving him with 2 friends only, namely with his Son-in-Law *de Almaraz*, and a Gentleman of the Country of *Esfremadura*, called *Gomez Suarez de Figueroa*.

Francisco Hernandez, finding himself thus abandoned and forsaken by all his Souldiers; came forth with intent to be either killed or taken, as the Enemy should think fit; which when the Captains saw, they approached near the Rock, and with all their Men surrounded him to take him Prisoner: the first that came near him were three noble Persons, namely *Stephen Sylvestre*, *Gomez Arias de Avila*, and *Hernando Pantoxa*: The latter of which taking hold of *Hernandez* by the Helmet, and he defending himself with his Sword, *Gomez Arias* clapt his hand on the hilt, commanding him to deliver up his Arms, which *Hernandez* refusing to do, and still striving, *Sylvestre* thrust the point of his Lance to his Breast, telling him, that unless he did as *Gomez Arias* bid him, he would immediately kill him.

Hereupon *Hernandez* resigned his Sword to *Gomez Arias*, and having set him

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up on the Horse behind *Arias*, they carried him away Prisoner, and being come to the place where they intended to lodge that night, *Gomez Arias* desired that the Prisoner might be committed to the custody of the Sheriff, who was to take care to keep and secure him from an escape. The Captains consented hereunto, and ordered that he should be committed to Prison, and being under a Guard of Souldiers, they marched with him by the way of the Mountain, until they came to the City of *Los Reyes*. The Captains *Michael de la Serna* and *John Tello*, intended to have executed Justice on many of the Rebels that they had taken, according to their Commission, but seeing so many Noble Persons amongst them, and some poor silly fellows, they were touched with a remorse and compassion for them, and so banish them into divers parts out of the Kingdom. But that after these Acts of Mercy, they might seem to execute some piece of Severity, they put one of them to death, named *Guadramiros*, who had been concerned in the Conspiracy of *Don Sebastian*, and was the boldest, bloodiest Villain of any of those who adhered to *Hernandez*, and so his Life satisfied for the Crimes of his Companions. The fame of the taking *Hernandez* was soon spread and divulged into all parts; upon news of which the Major General *Don Pedro Portocarrero*, and Captain *Baltazar Velazquez* (who some few days before had by order of the Justices marched out of *Cozco* with thirty Souldiers, and two Colours in search of *Hernandez*) made what haste they could to joyn with the other party, who conducted the Prisoner, that they might partake of the glory of that Victory which others had acquired, and might enter into *Los Reyes* with triumph, as if they also had been concerned in that happy exploit. In this manner they met some few Leagues before they came to the City, and made a triumphant entry with all four Colours flying; but in regard the two Captains only were concerned in the taking of *Hernandez*, they with their Companies marched in the middle between the party commanded by the Major General and Captain *Baltazar Velazquez*: the Prisoner was placed in the midst between the four Colours, and on each side, and before him, went the three Souldiers, already named, who took him. After these followed the Infantry in rank and file, and in like manner the Cavalry. In the rear of all came the Major General and the three Captains. The Musquetiers in token of rejoicing and triumph fired several Volleys as they marched; and indeed the joy was universal to see an end put to that Rebellion, which had given a disturbance to the whole Empire, and had brought ruin and misery, as well on the *Indians* as the *Spaniards*; which was so great and enormous, that if it were rightly scanned and considered, it will appear, that we have not described the tenth part of the destruction and ruin it had produced.

CHAP. XXX.

The Justices make Laws to prevent future Insurrections. They entertain a troublesome Conference with Souldiers, who pretend Rewards for their great services. Justice is done upon Francisco Hernandez Giron; his Head is fixed on the Gallows, and taken thence by a certain Gentleman, with the Heads of Gonçallo Pizarro and Francisco de Carvajal. The strange death of Baltazar Velazquez.

THE Justices coming from *Pucara*, where *Hernandez* was defeated, made a stay at *Cozco* for some few days; to order several matters conducing to the good Government of the Empire; which for above a year had been

been in confusion, and subjected to the Arbitrary Lust of Tyrannical Rebels; by which it was reduced to such misery, as cannot be expressed. Captain *John Ramon* was made Governour of the City of *la Paz*, where his Estate lay, and his Jurisdiction over *Indians*: And Captain *Don John de Sandoval* was sent to the City of *Plata*, and to Command that, and the Provinces thereunto belonging: And *Garcilasso de la Vega* was made Chief Justice and Governour of the City of *Cozco*; and the Lawyer, Doctor *Mojaraz*, was appointed Deputy, and Co-adjutor with him, and to continue in that Office during the Will and Pleasure of the Justices; but the Governour not being pleased to have his Deputy at the disposal of another Power, and not at his own, desired to have that Clause amended, which the Justices accordingly ordered: And Doctor *Mojaraz*, by the good and tractable disposition of the Governour, and by the good Correspondence which passed between them, so well acquitted himself, that after the space of three years, which determined his Office, he was promoted to another place, not inferior to the former; which was much different to the Lot and Fortune of his Successour, as will appear hereafter.

During those few days that the Justices made their Residence in the City of *Cozco*, several Captains, and Souldiers grew very importunate with them, to grant them Lands, and Commands over *Indians*, in reward of the many Services they had done his Majesty, both in these present Wars, as in those preceding. To which the Justices made answer, that as yet the Wars were not at an end, since the Chief Rebel of all was not as yet taken, and that many of his Souldiers were still actually in Arms, and dispersed over all the Kingdom: and that so soon as things were a little settled in peace and quietness, that they would then take care to reward them in the name and behalf of his Majesty. And in the mean time, they advised them not to hold Cabals, or private Consultations together, lest thereby they should give occasion to scandalous Tongues to report matters tending to their dishonour and prejudice. The Justices being by this answer freed from the Molestation of these Importunities, News came, that *Francisco Hernandez* was taken, which caused them to hasten a dispatch of their business, that they might come speedily to *Los Reyes*, to pass Judgement on this Arch-Rebel. Doctor *Saravia* departed six or seven days before *Saillan* and *Mercado*, his Brethren of the Bench. The Captains, *John Tello*, and *Michael de la Serna*, who brought *Hernandez* Prisoner, committed him to the Royal Prison, belonging to the Chancery, and took from the Keeper a formal Receipt and Acknowledgment of his being delivered to his Custody, which was drawn up in full and ample manner.

Two or three days afterwards, Doctor *Saravia* came to Town, having made great haste to be present at passing the sentence of Death on the Prisoner, which was executed eight days after the Doctor's arrival, as *Palentino* declares, Chapter 58, in these words.

His Examination being taken, at the conclusion thereof, he declared, That all Men, Women, and Children, Friars, Church-men, and Lawyers, of that Kingdom, had all generally been of his Opinion. In fine, he was brought forth to Justice at Noon day, and drawn upon a Hurdle fastned to the Tail of a poor lean Jade, with the Cryer going before, and with a loud voice said, *This is the Justice which his Majesty, and the Right Honourable Don Pedro Portocarrero, Major General, command to be executed on this Man, who hath been a Traytor to the Royal Crown and Dignity, and a Disturber of this Kingdom; by virtue of which Authority his Head is to be cut off, and fixed on the Gallows of this City; his Houses are to be demolished, and the Ground sowed with Salt; and a Pillar of Marble thereon erected, declaring the many Crimes of which he was Guilty. Howsoever he died in a Christian manner, expressing great Sorrow and Repentance for his Sins, and the Evils, and Mischiefs of which he had been the Author. Thus far Palentino, with which he concludes this Chapter.*

In fine, *Francisco Hernandez* ended his Life, as we have said, his Head was fixed upon an Iron Spike, and set on the Gallows, on the right hand of that of *Gonçalo Pizarro*, and *Francisco de Carvajal*; his Houses at *Cozco*, where he contrived his Rebellion, were not demolished; the Rebellion of *Hernandez*, from

from the time that it first begun to the end thereof, and till the day of his Death, continued for the space of thirteen Months, and some few days. It is said, that he was the Son of a Knight of the Habit of St. John; his Wife afterwards entered herself a Nun in a Convent in the City of *Los Reyes*, where he lived with Religious Devotion. But about ten years afterwards, a Gentleman called *Gomez de Chaves*, a Native of the City of *Rodrigo*, being much affected with the Vertue, Goodness, and Devotion of *Donna Alencia de Almaraz*, the Widow of *Hernandez*, desired to perform some Action, whereby he might please, and oblige her; and supposing that none could be more acceptable than to take her Husband's Head from the Spike on which it was fixed; he, with another Friend, brought a Ladder by night to the place, where the Head was, and not distinguishing the Head of *Hernandez* from those of *Pizarro* and *Carvajal*, to be sure of the right, they took them all three away together, and buried them privately in a Convent. And though the Justice made diligent enquiry after those who had committed this piece of Robbery, yet no discovery was made thereof: For in regard the sight of the Head of *Pizarro* was an Eye-sore to the People, to whom his Memory was still grateful: Inquisition was not made with such strictness, as the Commands of the Officers required. This Relation was given me by a Gentleman, who spent several years of his Life in Service of his Majesty in the Empires of *Mexico*, and *Peru*, his Name is *Don Lewis de Caneval*, and now lives in the City of *Corona*. Howsoever at the beginning of the year, 1612, a Frier of the Seraphical Order of St. Francis, who was a great Divine, and born in *Peru*, called *Lewis Geronimo de Oye*, discoursing of these Heads, gave me another Relation; and told me, That in the Convent of St. Francis, in the City of *Los Reyes*, five Heads were there deposited, he named *Pizarro*, *Carvajal*, and *Hernandez Giron*, but for the other two, he could not say whose they were: Only that that Religious House kept them there in Deposite, without Burial; and that he was very desirous to know the Head of *Carvajal*, having been a Man of great Fame, and Reputation in that Kingdom. I told him, that he might have known that by the Inscription engraven on the Iron Grate, on which the Head was fixed; but he answered, that the Heads were taken from the Iron Spike, and laid promiscuously together: All the difference between these two Relations is; that the Friars of the Convent would not bury the Heads, for fear of being concerned in the Robbery, but only kept them in Deposite, or Custody, to be forth-coming in case they should be demanded by the course of Justice. This Religious Frier travelled from *Madrid* to *Cadiz*, by Order of his Superiours, and Command of the Royal Council of the *Indies*, to dispatch away twenty four Friars, and to accompany them himself to the Kingdoms of *Florida*, to preach the Gospel to those Gentiles: I cannot say certainly whether he went with them, or whether he returned after he had dispatched those Apostles. He desired me to give him one of the Books I had wrote of the History of *Florida*: And I presented him with three Copies thereof, and four of these our Commentaries, with which the Good Father was much pleased, which he testified by the many thanks he gave me. May his Divine Majesty prosper them in this undertaking, to the intent that they may draw those poor Wretches out of the dark abyss of Idolatry to the knowledge and Service of the true God.

And here it will not be from our purpose to relate the strange manner of the death of Captain *Baltasar Velazquez*, so that *Hernandez Giron* may not go to his Grave alone, and without some Company. It happened some months after the former passages that *Baltasar Velazquez* residing in the City of *Los Reyes*, and behaving himself like a brave young Captain, he had two Imposthumes which broke out near his Groin, which he out of bravery neglecting to Cure, apply'd things to repel and drive them in, not suffering them to operate and break outwardly, which had been the only safe remedy; but the Corruption festering within, caused a Cancer in his Bowels with so much heat, that he was almost roasted alive. The Physicians not knowing what to apply, gave him Vinegar to refresh him, which served only

only to encrease his flame, and to burn so violently, that no Man was able to hold his Hand within a half yard distance from his Body. And thus died this poor Captain, leaving many Stories to the World of his brave Actions and Exploits, to which a stop was put by a death so violent and miserable as this.

The Captains and Souldiers who pretended to places and rewards for their past services, residing at that time at *Cozco*, no sooner received intelligence of the imprisonment and death of *Hernandez Giron*, than they immediately went to the Justices to demand Rewards for their past Services: And being in the City of *Los Reyes*, they with much importunity made their pretensions, alleging, that by reason of their expences during all the late War, they had consumed all their substance, and were become so poor, that they had not wherewith to support their necessary charges: and therefore it was but reason and equity to perform the Promise given them; which was, that so soon as the Rebel was subdued, they should be gratified in such manner as was equal: That now the Rebel was dead, they expected a compliance; for they had nothing more remaining than their pay, which was little, and the arrear (as they accounted) was very inconsiderable. The Justices made answer, That it was not the part of Loyal Subjects to his Majesty to raise a Mutiny on the score of Reward, and of Moneys due to them: That they, and all the World knew, that a Vice-king was hourly expected from his Majesty with Commission to govern that Empire: That it would be convenient to expect until that time, lest his Excellency should be displeased with the Justices and the Souldiers for being Carvers to themselves of their own Wealth and Fortune. Wherefore they desired their patience for three or four Months, before which time it was impossible, but a Vice-King must arrive: and in case within that time, no news came thereof, they would then by their own Authority proceed to make a division of Lands to them, being very sensible of the want they must have of a subsistence, and that in the mean time they were greatly troubled, that they could not comply with their desires for the present: And therefore since the time was so short, they ought to expect the coming of the Vice-King, and not suffer their impatience to disoblige him, who would be ready to reward their expectation with greater plenty than was in their power; and that a precipitation of their desires would cause them to lose that Reward, which their Actions and Sufferings had long since deserved. With these and such like Discourses the Justices moderated the violence of the Petitioners. And it pleased God, about six Months afterwards, that news came of the coming of a Vice-King, for whose reception all things were prepared; and in the interim the Pretenders surceased their importunities in expectation of his Excellency, who was the first that ever came to *Peru* with that honourable Character and Title.

The End of the Seventh Book.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

How the Indians and Spaniards celebrated the Festival of the most Holy Sacrament at Cozco. A relation of a quarrel which the Indians had on that occasion.

Since the Method of History requires, that every thing should be related in its due time and place, we shall here at the beginning of this eighth Book, describe two particular passages which happened in Cozco after the Wars with *Francisco Hernandez* were ended, and before the arrival of the Vice-King, whose Presence was instantly desired, and expected in that Kingdom: One of those Matters, which according to this rule, we are to mention, is the pompous and solemn celebration of that Festival, which We Catholics call, *Corpus Christi*, performed in the City of Cozco. After those Wars were ended, which the Devil had raised to obstruct the increase and propagation of the Holy Gospel; the last of which was that of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*; and may God in his Mercy grant, that it may still be the last, and succeeded by no other of that Nature. The Solemnity of that Festival is now observed with as much magnificence, and perhaps with more, than at that time: For those Wars were concluded at the end of the year 1554, and we are now in the year 1611, from which time to this present in which we are writing this Chapter, fifty seven years have passed of Peace and Tranquility.

My intention is only to write the Histories of those times, and to leave the successes of the present to the labour of other Pens: In those days there were about 80 Citizens, or men of Estates in Cozco, who were all Gentlemen of Noble Rank and Extraction; for by the Name of Citizens, we understand those who had Lands given them, with *Indians* belonging thereunto subjected to them in vassalage. Every one of these Gentlemen with great Curiosity adorned his Chair, or Sedan, which his *Indian* Vassals were to carry on the day of Festival; the Ornaments thereof were Fringes, and Embroideries of Silk and Gold, and studded with Emeralds, and other Precious Stones; therein were placed the Image of our Lord, or Lady, or some other Saint or Saints, according to the devotion of the *Spaniard*, or *Indian*, whose care it was to dress up the Sedans; which were something like those, which the Co-fraternities use in *Spain* upon such Festivals.

The *Caciques* who lived in the parts adjacent to the City came thither to bear a part and share in the Solemnity, attended with their Kindred, and Nobility of their Provinces; and attired in all the finery and gallantry with which they used to dress themselves at times of their own most Religious Feasts; of which we have given a Narrative in the first part of these Commentaries; every Sept. or Linage carrying the *Escudos* or Signals of their own Race and Families, in which they take much pride, and show great ostentation.

Some of them came in the habit (as *Hercules* is painted) with the Lions Skin, the Head of which served him for a Cap; and this is the most honourable dress, for they value themselves very much to be descended from a Lion: Others appeared with great Wings extended at a large breadth like to Angels, which they took from the Fowls called by them *Canitur*, which is much in esteem with them, and from which they also glory to derive their descent. Others were habited in Clothes painted with Rivers, Fountains, Lakes, Mountains, Caves, and the like, having a Tradition amongst them, that their Forefathers had their original from such places. Others had strange devices with Gold and Silver, and Coronets of Gold: Some appeared like Monsters, having their Hands like Claws, or the Paws of Wild-beasts which they took in hunting. Others feigned themselves to be Fools and Idiots, endeavouring in all guises to please and divert their Kings and Governours. Some would act the part of Riches and Grandure, others personated Misery and Poverty; and every Province assumed some thing, that they thought might administer to diversion and delight, and which might serve to make up the solemnity of the Festival; well knowing that variety was pleasing, and contributed much to the satisfaction of the Mind. By such Scenes and Representations as these, with which the *Indians* did use to celebrate the Feasts of their own Kings, did they now, though with more ostentation appear, and bear a part in shewing honour to the Most Holy Sacrament, which is our true God, Redeemer, and Lord of all; the which they performed with such Devotion and Sincerity, as plainly demonstrated them to be a People freed from the Superstition and Vanity of their Gentilism.

The Clergy and Citizens were not wanting also to contribute their part to render this Festival the more great and glorious; to which end a Scaffold was erected in the Yard leading to the Church, on that side which fronts the Chief Market-place, where the Most Holy Sacrament was exposed in a rich Circle of Gold and Silver. The Officers of the Church placed themselves on the right-hand, and those of the City on the left: with them were several of those *Incas* which remained of the Royal Line, to whom they gave a place of Precedence, in token that that Empire was their Patrimony.

The *Indians* of the several Districts passed in their Chairs, or Sedans, with their Kindred, and Attendances; every Province singing in their own Mother-language, and not in the general Tongue which is common to the Court, the better to make a difference between one Nation and another.

With them they carried their Drums, Flutes, Pipes, and Cymbals, and other sorts of rural and barbarous Music; and several of the Men were followed by their Wives, who served to bear a part in the Chorus.

The substance of their Songs were Praises to God, returning him thanks for having brought them out of Ignorance, to the light of true Knowledge. And rendering also Thanks to the *Spaniards* of what condition soever, whether Spiritual or Temporal, for having instructed them in the Doctrine of the Christian Faith.

Other Provinces, according to the Custom in the times of their Kings, sent the Men only, without the company or society of their Women.

To the upper side of the Church-yard, or Cymeterie, which is about seven or eight Steps higher than the Market-place, they attended by Stairs to adore the Most Holy Sacrament; every Sept. or Race in distinct divisions, being separated from each other ten or twelve paces distant, to avoid disorder and confusion; and having made their Adoration, they descended by another pair of back Stairs, which was erected on the right-hand of the Scaffold. Every Nation proceeded according to its Seniority, which was taken and measured by the time that the *Incas* had made the Conquest of them: So those who were the last subdued, were placed the first in the Procession; and those who were the

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more antient Subjects followed, until at length, in the last place, the *Incas* themselves came immediately before the Priests, mixed with a number of poor People, to signify their Humility in a low and mean condition, having lost their Empire, their Houses, Inheritance, and all their Revenue particularly belonging to them.

This being the order directed and observed in the Procession, divers *Indians* from the *Canaris* intruded themselves amongst the croud; for though that Province is not within the Precincts and Jurisdiction of *Casco*, yet those People also claimed a privilege to appear at the Solemnity; and in their Chairs or Sedans, made a distinct Company by themselves, because many of their Nation lived in the City, of whom the Head and Chief was *Don Francisco Chillico Canari*, of whom we made mention formerly; and set forth, how that in the time of the Siege, when *Hernando Pizarro* was greatly distressed by the Prince *Manco Inca*, this *Canarian* killed in the publick place an *Indian* Captain belonging to the *Inca*, who challenged the best man of the *Spaniards* to a single Combat. This *Don Francisco* ascended the Stairs of the Cymeterie in a disguise, covered with his Mantle, and his Hands under it, and in a Chair plain, without any trimming either of Silk or Gold, but painted with divers colours, and in the four Pannels thereof were described the four Battels between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*.

Being come to the height of the Cymeterie to the right-hand, where the Officers of the Corporation were placed, and with them my Lord *Garcilasso de la Vega*, who was then Governour of the City, and his Deputy *Monjaraz*, who was a very able Lawyer, and a person of great Prudence and Discretion, who was a sudden this *Indian Canari* threw off his Mantle, which served him for a Cloak, and delivered it to one of his Servants, and so remained in *cuerpo*, with a close Coat girt to him, according to their Custom, when they are preparing to fight, or to perform any other Action, or Feats of Activity; in his right-hand he held by the locks the Head of an *Indian* carved in Wood, and painted. So soon as the *Incas* saw it, four or five of them bristled up to the *Canarian*, and caught him up from the Floor, intending to throw him headlong from the Scaffold, which caused a tumult amongst the *Indians*, who remained on each side of the Scaffold, where the most Holy Sacrament was exposed; so that the Deputy *Monjaraz* was obliged to interpose his Authority for keeping the Peace. And demanding of the *Incas*, for what reason they were so much offended? one of the gravest amongst them made answer, saying, This Dog *Auca* or Rebel, instead of coming to celebrate this Festival, comes with a Head, to revive the memory of those things which had better been forgotten.

Then the Deputy asked the *Canarian*, What was the meaning thereof? To which he reply'd, Sir, I cut off the Head of an *Indian*, who challenged any of the *Spaniards* to a single Duel, at that time when *Hernando Pizarro*, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and *John Pizarro* my Lords and Masters, with 200 *Spaniards* more, were besieged in this Market-place: and in regard there was no *Spaniard*, but who thought it a dis-reputation to him, to engage singly with an *Indian*; I took up the Quarrel my self, and obtained leave to accept the Challenge, and engage in the Combat; which I performed with such good success, that I overcame the *Indian*, and cut off his Head in this Market-place; and then pointed with his Finger to the very plat of Ground where the Duel was fought; Moreover, said he, these four Pictures which are in the four Pannels of my Chair, are a description of the four Battels in which I was engaged on the side of the *Spaniards* against the *Indians*; so that it is no wonder, if on such a day as this, I should boast and glory of those Exploits, and Feats of Arms which I have performed in service of the Christians. To which the *Inca* again reply'd, Thou Dog and Traytor, didst thou do this Action by thy own courage and bravery, or by virtue and assistance of this *Pachacamac*, before whom we are now present, and by means, and under the auspicious conduct of the *Spaniards* Fortune? Dost thou not know, that thou, and all thy Linage were Slaves to us, and that it was not by thy Prowess and Valour that thou didst obtain this Victory, but solely by virtue of that power we have before mentioned? If thou wilt make trial of the truth of what I say, since we are all Christians, get thee to the Market-place, and provide thy self with Arms, and there shall meet thee one of the meanest of our Servants, who

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shall cut thee into slices, and confound thee, and all that belong to thee. Dost thou not remember, that about this time, and in this very place, we cut off the Heads of thirty *Spaniards*, and that one of our *Incas* dismounted two men, and wrestled their Lances from them, and had done the like to *Gonzalo Pizarro*, had he not rescued himself by a more than ordinary Agility and Prowess? Dost thou not know, that we put an end to our Wars against the *Spaniards*, and raised the Siege of this Town; and that our Prince did voluntarily resign his Empire, and retire into Banishment, upon no other Motive than the astonishment we conceived, to see the many Miracles which the *Pachacamac* wrought in favour and defence of them? Dost thou not know, that during the siege of this City, we killed near 800 *Spaniards* in the way to *Rimas*? And were it not now a brave thing, and a Gallantry fit for the Honour of such a Feast as this, to raise up the Heads of all those that were slain, with the Head of *John Pizarro*, who was killed above, in yonder Fortrefs, and expose them to the view of all these Spectators? It had been well, if thou hadst considered these particulars, and many others which I could now relate, before thou hadst acted such a scandalous piece of folly as this. And then turning to the Deputy, Sir, said he, do me that Justice, which the nature of this Insolence requires, that we may not be affronted nor trampled on by our own Slaves.

The Deputy *Monjaraz*, having heard the Reasons alledged by one, and the other, ordered the Head which *Cannari* carried in his hand to be taken from him, and the Mantle which was girt close, to be stripped off, requiring him on pain of a far greater punishment, neither to discourse, nor treat of such matters as these, either in publick or private. With this reprehension given to *Cannari*, all the *Incas* and *Indians* both men and Women were fully satisfied; and the word *Auca*, *Auca*, was raised, and taken from one to another, which resounded over all the Town: And then the Procession was carried forward without interruption, according to the accustomed Ceremonies. It is said, that the compass which they take in carrying the Procession now, is twice as far as it was formerly; for now they go out from the Great Church, and return round by way of St. *Francis*, which is much farther, than when they only fetched a compass round the two places of *Cusipata* and *Huancaypata*, which we have often mentioned.

Blessed be the Divine Majesty, who hath vouchsafed to bless this Country with these holy Footsteps, and to enlighten the Gentiles, who were formerly benighted in the dark of Ignorance.

CHAP. II.

Of a strange Accident which fell out at Cozco.

SOME years after the Wars of *Francisco Hernandez* were ended, another Accident happened at *Cozco*, which was very strange; the which having received from the report of some intelligent, and religious persons, who understood, that I should say, that a Narrative thereof would tend to the service of our Holy Mother the Roman Church, were pleased to Transmit a Relation thereof, that I might insert it in this our History; and accordingly as an obedient, tho' an unworthy, Son of such a Mother, I have thought it my Duty to recount that matter in the manner following.

Eight or nine years before the late Troubles, the Feast of the Evangelist St. *Mark* was annually celebrated in *Cozco*, in such manner as the Inhabitants of that City were able to perform. The Procession was carried forth from the Convent of the B. St. *Dominick*, which as we have before mentioned, was founded in that House, which in the times of *Gentilism*, was the Temple Dedicated to the Sun. From this Convent the Procession was carried to a certain Hermitage, adjoining to those Houses which were belonging to *Don Christoval Paula Inca*. A certain Priest called *Father*

ther *Porras*, who had been an ancient Inhabitant of the Country, and one greatly devoted to that Blessed Evangelist, being desirous to celebrate the Festival of that Saint, was accustomed every Year to bring a tame Bull with him to the Procession, decked with Garlands, and composed of variety of Flowers. In the year 1556 all the Clergy and Corporation of the City with a multitude of other people coming to solemnize this Feast, the Bull being as tame, and gentle as any Lamb, walked in the midst, and went and returned without any disturbance to the Procession. Being come back to the Convent, the Church not being capable to receive the Multitudes of People which crowded thither, the *Indians* and the more common sort, remained without, and made a Lane for the Procession to pass. The *Spaniards* entered into the Church, leaving a way to come up to the Chancel: The Bull which walked immediately before the Priests, in that tame and gentle manner, as we have said before, being entered three or four Paces within the Porch of the Church, on a sudden runs at a *Spaniard* called *Salazar*, and took him up on his Horns, and without any hurt to him, tossed him out at one of the Doors of the Church: The people affrighted with this unusual rudeness of the Bull, were put into great disorder; but the Bull returning gently back, took his place again in the Procession, and walked up gently to the Chancel. The people of the City much admiring at this Novelty, and thinking that there must be something more than ordinary in the matter, enquired with all diligence to discover the Mystery thereof: And upon a strict examination of the thing, it was found that about six or seven Months before, this *Salazar* had maintained a Law-suit against the Church-men, and that he had incurred the Censure of Excommunication, and had never been absolved from it. But upon this Accident he desired Absolution, and obtained it; having declared his intention, never more to fall into the like Error of Contumacy again. I was then in the City, when this matter passed, and was present at the Procession, and heard the Story thereof related more at large by others, than we have done in this Chapter.

CHAP. III.

The Marquis of Cannete is designed for Vice-King of Peru. He lands upon the Continent. Several Negers, or Blacks, who were Fugitives, are reduced. The burning of a Galcon, with eight hundred people therein.

SO soon as News was brought to his Imperial Majesty then in *Germany*, of the death of the Vice-King *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, he nominated the Count de *Palma*, to succeed him in that Employment, but on some just grounds and reasons, he excused himself; the like did the Count de *Olivarez*, who was unwilling to accept of that Government. Those who lived in the *Indies*, did believe that the Great Men, who were commodious at home, were unwilling to accept an Office so far distant from *Spain*, and from the Court: Tho' a Vice-King who had resided there for some time, was of another opinion, and said, that the Government of *Peru* would be the best Employment the King had in his Gift, were it not so near to *Madrid*, where the Court resides. His meaning, was the complaints of the many oppressions he exercised on the People, would come sooner to the Court than he desired. At length his Majesty pitched upon *Don Andres Huardo de Mendoza*, Marquis of *Cannete*, and chief Constable of *Cuenca*, to be his Vice-King in *Peru*, who having accepted the Office, and received his dispatches, departed for *Peru*, and arrived at *Nombro de Dios*, which he made the place of residence for the Ministers of Justice, and for the Officers of the Imperial Revenue. He there rewarded some of the Ancient Conquerors of the Isles of *Barlovento*, and of the

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main Land, whom, as *Palentino* saith, he found very poor, and necessitous: but he could not bestow on them Lands, with valallage of *Indians*, because the Natives of that Country had been all destroyed; but he gave them Money, and some Offices of benefit. He made a Provision for *Pedro de Orfua*, who was a very Noble Gentleman, a great Souldier, and Captain in the new Kingdom, where he had performed many great exploits, and Peopled a City named *Pamplona*: but by the Severity, and Injustice of a Judge, who seized upon all his Estate, *Orfua* was forced to fly, and (as *John de Castellanos* writes) to take refuge in *Nombre de Dios*, where the Vice-King *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza* met him, and gave him a Commiſſion to seek, and suppress the Fugitive *Negers*, called *Cimarrones*, who lived in the Mountaines, and robbed; and pillaged all Merchants, and Travellers who passed those ways, murdering and wounding in a manner not sufferable, so that there was no passing in less than twenty in a Company. The number of these *Negers* increased daily, for when any of them received the least hard word from his Master, he presently forsook his Service, having lo good a Sanctuary, and Reception to fly unto. For this Enterprize, end Design, and to suppress these *Negers*; *Pedro de Orfua* raised Men; they were called *Cimarrones*, which is a word proper to the language of the Isle of *Barlovento*, and to these Robbers several of the Souldiers of *Hernandez Giron* joyned, being such as were banished and fled, all which, or as many of them as were concerned in this matter, were pardoned by the Vice-King. The *Negers* finding themselves hardly beset and distressed, offered to treat and accept Articles of Accommodation; which for quietness sake and for peace were granted to them; and accordingly it was concluded, That all those, who had unto that time fled from their Masters, should be Free-men, and continue from their Masters, the *Cimarrones* should be obliged to surrender them up again to their Patrons, or pay the price demanded for them. That a *Neger* Man, or Woman, being ill treated by their Master, he, or they paying the price, which he, or she, or they cost, the Master, or Masters, shall be obliged to set them at liberty. That the *Negers* shall People, and Inhabit that Country, which they at present possess, and shall live peaceably as good Common-wealth-men, or Natives of the Country, and not dispersed within the Mountains, as formerly; and that they shall have free Trade and Commerce with the *Spaniards*: All which, in order to Peace and Quietness, was agreed, and confirmed on one side, and the other; and the *Negers* gave Pledges and Hostages for security of the Peace. Their King, called *Ballano*, delivered his own Person for a Hostage, and his Subjects never redeclining him, he was transported into *Spain*, where he died.

Now in regard a little before the Vice-King began his Voyage, a fatal accident happened to a Ship in the Ocean, I have thought fit to insert it in this place, as not altogether impertinent to this History.

in this place, as not altogether impertinent to this History:—
Jeronimo de Alderete, was sent from *Chile* into *Spain*, on occasion of bufness, in behalf of the Governour *Pedro de Valdivia*; and during his Residence at the Court, advice coming of the death of the Governour, he Petitioned his Majesty for the place, and obtained it. And being ready to depart, for *Chile*, he took his Sister-in-Law with him, an honest Virtuous person, and one of those, who are called Devout Women, and which was Admiral of six other Ships, a Galeon, where were 800 Persons, and which was Vice-King. This Religious Woman being very devout, desired leave from the Master of the Ship, to keep a Candle in her Cabin by Night, for reading her office, to which the Master (unconcerned, considering it was for her Devotion, and that she might pray for the whole Ship, and also was Daughter-in-Law to the Governour. Being at Sea, and failing with a fair wind, it happened that a Physician belonging to another Ship, came aboard the Galeon to visit a Friend of his, who was there; and being old Acquaintance rejoiced to see each other: Towards Evening the Physician desirous to return aboard his own Ship, was perfwaded by his Friend to stay that Night with him, for that the Weather was very fair, and likely to continue; and so the Boat was towed that night at the Stern of the Ship, intending next morning to make use of it, and return. But it happened, that that night this

this devout Woman being at her Prayers, or rather fell asleep in the middle of her Office with her Candle lighted, gave a fatal Example and Influence, how dangerous it is on any occasion whatsoever to break the Rules and Orders of the Sea, which are made for conservation of the Ship, and those any light shall be continued in the Ship by night, unless it be that on the Poop: For so it was, that the Candle taking hold of the Lanthorn of the Ship, the flame broke out at the sides, before it was discovered, and burnt so violently, that it was impossible to be quenched; and Master perceived, he ordered the Mariner, who was at the Helm, when the up the Boat by the side, wherein the Physician had the day before come aboard; and then went to the Governour *Adrerre*, and without any noise privately told him the misfortune of the Ship; and so he, and one of the two Sons he had aboard, with the Governour and the Mariner stepped into the Boat, without calling or crying out to the others, left the People crowding into the Boat, and every one endeavouring to save himself, they should all be lost.

In this manner did the Master save his own life, and as an expiation of his sin for breaking the Laws of the Sea, which ought inviolably to be observed, he sacrificed one of his Sons. The Fire having such an abundance of matter administered to its nourishment, such as Pitch and Tar, increased so violently, Ships of the Fleet, they came as near as they durst, and put out their Boats Sea: but the Fire coming to the Guns, which were all shotted, they discharged so fiercely, that the Ships were forced for their safety to retire at a distance, and suffer all the 800 persons then aboard to perish; some being burnt, and others drowned, who for fear of the flames had thrown themselves into the Sea. The news of which was the occasion of great sorrow and lamentation over all Peru. *Jerónimo de Alderete*, so soon as it was day, got aboard one of his Ships, and immediately commanded a Flag to be put out on the main Top-Mast head; that they might fee he was still alive, and had escaped both the Fire and the Water. And so giving out his Orders to the other Ships to prosecute their Voyage to *Nombre de Dios*, he returned to Spain to renew his Commission and Instructions, all his Writings having been consumed by the Fire; and having procured his Dispatches, he again put to Sea with the Fleet which transported *Marquis de Camerme*, the Vice-King to Peru, as *Palentino* reports, though he mentions nothing of the disaster of the Galeon.

CHAP. IV.

The Vice-King arrives in Peru. He puts new Officers into places of Trust. He writes Letters to the several Governours.

THE Vice-King *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza*, departed from *Panama, Peru*, from whence he dispatched his respective Orders to the Kingdom of *Quito*, and other parts thereof. He also wrote to the several Governors of the Empire; and sent a Gentleman, who was a Kinsman of his Family, on a particular message to the Royal Chancery at *Los Reyes*; but being a Youngman, he made too long a stay at *St. Michael's Town*, entertaining himself in Divertilements, neither decent nor honest; upon notice whereof

whereof, the Vice-King sent him exprefs Orders to proceed no farther; and when he himself came to that City, he commanded him to be taken into Custody, with intent to send him Prisoner into *Spain*, resolving never to pardon any Messenger or Officer of his, who did not diligently observe the Commission and Orders he had given him: He also sent away *Don Pedro Luis de Cabrera* into *Spain*, with other married men, who had left their Wives at home. But the Truth is, it was more the fault of the Wives, than of the Husbands, who had sent for them, and given them credit for considerable Sums of Money to defray the charge of their voyage: But these Women being delighted with *Seville*, which charms all those which have resided in it, have refused to obey the Husbands Summons, and prevailed with the Justice to send Commands to recal them into *Spain*. There were three of these Women, whose Husbands I knew in *Peru*, and were men possessed of considerable Estates in Land, to the value of a hundred thousand Ducats of yearly Rent, all which upon their deaths would have descended to their Wives, had they resided upon the place, but being absent, the Right and Propriety devolved to the King: I could name particularly their Names, but out of respect to their Reputation 'tis better to conceal them.

The Vice-King proceeded forward on his way, with all the gentle demeanour and courtesie imaginable; rewarding some, and giving fair words and promises to all, who demanded a remuneration for their past services. All which he acted with Art and Design, that a report of his Candour might fore-run his coming, and the minds of men quieted by a prepossession of his intentions to gratifie and reward every man as he deserved. It was also the talk of common fame, that the Vice-King intended to select a Cabinet Council of four Persons, of the most intelligent and experienced men of the Empire, who were impartial and unbiassed, and who by long and antient practice in Affairs, were able to render an account of every Man's Services, and Merit.

The Persons commonly named, were *Francisco de Garay* Citizen of *Huamachuco*, *Lorenzo de Aldana* of *Arequipa*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, and *Antonio de Quimones* of *Cuzco*; this was the fancy of the common people, it being well known, that every one of these men was endued with a Talent sufficient to govern *Peru*, in case the Reins were committed to their hands: And with this imagination the Inhabitants of this Empire, both Clergy and Seculars, comforted and pleased themselves; saying, that such a Prince must be sent from Heaven, into whose heart God had infused the thoughts of making choice of such Counsellors.

Palentino in the second Chapter of his Book, hath these words. The Vice-King, saith he, proceeded on his Journey to *Los Reyes*, declaring as he went, his Intentions to reward every man as he deserved; but the common voice of Fame gave out, that he would confer his Favour on all, without reflection on any thing that was past. This report brought multitudes of people to *Truxillo*, and many of those who had been Delinquents, and faulty in their Duty to his Majesty, towards all which the Vice-King carried himself very fairly, and gave out in his discourse, that by those men who had revolted from *Hernandez Giron* to the King, that Country had been saved: And in this manner he amused the minds of the people, that those who formerly durst not adventure to *Cuzco*, and other parts, without a strong Guard and much circumspection, were become at last confident and assured of safety, by indulgence from the Vice-King. Thus far this Author. To which we are farther to add, and say,

That upon the News of the arrival of the Vice-King, the Inhabitants of *Cuzco* were greatly pleased and satisfied; every one depending on the report which common Fame spread abroad of his Clemency and good Intentions. Howsoever *Thomas Vazquez* and *Piedrahita* lived retired at their Country-houses, more out of shame than fear of their safety: For tho' they had followed the Rebellion from the first beginning of the Insurrection, and concerned in all the Blood and Murders had been committed, yet having renounced the cause of the Rebel at a critical time, and in such a conjuncture, as gave him the fatal blow, his Majesties gracious Pardon under the Great Seal of the Chancery was conferred upon them; on confidence of which, they came freely to the City, when their occasions called them thither, tho' with a modest Train, and with such Equipage, as became men who, being under a Cloud, had retired into a kind

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of voluntary Banishment amongst their *Indian* Vassals: And with such caution did these men live, that during the three years that my Father *Garcilasso de la Vega* was Governour of *Cuzco*, I never saw them there, unless it were *John Piedrahita*, who upon some extraordinary occasion of business, came by night to make my Father a Visit, and give him a relation of his Solitary Life, but never in the day time appeared publicly on the place. Howsoever *Alonso Diaz*, who was a Citizen, never absented himself from home; but lived quietly in his own house, tho' he had been another of those who had concerned himself in the Rebellion of *Hernandez*. And this was the truth of this Story, which our Author makes such a stir about, and would insinuate things scandalous, and offensive to the Hearers.

The Vice-King came to the City of *Los Reyes*, in the Month of *July* 1557, where he was received with that Pomp and Grandure which was due to his Royal Office, and to the Quality of his Person, having the title of Marquis given him from his Lordship over Vassals: for tho' other Vice-Kings had been Marquises, yet none of them before assumed the Title of their Marquisate, with relation to *Indians*, who were in vassallage to them. Eight days after he had taken the Chair of his Office, he again renewed his Possession of the Empire, in the Name of King *Philip* the Second, to whom the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth had resigned the Kingdoms, and Signories which appertained to him: what Motives he had to make this resignation is not known, but it is believed that his want of Health, and indisposition of Body, were the cause, and that the weight of Affairs of State were too burdensome in that feeble condition. This exchange of Government under the names of two different Kings, was attended with all the State, and solemn attendance that was required; the persons present, were the Vice-King, the Judges of the Bench, all the Officers Ecclesiastical, and Civil, *Don Jeronimo de Loaysa* Arch-Bishop of *Los Reyes*, all the Friars of the several Convents then in that City, which were four, namely, that of our Lady of the *Merced*, *St. Francis*, *St. Dominick*, and *St. Augustine*. The Ceremony in the *Parade*, and Streets being over, they went to the Cathedral Church, where the Arch-bishop in his Pontifical Habit celebrated High Mass. The same passed in all the other Cities of that Empire, every one shewing the great satisfaction, and contentment he received on occasion of that Solemnity, which was celebrated with the Feast of Bulls, and throwing darts; and endeavouring to out-vie each other in Gallantry, and richness of their Liveries; which is still the common vanity of that Country.

The Vice-King *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza* having taken possession of the Government, dispatched new Officers, and Governours to the several Jurisdictions of *Peru*: Amongst which a certain Lawyer, a Native of *Cuenca*, called *Baptisto Munoz*, whom the Vice-King brought with him, was sent to *Cuzco*. *Alamirano* one of his Majesties Justices, who had refused to follow his Majesties Army and Standard into the Field, was made Governour of the City of *Plata*; others were dispatched with Commissions to the Cities of *Huamachuco*, *Arequipa*, and *de la Paz*: where many things passed of great importance: We shall give an account of some of them in the following Chapter.

C H A P. V.

The Orders which the Vice-King issued forth to prevent Mutinies, and Insurrections. Thomas Vazquez, Piedrahita, and Alonso Diaz, are put to death for having been engaged in the Rebellion of Hernandez Giron.

Palentino, in the second Chapter of his third part, saith, that so soon as the Vice-King entered into the City of *Los Reyes*, that he set Guards and Centinels on all the ways leading to the several Cities of the Empire; with

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orders

orders to examine carefully all passengers, as well *Indians*, and *Spaniards*, and to take from them what Papers, and Letters, they carried with them, so as to discover what Plots and Conspiracies were then contriving against the Government. All which are the words of this Author; as is that also which follows, the truth of which I can myself avouch, having been an eye witness of many passages thereof. The Vice-King gave Order, that no *Spaniard* whatsoever should travel without a particular License or Pass, under the hand of some Justice of the Peace belonging to the parts where he lived; in which Pass or License, the reasons were to be specified, and the Business, or Occasions, which caused the Party to travel: And particularly care was taken, that no *Spaniard* upon pretence of coming to the City to any Festival, should be permitted to pass: Tho' for the present this Order had little effect, in regard, that before it could be published, multitudes of People had crowded to the City, to partake in the common joy, which was evidenced at the reception of this Vice-King. He commanded, that all the Cannon and Arms found in the City, should be taken up, and conserved in a common Magazine; all which was ordered to prevent Conspiracies, and disturbances which had been caused by former Rebellions; but the Country had been so lately wearied, and harassed by Civil Wars, that there was no thoughts amongst the people tending to a ruine from whence they had so newly escaped. And now let us leave the Vice-King for a time, to discourse of the Governours, which he had sent to *Coxco* and to the *Chavira*.

The Lawyer *Munoz*, approaching to the City of *Coxco* with Commission of Governour, was met, and received by my Father *Gargilasso*; who, so soon as he was entered within the Privileges and Jurisdiction of the City, delivered the White Rod of Justice into his hand; which when he had received, the first question he made him was; how much the Fee was for setting his Hand, or Firm to any Writing? To which he made answer, that he knew not, having never demanded such a Fee or Duty. No, said the Lawyer, that is strange, for Justices ought not to lose their right of what nature so ever, tho' never so inconsiderable: The standers by wondered much at this Dialogue; to which some made answer, that 'twas not strange for men who came from *Spain*, with no other intent, than to gain what they could with a good Conscience, to know the utmost value of their Office above the Income of their Salary.

So soon as the Governour had received the Rod of his Authority, and made his Pursuivants, he employed two of them upon a Service without the City; one he sent to apprehend *Thomas Vazquez*, and the other *Piedrahita*, both which in 5 or 6 days being brought Prisoners to *Coxco*, were committed to the publick Prison. Their Friends and Relations offered to give bail for them, and to bind themselves in considerable Bonds for their good behaviour, and that they should not go forth beyond the Precincts of the City; supposing that the seizure made of their Persons, was to the end that they might be confined within the Walls of the City, and not permitted to ramble abroad in the Countries amongst their *Indians* and other People. My Father offered to become Bail for one of them; but he was answered, that the Commission and instructions which this Governour brought, was much different to what they imagined; for had their confinement to the City been only designed, there would not have needed all the formality used in sending for them by Officers, and committing them to Prison: The truth is, the issue was according to what *Francisco Hernandez* had formerly presaged, and as we have before intimated; for the next morning they were found dead in the Prison, having been there strangled, notwithstanding their Pardons which they had sued forth from the Royal Court of Chancery. Their Plantations, and Lordships over *Indians* were all confiscated: That belonging to *Thomas Vazquez*, which was one of the best Mannors, or Lordships near the City, was conferred by the Vice-King on *Rodrigo d'Esqueval* a Native of *Seville*, who had some small Estate, but with this addition he was made great and considerable. In like manner the Estate of *Piedrahita* was disposed, and forfeited, as was that of *Alonso Diaz*, whom they likewise put to death: besides which Executions, there were no other Processes of Justice made against the Rebels in punishment for the late War. Howsoever, the Governour *Munoz* prosecuted his Predecessour in that Office, and laid four Articles to his charge. The first was, That he sported (after the *Spanish* manner and custome) with Darts on horse-back, which did not

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become the Justice of that Town. That he went often abroad to make private Visits without the Rod of Justice in his hand, which gave an occasion to many persons to despise and expose the honour of the Government to Contempt. The third was, that in *Christmas* time he gave leave to the Citizens, and others, to play at Cards and Dice in his House, and that he himself plaid with them; which did not become the gravity of a Governour. And lastly, that he had taken a Clerk who was not a free-man of the City, nor had observed the formality which the Law required in that case. For answer unto which, he replied, That as to the sport of throwing Darts, it was a pastime which he had used all the days of his Life, nor would he leave it off so long as he lived, tho' he were placed in an Office of far higher Dignity and Honour, than that in which he was constituted and invested. To the second, he said, that sometimes he went without his Rod to the next Neighbour, or house near at hand, where he was familiarly acquainted, and where he was sufficiently assured to receive no affront for want of the Badge, or Ensign of his Authority. That as to the Play and Gaming at *Christmas*, it was very true, that he did allow thereof in his own house, and did himself play; which prevented many differences, and quarrels, which might otherwise have arisen in other places, amongst proud and angry persons. As to the Clerk, he said, that he being no Lawyer himself, did not so much regard the ability, or the manner how he was qualified for that Office, as his Fidelity, and Truth, and faithful administration, of which all the City was ready to give Testimony. Some other Articles were drawn up against *Monjaraz*: but he being only Deputy-Governour, could not be so highly charged, as was the Governour himself. And the truth is, the faults of neither were fit to be mentioned, only the new Judge was willing to have something to say; but there neither being Crimes to punish, nor Debts to pay, all Actions were smoothed, and no Processes further made.

CHAP. VI.

The imprisonment and death of Martin de Robles, and the reason for which he was executed.

WE have mentioned before, how that *Altamirano*, Judge of the Court of Chancery, in the City of *Los Reyes*, was sent Chief Justice to the City of *Plate*, where, so soon as he was possessed of his Government, he apprehended *Martin de Robles* a Citizen of that Town, and without any Indictment or Process made against him, he hanged him up publicly in the open Market-place. At which the people much lamented, and were greatly offended, because he was one of the most principal men of Quality in the whole Empire, and so aged, and bowed down with Years, that he could not bear his own Sword girt to his side, but was carried after him by an *Indian* Page, who attended him. But when the Reasons of his death were more fully known, the offence thereat was much increased, as *Palentino* mentions in these words following.

The Vice-King sent a Warrant to Judge *Altamirano*, to put *Martin de Robles* to Death: The Reasons for which he gave, that sufficient proofs had been made before him, the Vice-King, how that this *Martin de Robles* having been in company with several persons, should say these words, *Let us go to Lima, and teach the Vice-King better manners, than to write in such a rude stile, and with so little respect and formality, as he uses*. These are the words of which he was accused, tho' it is generally believed, that he never said them, nor ever gave any colour, or ground for such an Accusation. Some say, that this rash Speech was not that which provoked the Vice-King against *Martin de Robles*, but some other suggestions of having been accessory to the Imprisonment, and death of *Blasco Nunnez* Vice King of *Peru*. Thus far, this Author, in an obscure manner, expresses this Passage; which we shall endeavour

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to

to clear, and explain more at large. It is true, that *Martin de Robles* did say some such words, which were to be taken in another Sense: For (as we have said before) when the Vice-King wrote Letters from *Payta*, to the several Governours and Justices of the Empire, giving them to understand the news of his arrival in that Country; the Supercription of his Letters were in this manner, *To the Noble Lord of such a place: And in the Letter he treated them with Thou*, which was the common Stile to what person of Quality soever; the which manner of writing gave great offence over all *Peru*: For in those days, and a long time afterwards, persons of Quality, and such as were rich in that Country, always used in Writing to their Servants, the Title of Noble, saying, *To the Noble*—and within the Letter they wrote sometimes in the second, and sometimes in the third person, according to his Condition and Office wherein he served: and this Custom prevailed, until such time as a Pragmatica came forth to regulate the Terms of Honour which were given. But in regard the Letters from the Vice-King were in another Form and Stile, they gave offence to such evil Men, who were desirous of Change and disturbances; and caused them, with reflection on the present Vice-King, to commend, and praise the Civility of those who were formerly in the same power, who in all their Letters used Terms of Respect, according to the Quality and Merit of the person. My Father *Garcilasso* being then Governour of *Cuzco*, received a Letter from the Vice-King with the same Title and Supercription; which some asked him how he could brook, or how he could endure such a neglect? To which my Father made answer, that he could bear it very well; since that the Vice-King wrote to him, not barely by the Name of *Garcilasso de la Vega*, but with the addition of Governour of *Cuzco*, which shewed him to be his Officer, and Minister under him; and that very shortly they should see how the Vice-King would change the Form, and Stile of the Supercription of his Letters to him: Which accordingly happened, for about eight days afterwards, the Vice-King being at *Rimac*, he wrote a Letter to my Father, directed in this manner, *To the Right Worshipful Senior Garcilasso de la Vega, &c.* and within he treated him with such Terms, as might become an Elder Brother towards his younger; at which, those who saw it did much admire. I have had both these Letters in my custody, for at that time I served my Father in quality of his Clerk, and wrote all the Letters which he dispatched to several parts of the Empire; and in like manner, I gave the Answer to both these Letters. But to return to the Story of *Martin de Robles*, from which we have made this digression. The Truth thereof is this, One of the first Letters from the Vice-King, was barely in this manner, *To the Governour of the Chacra*, and no more; which gave occasion to the huffing, vapouring Fellows to say, the Vice-King was very uncivil, and rude, to write in such a mean manner to Governours, who taking all things together, both as to their Estates and Qualities, were as good men as himself. Upon this, it was said, that *Martin de Robles* should utter these words, *Let him come hither, and we shall teach him better manners*. But this he said in manner of a Jest; for on less occasion than this, as *Valentino* saith, he used great liberty with his Tongue. For he would never for his Jest sake spare his Friend, or his Wife her self: And when some of his intimate acquaintance would blame his indiscretion (as sometimes they did) for taking such freedom in his speech; he would answer, that he would rather lose a Friend, than a quick witty saying, uttered opportunely in its due time and place; and upon this fancy the poor man lost his life. But as to his concernment in the misfortunes of *Blasco Nunez*, all that matter was absolutely forgot, and laid aside, 13 years having passed since that time; and even then this *Martin de Robles* performed many, and signal services for his Majesty, for in that very critical juncture of Affairs, he with much danger of his Life, revolted from *Gonzalo Pizarro* to the President *Gasca*, whom he faithfully served, until the end of that War; for which the President rewarded him, as we have before related. In like manner, he served in the Wars against *Don Sebastian*, and *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, in both which he frankly laid out his Estate, and neither spared his Silver nor his Gold, to serve his Majesty; by which Merit, he obtained his Pardon for his past Crimes, being granted by the President *Gasca*, and confirmed by the Justices, under the Great Seal of the Royal Chancery.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

In what manner the Vice-King treated those who made demands for reward of their late Services; and how by the Advice of unjust and ill-natured Counsellours he banished thirty seven of them into Spain.

Valentino in another part of the Second Chapter before mentioned, speaking of the Vice-King, saith as follows, All the Cannon, Musquets, and other Arms which were in the City he got, and lodged in his own House, upon pretence of Festivals, and occasion of Rejoicings. After he had done this, and secured other matters, he repealed all the Commiissions and Pardons which the Justices had given; which struck a terror and awe upon the minds of divers Captains and Souldiers; and with some inconsiderable gratification he rewarded others for their Services: Howsoever, understanding that many of these men were piqued, and spoke some words which sounded not well, he apprehended several of them within the Precincts of his own Court, and immediately sent them away to *Lima* under a safe Guard; giving out, that he sent some of them for *Spain*, to the intent that they might be rewarded there by his Majesty; since that *Peru* could not confer Gratifications on them agreeable to their Merits: and that he sent others of them, that they might receive punishment for their Insolence: And when some advised him to send the Informations against them, and the Procceses judicially made in their cause, together with their persons into *Spain*: He refused to do it, saying, that he intended to intercede with his Majesty in their behalf, so that they might receive rewards and Honours, rather than be the Attorney General to implead them.

But in regard this Author hath expressed several passages of this History in a dark, obscure, and confused manner, we shall endeavour to elucidate them more clearly, and in an Historical manner declare every thing methodically as it passed. And first, as to that point which this Author mentions about taking away Arms by the Vice-king: we must know, that before the coming of the Vice-king, the Justices had given orders to the Governours in their respective Jurisdictions to seize on all the Arms they could find; and accordingly my Father published this their Command by common outcry; and in obedience thereunto, many Gentlemen and Souldiers of good Reputation, who were Loyal to his Majesty, brought in their Musquets and other Arms; but the common People, and such as were ill affected would not bring them in, unless they were purchased with Money, or for some consideration, either of themselves or Friends: for which reason my Master *Garcilasso* acquainted the Lords of the Royal Chancery with this particular, giving them to understand, that this course was rather prejudicial than advantageous to his Majesty, for that his Friends would by that means be disarmed, and his Enemies guarded with their Weapons by them. And upon this consideration it was, that the Justices gave orders privately, to have the Arms restored to their respective owners; which accordingly was done: And this is what passed about the Arms, of which this Author speaks. And as to Repealing, and Revoking those Pardons which the Justices gave to those who had followed the Faction of *Hernandez*, it was done in order to bring those persons to Justice, in the manner before specified. And as to the satisfaction he speaks of, which the Vice-King gave to divers persons, as well Captains as Souldiers, for a gratuity and reward of their past Services: The truth was this, He did make offer to some of those pretenders of a Gratification, but in a mean kind, and much inferior to their Qualities and Merits; and with condition, and under proviso, that they should immediately marry, and take Wives of those *Spanish* Women, who were lately come over; it being according to his Majesties Instructions, and so ordained for conservation of the publick peace and quietness of the Land: And in order hereunto the Vice-King assigned to several of the Pretenders, such and such Women for

Wives,

Wives, under the notion of modest and virtuous Ladies, though many of them were known to be common Strumpets. For which reason most of the Pretenders refusing their Society, gave occasion to malicious men, who were desirous to make troubles, to incense the Vice-King against these Pretenders, who were men of greater merit than themselves, insinuating that they refused those Wives only out of obstinacy, and aversion to the Commands of Authority. And hereupon this Author saith, That the Vice-King did look on these men, as dissatisfied; and believing, as was reported to him, that they let fall many angry words tending to Sedition, he gave orders to apprehend several of them; and under a strong Guard sent them to the Port, and *Callao de Lima*, in order to transport them to *Spain*, giving out, that it was to have some persons of merit more amply rewarded by his Majesty in *Spain*, than could be done in *Peru*; and that others of them, who had been insolent and daring, might be punished by Banishment, rather than rewarded, &c.

The persons taken, and sent away, were thirty seven, all men eminently known and signalized for their Loyalty and Service to his Majesty; one of which was *Gonzalo Silvestre*, whose Labours and Hazards are at large recorded in our History of *Florida*; and in this also he is not mentioned without regard to his Honour and Reputation. Particularly we have signified, how that at the Battel of *Changuinca* he had a Horse killed under him, which some few days before he had bought of *Martin de Robles* for twelve thousand Ducats. Of the same degree and merit were several others in this Kingdom, of which I wish I had a particular list. And though *Paletino* saith, that several of these Pretenders were banished, I must crave leave to dissent from him, and say, That none of them were banished for any Crime or Misdemeanour, for all of them were men of merit and desert. And as to what he farther saith, that some persons would have persuaded the Vice-King to have sent the Informations, and Accusations against these men, together with their persons into *Spain*, and that he refused so to do, saying, That he would rather be an Intercessor for them with his Majesty, than their Accuser, &c. The truth of which matter was this. There were not wanting Whisperers, who insinuated to the Vice-King jealousies and fears of Mutinies and Seditions amongst the Souldiers, who having for a long time served the King at their own cost and charge, complained of their hard usage and ill treatment, and therefore advised to have them banished: but others dissuaded this course as unjust, and looking like Cruelty, to have men punished, who deserved Rewards. That the banishment out of *Peru* into *Spain*, was worse than death to men, who were poor, and had consumed their Estates and Substance in the service of his Majesty. Moreover, they added, That it became not the Quality nor Office of a Vice-King to send such men into *Spain* with their Mouths full of complaints, to which no doubt but his Majesty would lend an Ear and give Credit; especially since nothing could be objected against them of Crime or Misdemeanour, and that in behalf of themselves they were able to make a large relation of their Services and Sufferings for his Majesty, having wasted their Lives, and consumed their Estates for the interest of the Crown: in proof and evidence of which they had their wounds, and their macerated bodies to shew, and plead for them before his Majesty. Howsoever these considerations prevailed not so much with the Vice-King, as a course of greater severity; for being made angry, and provoked by the evil suggestions of those men, who pretended to discover secret Cabals and Conspiracies amongst them, he resolved to send them away, as the best expedient to secure the Peace of the Empire; and that as to what they could say in *Spain*, or what they could do at their return from thence to *Peru*, he little regarded: for in going to *Spain*, said he, they must spend a year, and in their Negotiations and Solicitations there, another would pass; and a third in their Voyage back: and when they bring Letters and Orders in their own favour; it is then but kissing them and laying them on my Head, and saying, *I obey*; and at the end tell them, That the King hath no Money nor Means wherewith to reward them: and then after they return back again with the same complaints to the King, and have traced the same circle of business as before, they will then be, but where they were before, only three years more will have passed over their Heads, which in all will make up six, and by that time, none but God knows what will become of us. With such thoughts as these, the Pretenders were dispatched into

into *Spain* so poor and miserable, that the richest of them had not a thousand Ducats to defray his Charges; though to raise this Money, he had sold his Horse, and Cloaths, and the poor Furniture of his House: and though some of them had possessions of Lands, and some little Rent, yet the Revenue was so small, that it was scarce worth looking after, and so remote, that they were forced to leave and abandon it, as of no worth and value to them: for though a Person should commit his Estate, in this manner, to the Trust and Management of Friends; yet so far is *Spain* remote from *Peru*, that oftentimes Friends take advantage of distance, and long absence, and make that their own, which is only intrusted to them by others: And thus much I can attest, and aver upon my own experience, who having left some Estate and Inheritance of my own to the care of another Friend, he made use of that confidence I had in him to cheat and defraud me of what appertained to me.

And this was the case of these poor Gentlemen, who left their Estates with some Friends, from whom they heard no farther afterwards; and enquired of me for them, after I came to *Spain*, to know of me whether they were alive or not, and how, or in what manner they had disposed of their Estates: For my part I was able to give them but an imperfect account of their matters, for I was but young, and could not look so far back into the Estates and Concernments of other Men. And here let us leave our Pretenders on their Voyage, the success of which we shall consider in its due place, and in the mean time we will proceed to recount the Successes of that Empire, in relation to its own Natural Lord.

CHAP. VIII.

The Vice-King designs to bring the Prince, who was Heir to this Empire, from his Retirement in the Mountains, to pay Homage and Fealty to his Majesty. The ways and means which were contrived for doing the same.

THE Vice King having dispatched these poor Gentlemen into *Spain*, upon the suggestions (as we have said) of evil Counsellours, who insinuated into him dangerous Conspiracies, and civil Disturbances, which these Men might machinate, by the Interest they had with other Souldiers of inferior degree: and hereof there had been such fresh Examples, that the Fears and Jealousies of the like events might very reasonably be apprehended. But now to amuse, and divert the minds of the People from such Tragical Plots as these, and for better securing the Peace of the Empire, Letters were wrote to *Amunoz*, the Governor of *Coxco*, and to *Donna Beatriz Coya* to consider of a way, how they might in a friendly and peaceable manner persuade the Prince *Sayri Tupac* to leave his Mountains, and come and live amongst the *Spaniards*, who for his encouragement, would make him an allowance sufficient to maintain his Family and Equipage. This proposition was treated with the *Coya*, which was Sister to the Father of this Prince, who was the Legitimate Heir to the Empire, being the Son of *Meneo Saca*, whom those *Spaniards* killed, who he had protected and delivered out of the hands of their Enemies, as is related in the 7th. Chapter of the 4th. Book of this 2d. Part. The *Infanta Donna Beatriz*, tho' it were for no other reason than to see her Nephew in that City, and not with expectation of being restored to his Empire, received with great readiness, and good will, the Command and Order of the Vice-King; and in pursuance thereof dispatched away a Messenger, attended with *Indian* Servants, to the Mountains of *Villica Pampa*, where the *Inca* made his residence: the Messenger himself was also of the Blood-Royal, to render the offer more specious, and more easily accepted: His Journey was long, and much about, and over bad ways, by reason that the Bridges were broken down; but at length coming to the Out-

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guards, he was there detained, until his Message was signified to the *Inca*, after which being admitted, a Council was called of all the Captains and Governours, who were Tutors to the Prince, for he being in his Minority, had not (as we have said) as yet bound his Head with the coloured Wreath. The Captains having received this Message, were jealous of the reality thereof, though brought to them by a Kinsman: And therefore not being over-hasty to give Credence thereunto, another Messenger was dispatched to *Cuzco*, in behalf of the *Inca*, to spy and discover what deceit and fraud might be under this specious overture; for they did much distrust the sincerity of the *Spaniards*, keeping still in memory the death of *Anabulpa*, and other their faithless and treacherous practices: And until the return of this Messenger, and his Associates, those sent from *Cuzco* were detained as Hostages, and Pledges for better security of the honest and due performances by the *Spaniards*. The Messenger was farther intrusted, that after he had applied himself to the *Infanta Donna Beatriz*, he should discourse farther on the business with the Governour of *Cuzco*, and other Persons, who might secure them of their fears, and from the apprehensions they had of false and faithless designs; and should desire both of the Governour, and *Donna Beatriz*, to send unto *John Sierra de Leguicamo* her Son by *Mancio Sierro de Leguicamo*, who was one of the first Conquerours, to deal faithfully with them in this matter, and give to them his real opinion, whether they might trust without Scruple, or doubt of the proposition and offer which was made to them. The Governour, and the *Infanta* were both pleased at the coming of this Messenger from the *Inca*, and with him sent Letters to *John Sierra*, that as he was a near Kinsman to the *Inca*, he should deal clearly with him, and assure him that there was no other design in the Invitation, than to see him abroad, and out of those Mountains, to the great Joy and Contentment of all his Relations. But whilst these matters were in treaty at *Cuzco*; the Vice-King, being impatient to see an end of this Negotiation, which he thought would be over-long and tedious by other hands, dispatched away immediately from himself a *Dominican* Friar, whom *Valentino* calls *Melchior de Los Reyes*, and with him a Citizen of *Cuzco*, named *John Betanços* the Husband of *Donna Angelina*, the Daughter of *Inca Anabulpa*, of whom we have formerly made mention: this *John de Betanços* pretended to be very skilful in the General Language of the Country, for which reason, and for the relation he had by his Wife to the Prince *Sayri Tupac*, he was sent in company with the Friar, to serve for an Interpreter, and to explain the Letters, and the Substance of the Embassy, upon which they were employed. These two Ambassadors, in obedience to the Vice-Kings Commands, made all the haste they were able, and endeavoured to get admittance to the *Inca*, by way of the City of *Huamanga*, which was the nearest Frontier of any to the entrance into the Mountains, where the *Inca* made his place of Residence: For which reason the *Spaniards* gave the name to that Town, of St. *John* of the Frontier, because it bordered near the abroad of the *Incas*; and was (when the Country was first conquered by the *Spaniards*) possessed by them on St. *John's* day. But they could by no means procure admittance by this way; for the *Indian* Captains and Governours, fearing lest the *Spaniards* should take them upon surprize, and carry their Prince away from them, had so cut off all the Avenues, that no Person, without their License, could approach the place of their Habitation. Wherefore the Friar, and *John de Betanços* took a compass twenty Leagues farther by the high Road, to try if they could get entrance by the way of *Antabuylla*, but here also they were disappointed: All which being advised by the *Indians* to the Governour of *Cuzco*, he wrote a Letter to the Ambassadors, that they should not labour farther to no purpose, but should come to *Cuzco*, where they should find directions in what manner to proceed. In the following Chapter we shall set forth at large, what passed in this particular affair, according to the Narrative of *Valentino*, extracted verbatim from his own Words: whereby we may observe, with what Prudence and Caution the *Indians* proceeded in this affair; and how prudently they governed their Artifices, whereby to discover the Cheats and Frauds which the *Spaniards* concealed under their specious offers; with many other things observable on the part of the *Indians*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The suspicion and fear which the Governours of the Prince conceived on occasion of the Message which the Christians sent to them. The ways, and diligence they used to secure themselves from these jealousies.

THIS Author, in the fourth Chapter of the third book of his History, saith, as follows. The Friar and *Betanços* being come to *Cuzco*, it was ordered, That they should remain behind, whilst the Governour *Mumoz*, and *Donna Beatriz* went before the Ambassadors, with her Son *John Sierra*, to the *Inca*. Which being so agreed, the Friar and *Betanços* went out of the City three days before them, pretending to stay and expect them on the road: But to gain the honour of being the first Ambassadors, advanced as far as the Bridge called *Chaquichaca*, which borders on the Jurisdiction of the *Inca*. And having with great difficulty passed the Bridge; they were detained by the *Indian* Souldiers, who kept watch and guard on that side, and there kept without other hurt or damage done to them; not suffering them to proceed forward, nor return back again; and so remained until the next day, when *John Sierra*, with the Ambassadors from the *Inca* came to them, with ten other *Indians* who were sent to meet the Ambassadors: In fine, *John Sierra*, and the Ambassadors were permitted to proceed, but *Betanços* and the Friar were detained: The *Inca* being informed that *John Sierra* was near at hand, and also that a Friar and *Betanços* who were Ambassadors from the Vice-King were not far distant; he dispatched a Captain with 200 *Indian* Souldiers, (whom they called *Caribates*, and are of that sort, who eat the Enemies which they take in the War) to signify to the Ambassadors, that the *Inca's* pleasure was, that they should declare the Message they brought unto his General. Accordingly the first day passed in complement, the General only bidding them welcome: But the next day *John Sierra* being admitted to Audience, he was severely reproved by the General for coming with the attendance of so many Christian Souldiers: For which *John Sierra* excused himself, saying, That he brought them by the advice and order of the Governour of *Cuzco*, and his Aunt *Donna Beatriz*; and then he declared to him the occasion for which he was sent, and read to him the Letters from his Mother, and the Governour, with that also which the Vice-King had wrote to *Donna Beatriz*. *John Sierra* having thus delivered his Message, *Betanços* and the Friar were also called and admitted to the same place; of whom they demanded the same questions, to see what difference there was in the proposals which were made.

The Friar and *Betanços* produced the Writing of Pardon, and declared the substance of the Embassy upon which they were employed, and delivered the Present which the Vice-King sent to the *Inca* of several pieces of Velvet, and Damask, and two Cups of silver gilded, together with other things of curiosity. After which the General and Captains sent two *Indians*, who had been present at all the discourse, to give a relation to the *Inca* of the particulars which had passed; which when the *Inca* had heard, and thought well upon, he gave answer, That the Ambassadors should immediately return from whence they came, with their Letters, Act of Pardon, and Presents; for that he would not have to do with the Vice-King, but remain free, and independent of him, as he had hitherto done. But as *John Sierra*, and the rest were departed, orders were brought after them by two *Indians*, that they should return immediately, and appear before the *Inca*, to give him and his Captains an account in person of the Embassy they had brought; and being on their way, and not above four Leagues from the *Inca*, another Command was given that *John Sierra* should come alone, and

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that the others should be dispeided back with such convenient Provisions, as were necessary for their journey.

The next day *John Sierra* was come within two Leagues of the *Inca*, when he met a new Order, to detain him two days longer before his admittance; and in like manner Messengers were sent to cause *Batanfos* and the Frier to return back to the *Inca*, who at the end of two days sending for *John Sierra*, he received him with such kindness and affection as was due to a near and principal Kinsman: And *John Sierra* having exprest and explained the particulars of his Message in the best sense and words he was able; the *Inca* seemed well satisfied and pleased with what he had delivered; but in regard, that being in his Minority, and not master of himself, nor having for want of years assumed the coloured Wreath, it was necessary for him to refer all his Affairs, and Treaties to the consideration of his Captains: Which being done, Frier *Melchior de Los Reyes* was also sent for, and ordered to deliver the Embassy he had brought from the Vice-King; which being accordingly signified, the Offer was kindly understood, and the presents accepted: Howsoever it was ordered, that the Frier, and *John Sierra* should attend, and expect an Answer after the Captains had consulted thereupon.

The debate being again re-assumed, nothing was concluded; but that more time was required to consult their Predictions and Oracles, and to consider farther before they could come to a resolution: And in the mean time, not to detain *John Sierra*, and the Frier any longer, it was ordered, that they should be dispatched away to *Lima*, with two other Indian Captains, who in the name of the *Inca* should attend the Vice-King, and treat with him concerning the Pension and allowance which was to be given to the *Inca*, in consideration that the Inheritance and Succession of those Kingdoms, did by Right of Nature belong unto him. Being in this manner dismissed, they travelled by the way of *Andaguaylas* to the City of *Los Reyes*, where they arrived on St. Peter's day in the month of June. The Indian Captains having had Audience of the Vice-King, and declared what they had to say in behalf of their *Inca*, were kindly received by him, and hospitably treated for the space of eight days; during which time they were lodged in the City, and had frequent conferences with the Vice-King, touching the entertainment which was to be given the *Inca* for the maintenance of his Court, and Equipage agreeable to his Dignity, so as to be able to live peaceably amongst them, paying Homage and Obedience to the King. The Vice-King having consulted this point with the Arch-Bishop and Judges, it was agreed to give an allowance to the *Inca*, of seventeen thousand pieces of Eight yearly in Money for maintenance of himself, and Sons; besides the Indians and Estate of *Francisco Hernandez*, and to hold therewith the Valley of *Tucay*, together with the Indians and Lands formerly belonging to *Don Francisco Hernandez*, the Son of the Marquis: With some Lands belonging to the Fortrefs of *Cuzco* which was assigned to him for his dwelling house and place, wherein he was to keep his Indian Court. In confirmation and for security hereof, an instrument was drawn up, to settle this Allowance on the *Inca*, provided that in the space of six Months after the date thereof, which was the fifth of July, the *Inca* should accept of those Conditions, and leave his habitation in the Mountains, and come and live amongst the *Spaniards*. This Writing was delivered to *John Sierra*, who was solely appointed to return therewith, accompanied only with the two Indian Captains; and by that time that he was come to the Indian Court, the *Inca* had received the coloured Wreath, and with great joy received the Letters, and Writings from the Vice-King, &c. Thus far *Diego Hernandez*, which I thought fit to extract verbatim from his own Writings; that I might not seem to have enlarged on the Care, and Cautions used by the Indians in their Treaty above the Sphere of their Capacities.

And now it will not be from our purpose, to explain some passages, which this Author hath touched upon in the preceding discourse. The first is concerning those Carvers, who, he says, did eat one the other in the time of War: it is true, that this was accustomary in the Empire of *Mexico*, in the ancient times of Heathenism. But in *Pern* it was never practised, for

For as we have said in the first part, the *Incas* made severe Laws against those who eat human Flesh: And therefore we must understand this Author, according to the custome of *Mexico*, and not of *Pern*. The Revenue given to the *Inca*, did not amount to 17000 pieces of Eight, (for as we have said before) the Lands of *Francisco Hernandez* did not yield above ten thousand pieces of Eight per annum. And as to what he says, they gave him in the Valley of *Tucay*, which was the Estate of the Son of Marquis *Francisco Pizarro*, it was in reality worth nothing, for that Valley being very pleasant, and delightful, was divided amongst the *Spaniards*, who were Citizens of *Cuzco*, and cultivated by them, and fenced in to make Gardens and Vineyards, as it is to this day: Wherefore the poor *Inca* enjoyed nothing more, than to have the Title of being Lord of *Tuca*; which notwithstanding, he highly esteemed, being the most pleasant piece of ground in all the Empire. The grant of which, was not carried to the *Inca* by *John de Sierra*, as this Author intimates, but was given him at *Los Reyes*, when he personally appeared there, to visit the Vice-King, and pay the Complement of Obedience: But that which was carried by *John de Sierra*, and delivered to the *Inca*, was no other than an Act of Grace, and Pardon of all his Crimes, without mentioning any particulars, or making any promises of support, or maintenance for himself or Family; or setting out any Lands, to make him a Revenue. In the following Chapter we will set down every thing methodically as they passed; for what we have anticipated in this place, is only to shew by another hand, what Caution, Subtily, Craft, and Jealousie, the Indian Captains used in their Treaties, before they would adventure to commit their Prince into the power of the *Spaniards*.

CHAP. X.

The Governours of the Prince consult the several Prophecies, and Prognostications which were made, concerning the event of their Prince's departure from the Mountains. Diverse Opinions arise thereupon; the Inca resolves to go; he comes to Los Reyes, where he is received by the Vice-King. The answer which the Inca made, when the Instrument was delivered to him, which allotted, and secured a maintenance to him.

THE Captains and Tutors of the *Inca* continued their Debates, and Consultations, concerning the Surrender of their Prince, into the hands of the *Spaniards*: And for better assurance therein, they inspected the Entrails of the Beasts, which they offered in Sacrifice, and observed the flying of Birds by Day, and those of the Night; they looked on the Skye, to see whether it were thick or cloudy, or whether the Sun were bright and clear, without Mists, or Clouds which covered it, and accordingly they made their Prognostications of good or bad Fortune: They made no enquiries of the Devil: because, (as we have said before) all the Oracles of that Country the Church of *Rome* entered into these Dominions. And tho' all the Observations made, seemed good Omens, and portended happy success; yet the Captains were divided in their Opinions. Some said that it was fit for their Prince to appear publicly, and in the Eyes of his People, to whom nothing could be so pleasant and acceptable, as the presence of his Person. Others

said, that there was no reason to expect the restoration of their Prince, for the *Inca* was already dispossessed of his Empire, and the same divided amongst the *Spaniards*, and proportioned by Provinces, and Plantations, of which there was no hopes ever to see a restitution: And in such a condition as this, a Prince disinherited and divested of all his Power, and Riches, would make such a poor figure before his People, as would give them Subject rather of Sorrow, than of Joy at his presence. And tho' the Vice-King promised to make him an allowance, wherewith honourably to support himself and Family; yet not having allotted the Provinces, nor named the parts from whence such Revenue is to arise, it looks as if he intended to feed him with empty words, without any real or substantial performances: and in case when an allowance is assigned, which doth not prove agreeable to the Quality of the Prince, he had lived a more happy Exile within these Mountains, than exposed abroad to Miserie and Scorn. But what security have you, that these *Spaniards* will not deal with this Prince, as they sometime did with his Father? whom, instead of returning him all the acknowledgments, which a Soul endued with Humanity, and Reason, was capable to render, they barbarously killed with the stroke of a Bowl upon his Head, whilst he endeavoured to divertise, and solace them a that Game, in their Solitude and retirement with him, where he concealed and secured them from the hands of their Enemies. Nor is it so long since the time of *Atahualpa*, but that we may remember how they strangled him against the Faith and Articles of Peace which were made with them, having thereby given us a clear Evidence, how far their Honesty and Promises extend.

These and other Examples of the faithless and treacherous performances, used by the *Spaniards* towards the *Caciques*, and other *Indians* of Principal Note, were particularly called to mind, and related (the which for brevity sake we omit.) And afterwards the two Opinions, with the Arguments on each side, being laid before the Prince, he inclined to the advice of remaining in his Station, and not intrusting his Person to the Honesty and Mercy of the *Spaniards*; and herein he was more strongly confirmed, when he reflected on the Fate of his Father, and his Uncle *Atahualpa*. And then it was, (what *Palestino* saith before) that the Prince ordered the Letters, and Presents, and Writings to be returned to the Vice-King, and to tell him, That as he might do his own will and pleasure, so he, who was the *Inca*, was free and independent of any, and so would continue.

But whereas our Lord God had, out of his infinite goodness and mercy, determined, that that Prince, his Wife and Children, and Family, should be admitted into the Bosom of our Mother the *Roman* Catholick Church; he so governed the Heart of this Prince, that notwithstanding all the Affrightments, and Apprehensions he conceived of incurring the like Fate with his Ancestors, he yet in a short time changed his mind, and resolved to throw himself, and his Good Fortune, on the Faithfulness, and good Nature of the *Spaniards*. The which *Palestino* confirms, and says, That after *John Sierra*, and the others were departed, the *Inca* dispatched two *Indians* after them, with Orders to cause them to return, and give up the Commission which was delivered to them.

Thus did this matter pass, as this Author relates, tho' with some difference in respect to time, and the method of the several proceedings: I for my part set them down in that Form as they succeeded, according as they were often related to my Mother, by our *Indian* Kindred, who came out with the Prince, and made this matter the Subject of their discourse at the time of their Visits. But to be short in this Story, the Prince having, with a little time, abated his choller, which the memory of his Father, and Uncle, had raised in him; he declared his resolution to visit the Vice-King, who perished in him; he declared his resolution to visit the Vice-King, who perhaps might thereby be inclined to protect, and favour his Royal Stock. Howsoever the Captains desired, and importuned him to be more cautious, and kind to himself, than to expose his life and safety to the Will and Mercy of the *Spaniards*: But finding the *Inca* resolute, and determined to go, saying, that it was the Command of the *Pachacamac*, and of his Father the Sun, the Captains acquiesced, and again had their recourse to the good and bad Omens, and to consult with Birds, and the Sky, and the weather: and seeing no unlucky appearances, they closed with the desires of their Prince, and

and all agreed to go with him to the City of *Los Reyes*. On his Journey thither he was met by the *Caciques*, and all the *Indians* of the Provinces through which he passed, who entertained and feasted him and his Train in the best manner they were able: But alas, it was all performed with sadness, by men who compared the present circumstances with the ancient grandeur of their *Incas*. The Prince travelled in his Chair, not made of Gold, like that of his Ancestors, but of less rich materials, carried by three hundred *Indians*, whom he brought with him, and not by those who were subjected to the *Spaniards*, whom he brought by the Advice and Counsel of his Captains, so soon as he had passed the Confines of his own Dominion, he took off the coloured wreath which bound his Head, lest that being a Badge and Signal of Sovereignty should give offence to the *Spaniards*, as if he laid claim to the Dominions of which he was deprived. In this manner did this Prince travel, until he came to the City of *Los Reyes*, where so soon as he was arrived, he went to make his Complement and Visit to the Vice-King, who (as *Palestino* saith in these words) was attending for him at his own House; and when he came in, he received him kindly, and arose up to him, and caused him to sit in a Chair equal with his. By the Discourses which passed between them, the Prince gave all the indications of a wife and prudent person, and worthy to be accounted of that Line from whence he was descended. Thus far this Author.

Two days afterwards the Archbishop of the City invited him to Dinner, when by direction of the Chief Governours, it was ordered, That with the Desert, or last Course, the Archbishop *Don Gerónimo de Loaysa* should deliver to the Prince the Instrument whereby his Pension and Allowance was settled; supposing that being reached to him by such a hand, it might serve to enhance the estimation of the Present. But some who seldom speak well of any man, reported, that the Archbishop shewed himself officious in this matter, in hopes by this Present to gain another from the *Inca* in Gold, and Silver, and Emeralds, or such like fooleries. But the *Inca* wisely returned a Mathematical demonstration to the Archbishop, and the Guests invited thither, sufficient to answer their Expectations: for after the Cloth was taken away, the Usher of the Hall brought the Instrument of Settlement, which assigned a maintenance for support of the *Inca* and his Family, in a great Bason of gilded Plate: which when the Prince had heard, and had understood the Contents thereof, he gathered the end of the Carpet in his Hand which covered the Table, and which was made of Velvet, with a deep Fringe of Silk at the bottom, and squeezing the folds hard with his Hand, he held it up, and said, All this Cloth with the Furniture thereof was mine, and now they pay me with a thread thereof, for support of my self and my whole Family. With which the Dinner and Entertainment ending, the Archbishop, and the Guests who were with him, greatly wondered at the aptness of the comparison, so well fitted to the present matter.

CHAP. XI.

The Prince Sayri Tupac returns to Cozco, where he is feasted and entertained by his own People. He and his Wife are baptized. The name which he took. The several Visits which he made in the City.

THE Prince having remained some days in the City of *Los Reyes*, demanded leave of the Vice-King, that he might go to *Cozco*; which was granted to him, with many offers of Services and Complements, as formerly: Being on his Journey, he was met in the way, and treated by his *Indian* Subjects, as formerly: And at his entrance into the City of *Huamanga*, he was met by the Citizens of that place, who entertained him, Congratulating and Rejoicing with

with him, for having left the Mountains, and all accompanied him to the lodging which was provided for him.

The next day a certain Inhabitant of that City, called *Michael Astete*, came to make him a Visit, and presented to him the coloured Wreath, which he declared he had taken from the King *Atahualpa* in *Cassamarca*, when he was made Prisoner by the *Spaniards*, and that now he was glad of the occasion to restore it unto him, as of right belonging to the Heir of that Empire. The Prince outwardly seemed to receive it with many expressions of Thanks: and it was said, That he paid a good reward for it, in Gold, and Silver, and Jewels. But we may believe otherwise, and that this Present was displeasing, as the Prince often signified in secret, and that it was abominable and odious to him, for having belonged to *Atahualpa*: For all the Kindred of the Prince were of opinion, that the War, Rebellion, and Tyranny which *Atahualpa* made upon *Huascar* the lawful King, had been the cause of ruine and destruction of the whole Empire: and for that reason, that the Wreath ought to be burned, which that *Auca* or Traytor had worn, who had destroyed them, and their Posterity. This, and much more on this Subject our Kindred related to my Mother, when they came to *Cusco*, and made her their Visits.

The Prince having passed *Huamanga*, by easie Journeys came at length to *Cuzco*, and lodged in the House of his Aunt *Donna Beariz*, which was on the back side of my Fathers dwelling, to which place all those of the Royal Blood, both men and women resorted to welcome him to the Imperial City: and I my self went in the name of my Father, to ask leave that he might personally come and pay his respects to him; I found him then playing at a certain game used amongst the *Indians*, of which I have given an account in the first part of these *Commentaries*; I kissed his Hands, and delivered my Message; he commanded me to sit down, and presently they brought two gilded Cups of that Liquor, made of *Maya*, which scarce contained four ounces of Drink; he took them both, and with his own Hand he gave one of them to me; he drank, and I pledged him; which as we have said, is the custom of Civility amongst them. This Ceremony being past, he asked me, Why I did not meet him at *Vilcapampa*? I answered him, *Inca*, as I am but a Youngman, the Governors make no account of me, to place me in such Ceremonies as these. How, replied the *Inca*, I would rather have seen you than all the Friers and Fathers in Town, though it were the Father in the Frock, or he in the Surplice: and tell my Aunt, That I kiss her Hands, and that she should not come hither, for I will wait upon her my self, and joyce at our happy meeting.

In this manner, he entertained me a great while, making many enquiries of my condition, and how I spent my time; and taking my leave of him, he desired me often to visit him. As I was going away, I made him a submissive bow and reverence, after the manner of the *Indians*, who are of his Alliance and Kindred, at which he was so much pleased, that he embraced me heartily, and with much affection, as appeared by his Countenance. At that time all the *Caciques*, and as many *Indian* Officers as were from *Cuzco* to the *Charcas*, (which is a Tract of Land reaching 200 Leagues in length, and above 120 in breadth) were then present, and all attending on the *Inca*; for whose sake the Feasts and Rejoycings which they made were celebrated with more Joy and Solemnity than in the parts and places of the Journey, through which they had passed: though others of more wife and sober temper, were greatly troubled to consider the meanness and poverty of their Prince, and that such Maygames as those were invented to express his Grandure.

Whilst these Shews were acting, the Prince desired, that he might be admitted to Baptism, and that my Lord, and Father *Garcilasso* might be his Godfather, as it had formerly been agreed amongst them, but he being then very weak and sick was not able to perform this Office, so that another Gentleman, one of the most antient and principal Citizens called *Alonso de Hinojosa* a Native of *Truxillo*, was substituted in his place; with this *Inca Sayri Tupac*, his Wife named *Cusi Huacay* was also baptized; who (as *Palentino* saith) was the Daughter of *Huascar Inca*; perhaps rather she might be his Niece, for to have been his Daughter, she must at least have been thirty

thirty two years of Age: For *Atahualpa* took *Huascar* Prisoner in the year 1528, and the *Spaniards* entered into that Empire 1530, and as others will have it 1531; and when the *Inca*, and his wife the *Infanta* were baptized, it was in the year 1558; which being at the end thereof, the *Infanta* according to this account must be above 30 years of age; whereas, in reality, when she was baptized, she was not above 17 years old, so it must have been an Error in the Calculation, by calling her Daughter instead of Niece. She was a Woman of great Beauty, and had been much more Comely, had she been fair; but that tawny Complexion, which is common to the Women of that Country, much abates that sweetness of Air, and those good features which are natural to them. The Prince *Sayri Tupac* had a fancy to have the name of *Diego* (which is *James*) superadded to him at his Baptism, in respect to that glorious Apostle *St. James*, who according to a Tradition received from his Father, and his Captains, appeared miraculously in favour and defence of the *Spaniards*, when they were besieged in that City. The Inhabitants of the City honoured the day of the *Inca's* Baptism with the sport of Bulls, and throwing Darts, and other signals of joy, appearing in rich Attire and costly Liveries. I my self am an Eye-witness thereof, having been a chief Actor in these diversifications. After these Festivals were over, and that the *Caciques* had made their Visits; the *Inca* remained some days in the Conversation of his Friends, and enjoyment of himself with ease and plenty, during which time he visited that famous Fortrefs which his Ancestors had built; much admiring to see it fallen to decay, and partly demolished by those, whose Glory and Honour it was to have kept up such a Monument and Trophy of their Conquests; as this History testifies. He also visited the Cathedral Church, and the Convent of our Lady of the *Mercy*, and of *St. Francis*, and *St. Dominick*; in all which he adored the most Holy Sacrament, calling it *Pachacamac*, *Pachacamac*, (which is God of Heaven and Earth.) And with the like profound Reverence he worshipped the Image of our Lady, calling it Mother of God. Tho' some malicious Men, who speak well of none, seeing him with great Devotion on his knees before the Most Holy Sacrament in the Church of *St. Dominick*, said, that he was worshipping the Sun his Father, and the bodies of his Ancestors which were interred in that Church. He also visited the Houses of the Select Virgins dedicated to the Sun: but passed by the habitation of his Ancestors, which were totally demolished, and other new Edifices erected by the *Spaniards* in their places. All these particulars were not performed in a day, nor in a week, but in many; making these visits his recreation, and pastime, to fill up his vacant hours. And having passed several Months in this manner, he went to the Valley of *Tucay*, rather to enjoy the Air, and delights of that Pleasant Garden formerly belonging to his Ancestors, than in regard to any Claim or Propriety he had therein. And there he continued during the short time of his Life, which did not continue above three years afterwards. He left a Daughter, which was afterwards married to a *Spaniard* called *Martin Garcia de Loyola*, of whom we shall speak at large in its due place, and of the manner how he ended his days.

CHAP. XII.

The Vice-King raises, and maintains Horse and Foot for security of the Empire. Four of the antient Conquerours dye a natural Death.

THE Vice-King, having acquitted himself of the importunities of those who pretended to Lands and Estates in reward of their Services, by expelling them out of *Peru*; having also put those to death who had sided with

with *Hernandez Giron* in his Rebellion; and reduced the Prince, who was Heir to the Empire unto the Service, and Obedience of his Catholick Majesty; which were all great things, and of high importance: He in the next place, raised standing Forces of Horse and Foot, to secure the Empire in peace, and to defend the Power of the Courts of Justice, and his own Person. The Horsemen he called Lances, and the Footmen Musketeers; to every Lance he assigned a Pension of a thousand Pieces of Eight a year, with condition to maintain himself, Horse, and Arms, without other charge, the which were 70 in number: The Musketeers were to be 200, at five hundred pieces of Eight a year, who were to be at all times in a readiness, and to maintain and keep their Muskets and other Arms bright and well fixed. These men were to be chosen out of those who were of approved Loyalty, and faithfulness to the Service of his Majesty, tho' many gave them a different Character, and termed them Persons, who, if they had had their due, had been fit only for the Gallies, having been actually engaged in the Rebellions of *Hernandez Giron*, and *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, and who for the Murders they had committed, and the blood they had spilt in private quarrels amongst themselves, had often deserved the Gallows; but all was smothered up, and the Vice-King's Commands obeyed: And now the Kingdom being quiet, and freed of those fears to which it was subjected by the Seditions and Mutinies of a company of rash and rebellious Souldiers; the Vice-King bended his thoughts towards publick Edifices, and to matters of good Government: And at leisure hours he passed his time in honest Pleasures, and innocent Recreations: And herein he was much diverted by an *Indian Boy* of about 14 or 15 years of Age, who pretended to be a Jeffer, and of a very facetious and pleasant Humour; He was presented to the Vice-King, who took great delight to hear him talk, and utter his little impertinencies, part in the *Indian*, and part in a corrupted *Spanish* Tongue; and particularly, when he would say your Excellency, he would say your Pestilency, which made the Vice-King laugh heartily; and some then in Company, who joynd in laughter with him, would say that that Title was more corresponding to him than the other, if it were rightly considered, how great a Plague and Pestilence he had been to those whom he had killed, and to their Children whose Estates he had confiscated: and to those whom he banished out of *Peru*, and sent them into *Spain*, Poor, Naked, and Forlorn, whom it had been a Mercy to have killed, rather than to have treated in that inhumane manner. And with such reflections as these, evil Tongues aspersed all the actions of the Vice-King, as if Rigour and Severity were not agreeable to the Nature and Constitutions of the People of *Peru*.

Amidst these various Revolutions of good and bad Fortune within this Kingdom, the Marshal *Alonso de Alvarado*, after a long and tedious Sickness contracted by Grief and Melancholly, dyed: For after the defeat which he received at the Battel of *Chuquinca*, he scarcely enjoyed an hour of contentment, but pined, and macerated away, till the Lamp of his Life was totally extinguished: And because the manner of his Death was something extraordinary, 'twill not be impertinent to recount it in this place, which was thus. When he was in his last Agony of death, and ready to give up the Ghost, they removed him out of his Bed, and laid him upon a Carpet in the same Chamber, and by him a Cross made in *Albes*, according to the Custom of the Knights of *St. Jago*, or *St. James*: And having layen a short time upon the Carpet, he seemed to revive, and come to himself; so that they returned him again to his Bed; where after a short time falling into a like fit, his Attendants laid him out on the Carpet in the same manner as before; and then coming out of his Leiptomy, and seeming better, was again laid into his Bed; and so between the Carpet, and the Bed, he continued for the space of forty days, to the great labour and trouble of his Servants, until at length he breathed his last. A short time afterwards his eldest Son dyed, by whose decease the Estate, which descended to him from his Father, came to devolve to the Crown: But his Majesty, considering the great Services which the Marshal had done, was pleased to continue it to his second Son: which was a favour granted to very few in that Empire.

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The death of *Don Alonso de Alvarado*, was seconded by that of *John Julio de Hoveda*, a Noble person, and one of the Ancient Conquerours, and one of the Prime Citizens, and of the first Rank in *Cusco*: He was married to *Dona Leonora de Toradoya*, Niece to *Gargilasso de la Vega*, being Daughter to his Eldest Brother, by whom he had *Don Gomez de Toradoya*, who was Heir to his Estate. Some few Months afterwards dyed my Lord and Father *Gargilasso de la Vega*, after a long sickness of two years and a half, with several intervals and changes: For seeming once perfectly cured, he mounted on horse-back, and went into the City, as one in good and sound health; and thus continuing for the space of three or four Months, his illness returned upon him again, and confined him for as long a time to his Chamber, where he remained until the time of his Decease; and, according to his last Will and Testament, he was buried in the Convent of *St. Francis*.

In those days it was the Custom to make very solemn Funerals, carrying the Corps three times round the *Parade*, or publick place; and for every turn which was made, a high Pedestal was raised, whereon to repose the Body, whilst the Responses were singing; and then another stand was erected in the Church, whereon to lay the Corps, during the time whilst they celebrated the Office for the Dead. But in regard, that before all these Ceremonies could be performed, it was tedious, and troublesome to the Priest and People; it was ordered by *Gargilasso*, that the former punctilio's should be omitted, and that his Body should be laid on a Carpet, with a black Cloth over it, without Pedestals, or Stands, which were troublesome, and chargeable to erect; which being accordingly observed, as he had directed: All others following the same Example, to the great ease of the People.

When I was arrived in *Spain*, I there received a Bolle from his Holiness, giving License to take up the Bones of my Father, and transport them into *Spain*; which accordingly was performed, and his Reliques brought over to him, which I deposited in the Church of *St. Isidoro* in *Seville*, where they now remain buried, to the Glory and Honour of our Lord God; whose mercy be upon us. Amen.

This Mortality was a year afterwards followed by the death of *Lorenzo de Aldana*, after a long and grievous sickness; he never had been married, nor ever had any natural Sons. By his last Will and Testament he left his Lands to his Heir, that therewith he might be enabled to pay such Fines, and Taxes, and Tributes, which should afterwards be laid upon them. He was a very Noble and Generous person, and one of the second Adventurers, who entered into *Peru* with *Don Pedro de Alvarado*. Some short time after the War of *Conçalo Pizarro* was ended, two young Gentlemen of his Kindred, tho' not very nearly allied, came over to him in that Country, whom he kindly received, and treated as if they had been his own Sons. At the end of three years that these young Men had been with him, he thought it fit to put them into some way of livelyhood, and in order thereunto, he gave them a Stock, and sent them to his Steward, to teach them how, and in what manner they might employ and improve it; for according to the Custom of that Country, whilst there was no War, nor Expeditions on new Discoveries; it was no disparagement to a Gentleman, to trade and seek ways of gain, rather than to sit idle, and without business. And so he gave them ten thousand pieces of Eight, which are twelve thousand Ducats, advising them that it was their Stock, which with good husbandry they might increase to a considerable benefit; and which he believed they would have received kindly from him, and with thanks: but these young Sparks scornfully rejected the Offer, and told him, That it was a dishonour and shame, for Gentlemen of their Quality, to buy and sell like Merchants; and tho' the Steward acquainted them, that the most noble *Spaniards* in that Country, were used to trade with the Natives of the Country, and to buy up their Commodities, such as the Herb *Cuca*, and *Mayz*, and send them to the Mines of Plate at *Potosi*, for provisions to support the People which laboured there: Which was no dishonour for the best Men to do; and was not of the same nature and esteem with those who fate in Shops, and measured out Cloth and Silks by the yard. And if they thought it too mean also to deal like other persons of Quality, they might act by their

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Indian Servants, whose Industry and Faithfulness they might entrust with all confidence. But they answered, That they would upon no Terms whatsoever so far abate and degrade themselves; for being Gentlemen, they more esteemed their Gentility, than all the Gold and Silver in *Peru*. The which Answer the Steward making known to his Master, and how much the young Gentlemen stood on the Pincillo's of their Noble Blood; their good Kinsman *Lorenzo de Aldana*, with much calmness made answer, *If these are such Gentlemen, how come they so poor? And if they are so poor, how come they such Gentlemen?* So *Aldana* never troubled his Kinsmen, nor himself farther, to put them in a way of livelyhood, but suffered them to pass meanly, and in necessity, as I have seen them; tho' not so much as to want Diet, or Cloathing. For when they came from *Arequipa* to *Cuzco*, they lodged in the House of my Lord *Garcilasso*, where they were provided with all things necessary; and when they passed to other Cities, the Houses of their Country-men of *Espemadura* were always open to them; for in those days the very name of a Country-man, was sufficient to make them as welcome, as if they had been Sons, or the nearest relation to a Family. These four Gentlemen, whom we have mentioned in this place, were all of the Ancient Conquerours of *Peru* who dyed in their Beds of a natural Death; the which we specify as a thing rare, and strange; for as appears by the preceding History, there is not an Example of any who have dyed in this manner, but all have come to their Ends by violent deaths. Wherefore these worthy Persons, having been Conquerours, and Planters of this Empire, and dying in a Happy and Blessed manner, were greatly lamented by the People, for the singular Vertue, Honour, and Goodness, with which they were endued.

Tho' there were no express Law of God, which should command us to honour our Parents, yet the Law of Nature teaches it to the most barbarous People of the World, and inclines them to omit no occasion whereby to express the Duty and Respect they owe to them. The which consideration, incited by Divine and Humane Laws, and even enstamped on the Hearts of Heathens, obliges me to publish the Vertues of my Father after his Death, which I had not opportunity to do, during the time of his Life. And that the Praises, and Commendations, which I attribute to my Father, may not seem partial, and proceeding from Affection; I will here repeat an *Elogium* made by a Fryer, of a devout and religious Life, which he delivered after his death, for the Comfort and Consolation of his Children, and Friends, and as an Example for other persons to imitate. I should here name the good Man, who wrote this Oration, but he engaged me not to do it, but to conceal him when I published the Writing: and I wish I were not under that Engagement, that by his Authority, the praises of my Father might appear the more Authentick. I shall omit the Exordium, and the many Oratorical Flights, and Colours he uses. And, as becomes an Historian, I shall be very short in this pious Digression.

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A Funeral Oration made by a Religious Person in Honour of *Garcilasso de la Vega*, my Lord, after his Death.

Reader,

This Speech or Oration is filled with such Doxologies, and Rodomontades, after the Spanish manner, as neither agree with the style of an Historian, nor with the English humour, unless I intended to expose my Spaniard, and render him as facetious as the vainest of his Country-men. I have therefore thought fit to pass it by, lest in straining our English above its key, it should bear no harmony in consort with the Spanish Language, and so we shall proceed unto

CHAP. XIII.

Wherein is treated of those, who, for demanding a reward for their Services, were banished into Spain; and what Favour and Grace his Majesty bestowed upon them. Don Garcia de Mendoza is sent Governour unto Chile; and of the Skirmish he had there with the Indians.

BUT to return now to the Petitioners, who, for demanding a Reward in Lands, for their past Services, were (as we have said) banish'd into Spain; they at length arrived there poor, naked, and almost famished: And in this guise they presented themselves in the Court before the King, *Don Philip* the Second, which moved great Compassion in all those who were acquainted with their Story, and how they had been banished, and ill treated for doing their Duty, and demanding a Reward of their Services. But his Majesty was more gracious to them, giving a Pension to as many of them, as would return to the *Indies*, out of his Royal Exchequer, that they might have nothing to do with the Vice-King, nor need to make Addresses, or Petitions to him: And as many of them as desired to remain in Spain, he gratified with Allowances agreeable to their Condition, that is, with more or less, according to their Services; and so I found them provided for, when I came into Spain; which was some short time after these matters were transacted. Their Money was assigned them upon the Custom-house at *Seville*; the least that any of them had, was 480 Ducats of yearly Pension; and as their Merits were, so were their Allowances to 6, 800, and a thousand, to 1200 Ducats, to remain Annuities to them for all the days of their Lives. A while afterwards, his Majesty being acquainted with the Discourses which were commonly made in the City of *Los Reyes*, touching the hard usage of the banished Souldiers; to prevent farther Mutinies there, and other Disorders which might arise, by reason of the Severity, and Rigour of the Vice-King, his Majesty was pleased to provide himself with another Governour for *Peru*, named *Don Diego de Acevedo*, a Gentleman endued with all qualities of Vertue and Goodness, from whom the Counts of *Fuente* are descended. But whilst he was preparing for his Voyage, he died of a natural death, to the great grief of all those of *Peru*, who upon the news thereof, much lamented themselves, saying, that they had not deserved a Vice-King so good and so qualified, and therefore God had snatched him away from them into Heaven: And this was the common saying, as I have heard amongst the Grave and Wise Men of that Country. But in regard this Gentleman did not pass into *Peru*, we do not find his Name in the List of the Vice-Kings, which were transported into that great Kingdom. In the mean time whilst these matters were transacting in the Court of Spain, the Vice-King of *Peru*, dispatched away his Son *Don Garcia de Mendoza* for Governour, and Captain General

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of the Kingdom of *Chile*, which was become vacant by the Death of *Geronimus de Alderete*, who died on his way thither of grief, to think that 800 Persons perished in the Galeon by his fault, and the fault of his Sister-in-Law; for he knew well, that if it had not been in consideration of him, the Master of the Ship would not have given License to that Religious Woman to keep a Candle in her Cabin by night, which was the destruction of the Vessel, and of all those therein. The advancement of *Don Garcia de Mendoza*, to that Charge and Trust, was pleasing to all those of *Peru*; so that many Souldiers, and Persons of Estates, offered themselves freely to accompany him in that Expedition, knowing that it would be a Service acceptable to his Majesty, and to the Vice-King. *Sanmillian* the Chief Judge of the Chancery, was appointed Deputy Governour to *Don Garcia*, and to direct and guide him; and he was earnestly intreated to accept of this Office. Great preparations were made over all the Kingdom for this Journey, of Armes, Horses, Cloaths, and other Ornaments, which cost very dear in this Country, where all the Commodities of *Spain* are raised to a vast price. The Vice-King also appointed three other Gentlemen of Quality for three several parts, which were within that Conquest; namely, *Gomez Arias*, *John de Salinas*, and *Anton de Araya*, every one of which was very studious to discharge his Duty in his Office respectively.

Don Garcia de Mendoza, being gone to his Government, attended, as we have said, with a great number of Choice and Select Persons: So soon as he was in the possession thereof, he speedily designed the Conquest of the *Indian Arancos*, who were become very insolent and proud by those Victories which they had gained over the *Spaniards*: The first was that over *Don Pedro de Valdivia*, which was followed by some others afterwards, which are written in Verse by the Poets of those times, which had been much more properly delivered in Prose, for then we might have given Credit thereunto, more than we can to the Fictions of Poetry.

The Governour having in a short time provided himself with all things necessary for the War, entered into the rebelled Provinces with a number of brave Men, Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, for the Enemy had carried away every thing, leaving the Country naked, and without any Sustainance for an Army. They had not entered very far into these parts, but the *Indians* had fitted an Ambush for them, and had composed a Vanguard of 5000 *Indians*, with orders not to fight, nor come within any danger of being forced by the Enemy to an engagement. The *Spaniards*, being informed by their Scouts and Spies sent abroad, that the *Indians* fled before them, without any stop or stay in a settled place; gave order to pursue them with all convenient speed, and yet with such Caution, as not to be entrapped by their Ambushes, or Surprisals; for the Governour, at the time he first entered into that Country, had been forewarned by those who had been acquainted with the Stratagems which those People use in the War, by skirmishing, and flying, to be always circumspect, and doubtful of them. Howsoever so eager was the Governour to pursue the Enemy, in hopes totally to destroy them, and by a bloody slaughter of them to discourage the rest from making farther opposition, that he made little use of the Caution which was given him; for leaving his Camp, and Tents, he followed the Enemy a whole day, and a night; and being removed at a good distance from thence, out came the *Indians* from their holes and places, where they had been hidden, and seized on the Camp without any opposition, and plundered and carried away all the Baggage, and Necessaries belonging to the Army. With the News hereof the Governour was forced to give over his chase, and see to recover what the Enemy had plundered from him; but it was too late, for they were returned to their secret Holds, and to the places where they had concealed their booty past all recovery. The news of this success came to *Peru*, almost as soon as that of the Governours arrival in the seat of his Government, so that all the World wondered at this sudden accident, and how in so short a time the *Indians* should be such Gainers, and the *Spaniards* such Losers, for they had lost all their Baggage, even to their very Shirts, and wearing Cloaths. To repair this disaster, the Vice-King sent away with all speed new Recruits of all things that were necessary, in which he expended out of the King's Treasury vast sums of Gold and Silver, at which People much murmured, as *Valentino* saith, meaning the first expence which was made, when *Don Garcia* went to his Government of

Chile,

Chile, but mentions not this second charge, occasioned by the Robbery which the *Indians* had made upon him, which was more displeasing than the former, and moved People to say, That the Vice-King, for the sake of his Son, had exhaunted the Kings Exchequer of all the Treasure. But as to what succeeded afterwards in the Kingdom of *Chile*, we shall leave to other Writers; and confine our selves to the Territories of *Peru*, having expatiated our selves from thence, no farther, than only to touch on the departure of the Vice-Kings Son from thence, and the death of *Loyola*. Those who think fit to write the History of that Kingdom, will find subject enough whereon to enlarge their Discourses on a War, which hath continued already for fifty eight years between the *Indians* and *Spaniards*; that is, The *Araucans* rebelled towards the end of the year 1553, and now we are in the year 1611, and the Wars not as yet ended. We might here recount the unhappy death of the Governour *Francisco de Villagra*, with 200 *Spaniards* more; which happened on that ridge of Mountains, which hath ever since had the name of *Villagra*. We might here also tell of the death of Major General *John Rodolfo* with 200 men with him, whom they killed on the Bogg or Marsh of *Puren*. I could wish to have been informed of the several particular successes of these Affairs, and many greater which happened in this warlike Kingdom, that I might have added them to this History. But I do not doubt, where People have been born with such Martial Spirits, but that the same Country will produce in future Ages; Sons of her own, endowed with a Spirit and Genius of Learning capable to write their own History: And it shall be my Prayer to God, That Knowledge and Learning may flourish in all that famous Kingdom.

CHAP. XIV.

The Heirs of those who were put to Death for siding with Francisco Hernandez Giron in his Rebellions, are restored to their Estates and Plantations. Pedro de Orfua attempts the Conquest of the Amazons. His End and Death, with many others with him.

THE Vice-King *Don Andres de Hurtado*, seeing those men whom he had banished from *Peru*, for demanding a Reward of their past Services, now again returned with Pensions assigned on the Treasure of his Majesty, and on the Chest of the three Keys, he wondered much at the success, not imagining by what interest it could have been procured for them: but more strange it seemed to him, to hear of the coming of a new Vice-King to succeed him in that Office. This change of Fortune caused him to change his Humour, and convert much of that haughty and severe Spirit which was natural to him, into a Gentleness and Lenity more becoming the Office of a great Minister: and in this good temper he continued to the end of his life, which was so extraordinary, that those who observed it, would say, That if he had begun as he ended, he would have proved the most admirable Governour that ever had been in the World. Thus when the Kingdom observed this great change in the Vice-King, the Country in peace and quietness, and the rigour of the Justices converted into an affable and complying Humour; those who had been lately oppressed by the heavy Hand of Justice, assumed the courage to demand satisfaction for the evils and damages they had sustained. Accordingly the Sons and Heirs of those Citizens, who had been executed for being engaged in the Rebellion of *Hernandez*, made claims of their Estates, laying before the Justices the Instruments of Pardon, which had been given to their Fathers: and so followed the suit, that after several hearings and reviews of their Cause, they obtained Sentence to have their Lands, and Commands over *Indians* restored to them, together with all other

Confiscations.

Confiscations of their Estates: and thus did they obtain a restitution of their *Indians* which the Vice-King had divided, and conferred on other *Spaniards* to increase and better their Estates. At all which the Vice-King was in great trouble and perplexity: For not only did he suffer the affront to have his own Orders repealed, but also lay under an obligation of making satisfaction to those who were dispossessed, by some other returns, or equivalents to be made them. All that hath been said in this matter, I saw my self transacted in *Cusco*, and the like passed in other Cities, where the same rigour of Justice had been put in practice; as namely, in *Puamarca*, *Arequipa*, the *Charcas*, and the *New Plantation*. So soon as it was generally known that the aforesaid Sentence was repealed, and that the Heirs were restored again to the possession of their Lands; the *Spaniards* took a liberty to report, That this course was taken without any order from his Majesty, or direction from the Council of the *Indies*, but merely by the Power and arbitrary Will of the Vice-King, intending by such severities to shew his Power, and secure himself from all Mutinies and Conspiracies for the future. But the Vice-King being now of another Humour, and proceeding with that gentleness and good temper which we have before mentioned; was pleased to grant unto a certain Gentleman of Worth and Virtue, and of an agreeable Person, named *Pedro de Orsua*, a License to make a Conquest of the Country of the *Amazons*, which runs along the River *Marañon*, which is the same we have mentioned before, where *Francisco Orellana* deserting *Gonzalo Pizarro* came into *Spain*, and begged of his Majesty the aforesaid Conquest, but he died in the way, and never put his Enterprize into Action. In pursuance of this Grant *Pedro de Orsua* went from *Cusco* to *Quita* to raise Souldiers, who were willing to adventure on new Conquests: For in *Peru* all the Lands were measured out, and divided amongst the Antient Conquerours, and men of Merit in that Empire: He also gathered all the Arms and Provisions he was able, to which the Citizens, and Inhabitants of those Cities, largely contributed by their Bounty and Liberality; for so obliging was *Pedro de Orsua* in his carriage towards every one, as engaged their Affections to render him all the Assistances and Services they were able. Many Souldiers attended him from *Cusco*; amongst which was one called *Don Fernando de Guzman*, with whom I was acquainted, he was lately come from *Spain*; and there was another, who had been an old Souldier called *Lope de Aguires*, a fellow of an ill shapen Body, and of worse Conditions and Practices, as are described in a Book of the *Elogies of Worthy and Illustrious persons*, written by *John de Castellanos* a Secular Priest, who had a Benefice in the City of *Tunja*, in the new Kingdom of *Granada*. These *Elogies*, though written in Verse, are yet a true History, and wherein he fills six Cantos with the expedition of *Pedro de Orsua*, and how he marched with 500 men well armed and appointed, together with a considerable body of Horse. He also relates the manner of his death, how he was killed by his own Souldiers, and his most intimate Friends, that they might enjoy a beautiful Lady, whom *Orsua* carried for a Companion with him; the which passion of Love hath been the ruin of many brave Captains in the World, such as *Hannibal*, and others. The principal Actors in this Tragedy were *Don Fernando de Guzman*, *Lope de Aguires*, and *Salduendo*, who were in love with this Lady, besides several others, whom this Author names; who also farther relates, That these Traytors set up *Don Fernando* for their King, which Title he was so vain and foolish as to accept, though he had no Kingdom to possess; nor right to any thing but his own ill Fortune, which soon followed him, being killed by the same Friends who had promoted him to his Royal Dignity: And then *Aguires* took upon himself the Government, which he so well exercised, that at several times he killed above 200 men; he plundered the Island of *Margarita*, where he committed most detestible Cruelties. Thence he passed over to other Isles near adjacent, where he was overcome by the Inhabitants; but before he would yield himself, he killed his own Daughter, whom he brought with him, for no other reason, than that after he was dead, she might not be called the Daughter of a Traytor. This was the sum of all those Cruelties which indeed were most Diabolical, and the beginning and ending of this whole Enterprize, which commenced with so much Gallantry, and mighty Preparations, of which I was in part an Eye-witness.

CHAP. XV.

The Count de Nieva is chosen Vice-King of Peru. He sends a Message to his Predecessor. The Death of the Marquis of Cannete, as also of the Count de Nieva. Don Garcia de Mendoza returns to Spain. The Lawyer Castro is appointed Governour of Peru.

WHilst these matters were transacting in *Peru*, and that *Orsua*, and his Fellow adventurers with him, were defeated upon the great River of the *Amazons*; his Majesty King *Philip the Second*, was mindful to provide a New Governour for that Empire; having in the place of that good Man, *Don Diego de Acevedo*, who lately dyed, appointed *Don Diego de Camargo* and *Velasco Count de Nieva*, to succeed in the Office of Vice-King; who dispatched his Affairs with such diligence, that he departed from *Spain* in the Month of *January* 1560, and arrived in *Peru* in the Month of *April* following. So soon as he came to *Poyta*, which is a Town within that Dominion, he dispatched away a Servant of his, with a short Letter to the Vice-King, *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza*, giving him advice of his arrival within the Dominions of *Peru*, with Commission from his Majesty to govern that Country, and that therefore he should desist from intermeddling further in the Affairs thereof. *Don Andres Hurtado* having received intelligence of the coming of this Messenger, gave Orders to have him well received, and treated all the Way of his Journey; and being come to the City of *Los Reyes*, he had there Honourable Lodgings provided for him, with Presents in Jewels, and Gold, and Silver, to the value of six and 7000 pieces of Eight, and upwards: But the Messenger lost all these upon a Pique, and Exception which the Vice-King took at the Title of Lordship, which was ordered to be given, and not of Excellency; the which he so highly resented, and suffered the thoughts of being slighted, and neglected by his Successor, without Reason or Justice, so far to run in his head; that it struck him into a deep Melancholly, which so prevailed on his Spirits, that being a Man of great Years, and not able to struggle with the Disease, he ended his days before the new Vice-King arrived at *Los Reyes*: who also enjoyed not long the happiness he expected in his Government, in which he had not been many Months Seated with the Solemnity used on such occasions, before a strange Accident hastened his Death, of which he was the Author, and brought it upon himself. But the manner of it being scandalous to relate, we shall leave it as it is, and proceed on to other particulars.

Don Garcia de Mendoza, who was Governour of *Chile*, having received intelligence of the death of his Father, made such haste to return into *Peru*, and thence to prepare for his Voyage into *Spain*, that many people reported, that he hastened away more out of fear of the *Araucans*, than out of a desire he had to assist at the Funeral of his Father: And that with the like precipitation he quitted the Territories of *Peru*, not to be subject to the Dominion of another. At length he arrived in *Spain*, where he continued until he returned with a Commission to be Governour of *Peru*; where he imposed that Taxe on the *Spaniards*, and *Indians*, which is paid by them unto this day. As to his other ways of gain, his Contracts, and Commerce, we shall pass them all by, being not within the compass of this History: For my intention being only to write, as far as to the Death of the Prince, who was lawful Heir of that Empire, second Brother of *Don Diego Sapi Tapac*, of whose coming out of the Mountains, his

Baptism and Death we have already given a Narrative: So that now we shall hasten to a conclusion of this History.

King Philip the Second having received advice of the unfortunate end of the Vice-King *Don Diego de Camargo*, was pleased to appoint the Lawyer *Lope Garcia de Castro*, who was President of the Royal Council of the *Indies*, to succeed in that Office, of whom we have formerly made mention, on occasion of the Pretensions which I had in *Spain*, on score of my Father's Merit, which he opposed. This *Lope Garcia de Castro* being a Person of great Prudence, and of that Talent of Wisdom which was required to Govern that Empire, was dispatched suddenly away with Title of President, and General Governour of all that Empire, that so by his good Conduct, those many Confusions might be composed, and unhappy Accidents rectified, which had been caused by the sudden Deaths of preceding Governours. And indeed his Wisdom answered expectation, for he governed those Kingdoms with such moderation, and gentleness, that he lived to return again into *Spain* in peace and quietness, and to be placed in the same Chair of the Council, in which he lived with much Honour, and afterwards dyed like a good Christian.

When my Friends understood that this great Person was returned to his Seat in the Supreme Council of the *Indies*, they advised me to renew my Pretensions to the right I had unto my Mother's Estate, on score of my Father's Services and Merit: For they were of Opinion, that *Castro* having now seen and been acquainted with *Peru*, which my Father had helped to Conquer, and in which my Mother's Ancestors had a right of inheritance, he might become my Advocate, and change his mind in what he formerly argued against me.

But I having buried, and laid aside all my pretensions, and lost my hopes, could not be persuaded to leave my Cell, wherein I live with more Security Honour, and Profit; and where I have with God's Assistance had leisure to write this History; which tho' it prove little to my Honour and Profit; yet praised be God for all.

C H A P. XVI.

Don Francisco de Toledo is chosen Vice-King of Peru. The Causes which were alledged for prosecution of the Prince Inca Tupac Amaru. And the imprisonment of that poor Prince.

DOn Francisco de Toledo, second Son of the Family of Count de Oropesa, succeeded *Lope Garcia de Castro* in the Government of *Peru*, and was elected thereunto for his great Virtue and Christian Piety, being so devout a Gentleman, that every eight days he received the most Holy Sacrament. He was sent to *Peru*, with the Title of Vice-King, and received at *Los Reyes*, with the State and Solemnity agreeable thereunto: and governed with that Gentleness, and Moderation, that no man could take occasion, either to mutiny or rebel. He had scarce been two years in the Government, when he resolved to bring out from the Mountains of *Vilca pampa*, the Prince *Tupac Amaru*, the Legitimate Heir to that Empire, being the Son of *Manco Inca*, and Brother of *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*, of whom we have given a large Relation in this eighth Book; he was the lawful Heir, because his Elder Brother left no Son, but a Daughter only, of whom we shall speak in due place: The intention of the Vice-King in this matter was sincere, and real, and with no other design, (than after the Example of his Predecessor *Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza*) to advance his own Honour and Reputation, by an action so generous and heroic, as to reduce such a Prince to the Service of his Catholick Majesty, and to civilise him as it were, by calling him from the Barbarity of those mountains,

tains, where he lived like a Fugitive and a Salvage Person. To bring this Design about, the Vice-King acted according to the former methods, and sent Messengers to him, inviting him to come out of those Mountains and live amongst the *Spaniards*, since they were become one People with them; which offer, if he was disposed to accept, he assured him, that the King would bestow on him the same Livelyhood and Support that he had formerly given to his Brother. But these Proposals did not prevail, according to the hopes conceived, nor answer Expectations, for want of those Instruments and Messengers, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which were formerly employ'd. Moreover on the Prince's side, greater difficulties presented, for his Kindred, and Subjects who were with him, affrighted him with the story of his Brother; telling him, That the Allowance given him by the *Spaniards* was small and inconsiderable, and that the life of his Brother afterwards was very short, caused (as they would insinuate) by Poison, or some treacherous or suspicious manner of dealing; therefore they advised the *Inca* by no means to move out of his Retirement, being more secure in his Banishment, than in the faithless Hands of his Enemies. This Resolution of the Prince being made known to the Vice-King, by those *Indians* who went to, and came from those Mountains, of which sort of Informers, there were many who were Domestic Servants in the Houses of *Spaniards*: His Excellency considered with his most intimate Friends of the ways and methods which were to be used for reducing that Prince to the Terms they required; who all agreed, That since the *Inca* refused to accept the fair Conditions which were offered to him; that they should look on him as an Enemy, and prosecute him by force of Arms: For in regard that he having seated himself in a Station which much infested the ways from *Cusco* to *Huamanga* and *Rimac*, where his *Indian* Subjects pillaged and robbed all the *Spanish* Merchants and Travellers, which passed those Roads, and committed many other outrages and insolencies like mortal Enemies; it was but reason to declare War against him. Moreover it was the Opinion of the wise Counsellors of those times, That many Insurrections might be raised in that Empire by this young Heir, being countenanced and assisted by the *Incas* his Kinsmen, who lived amongst the *Spaniards*, and by the *Caciques* his Subjects, and by those very men, who were born of *Indian* Mothers, though their Fathers were *Spaniards*; all which would joy, and rejoice at a change; being willing to better their Fortunes, which were reduced to that mean degree, that most of them wanted even Bread to support the necessities of Humane Life.

Moreover it was alledged, That by the Imprisonment of the *Inca*, all that Treasure might be discovered, which appertained to former Kings, together with that Chain of Gold, which *Huayna Capac* commanded to be made for himself to wear on the great and solemn days of their Festival, and especially on that day, when he gave a name to his eldest Son *Huascar*, as hath been formerly related; all which, as was reported, the *Indians* concealed. And in regard, that that Chain of Gold with the remaining Treasure belong'd to his Catholick Majesty by right of Conquest, it was Justice and Reason to take such courses as might retrieve those Riches which the *Incas* concealed, and had conveyed away from the true Proprietor: Besides all which, many other matters were alledged, which might incite the Vice-King to take the *Inca* Prisoner.

But to return Answer to those Accusations which were charged on the *Inca*. We confess, that many years past, in the time of his Father *Manco Inca*, several Robberies were committed on the Road by his Subjects: but still they had that respect to the *Spanish* Merchants, that they let them go free, and never pillag'd them of their Wares and Merchandise, which were in no manner useful to them; Howsoever they robbed the *Indians* of their Cattel bred in the Country, which they drove to the Markets, being enforced thereunto more out of necessity than choice: for their *Inca* living in the Mountains, which afforded no tame Cattel; and only produced Tigers, and Lions, and Serpents of twenty five and thirty Foot long, with other venomous Insects (of which we have given a large account in this History) his Subjects were compelled for the natural sustenance of their Prince, to supply him with such Food as they found in the Hands of *Indians*: which the *Inca* Father of this Prince did usually call his own, saying, That he who was Master of that whole Empire might lawfully challenge such a proportion thereof, as was convenient to supply his necessary and natural support. But this passed only in the time of this *Inca*, and as I remem-

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ber when I was a Child, I heard of three or four such Robberies, which were committed by the *Indians*: But so soon as that *Inca* dyed, all was quieted, and no other Spoils ensued.

Notwithstanding which, the Vice-King was induced to follow the advice of some Counsellors, who suggested, that the *Inca* lived in places on the frontiers from which he much annoyed the *Spaniards*, taking away their Cattle, and robbing their Merchants: And that it was impossible to keep the *Indians* quiet, and within terms of Peace, whilst the *Inca* was so near them, and daily in their Eye, that to serve him, they would adventure to commit the greatest Outrages they were able. The Vice-King, (as we have said) being overwayed by this way of reasoning, committed the charge of this enterprise to a certain Gentleman, named *Martin Garcia Loyola*, who in times past had performed great Services for his Majesty. Accordingly Souldiers were raised, upon pretence that they were to be sent to *Chile*, for recruits against the *Araucans*, who very much oppressed, and streightned the *Spaniards*. About 250 Men being armed, and provided with Weapons offensive, and defensive, they marched directly to *Visca pampa*, the entrance whereunto was made very easie and plain, after the Prince *Don Diego Sayri Tupac* had abandoned his Habitation there; so that they might go in, and come out from thence without any difficulty.

The Prince *Tupac Amaru* having received intelligence, that some Forces were entered within his Jurisdiction, he presently fled twenty Leagues within the Country down a River below the Mountain. The *Spaniards* instantly fitted themselves with Boats, and Floats, and therewith followed and pursued after him. The Prince considering that he had not People to make resistance, and that he was not conscious to himself of any Crime, or disturbance he had done or raised, suffered himself to be taken; chusing rather to entrust himself in the hands of the *Spaniards*, than to perish in those Mountains with Famine, or be drowned in those great Rivers, which fall and empty themselves into the River of Plate. Wherefore he yielded himself into the Power of Captain *Martin Loyola*, and his Souldiers, in hopes, that when they found him naked, and deprived of all subsistence, they would take Compassion on him, and allow him the same Pension which was given to his Brother *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*, little suspecting that they would kill him, or do him any harm, since he was guilty of no Crime. The *Spaniards* in this manner seizing on the *Inca*, and on all the *Indian* Men and Women, who were in Company with him, amongst which was his Wife, two Sons, and a Daughter, returned with them in Triumph to *Coxco*; to which place the Vice-King went, so soon as he was informed of the imprisonment of this poor Prince.

CHAP. XVII.

Process is made, and an Endictment drawn up against the Prince, and against the Incas his Kindred of the Blood Royal: As also against the Sons of Spaniards born of Indian Women, though their Fathers had been the Conquerours of that Empire.

SO soon as they saw that the Prince was taken, the Attorney General was ordered to draw up a Charge against him; which was done according to the Articles before mentioned, accusing him to have appointed and ordered his Servants, and Vassals, to intercept the Roads, and rob the *Spanish* Merchants, as they passed upon their Lawful occasions, declaring all those his Enemies, who had made any League or Contract with the *Incas* his Ancestors, or who lived or inhabited amongst the *Spaniards*: And that at such a time, and upon such a day he had entered into an agreement with the *Caciques*, who were made Lords of Mannors, and Commanders of *Indians*, by Ancient Grants from his Ancestors, to rise in Arms against

against the *Spaniards*, and to kill as many of them as they were able. In like manner, an Accusation was brought against those who were born in that Country of *Indian* Mothers, and Fathers who were *Spaniards*, and Conquerours of that Empire. Alledging against them, that they had secretly agreed with the Prince *Tupac Amaru*, and other *Incas*, to make an Insurrection in the Kingdom: Being moved thereunto out of a discontent, that they who had been born of the Royal Blood of the *Incas*, whose Mothers had been Daughters, or Nieces, or Cousin-Germans to the *Incan* Family; and whose Fathers were *Spaniards*, and of the first Conquerours, who had gained great Fame, and Reputation; were yet so little considered, that neither on score of the Natural Right of the Mother, nor of the high Desert and Merit of the Father, any thing was bestowed upon them; but all was conferred on the Kindred and Relations of the present Governours; whilst they were suffered to starve, unless they would live on the Alms of Charitable people, or Rob on the High-Way, and so come to the Gallows. Moreover it was charged upon the Prince, That he had not discountenanced such persons as these, but had received them into his Service, upon promise that they would joyn with him, and dye in the defence of his Cause. All which being alledged in that Accusation, which was drawn up against the Sons of *Spaniards* born of *Indian* Women, they were all apprehended, and as many of them as were of twenty years of Age, and upwards, being capable to bear Arms, then residing in *Coxco*, were clapped into Prison. Some of them had the Question put to them under the Torment, to extort a Confession from them of that for which they had no Proof, or Evidence before. Amidst this Mad rage, and Tyrannical proceedings by Imprisonment, and Torture, an *Indian* Woman, whose Son was condemned to the Question upon the Rack, came to the Prison, and with a loud Voice cried out, Son, since thou art sentenced to the Torment, suffer thee to bear it, and reward thee for the Hazards and Labours which thy Father, and his Companions have sustained to make this Country Christian, and engraft the Natives thereof into the Bosom of the Church. Thou brave Son of the Conquerours, how excellently have your Fathers been rewarded for gaining this Country, when a Halter is the only Recompence and Inheritance purchased for their Children! These and many other things she uttered with a loud Voice, exclaiming like a mad Woman about the Streets, and calling God and the World to examine the Cause, and judge those Innocents: And if the Fate of them be determined (said she) and that they must dye, let them also kill the Mothers, who had the Sin upon them, to bring them forth; and who were so culpable as to deny their own Country and Relations for the sake of those Conquerours, and joined with them in the Design of making this Empire subject to the *Spaniards*: But the *Pachacamac*, or the great God, hath brought all these things justly upon the Mothers, who for the sake of the *Spaniards*, could so easily renounce their *Inca*, their *Caciques*, and Superiors. And since he had passed this Sentence upon her self, and in behalf of all the other Women in the same State and Condition with her, and had pronounced them all guilty, she desired that she might be the first to suffer; and lead the way of Death and punishment to all the rest; which if they were pleased to grant unto her, God would reward this good work to them both in this, and in the other World. These passionate expressions uttered with all the Violence her force would admit, worked greatly upon the Mind of the Vice-King, and diverted him from his intention to put them to death; howsoever they were not acquitted hereby, but procured for them a more lingering sort of Death, which was Banishment into divers remote Parts of the New World, unknown to their Fore-fathers. So some of them were sent into the Kingdom of *Chile*; and amongst the rest, a Son of *Pedro del Barco*, of whom I formerly made mention to have been my School-Fellow, and under the Guardianship of my Father. Others of them were sent to the new Kingdom of *Granada*, and to divers Isles of *Barlovento*, and to *Panama*, and *Nicaragua*: Some of them also were sent into *Spain*, and amongst them was *John Arias Maldonado*, the Son of *Diego Maldonado* the Rich; who remained under Banishment in *Spain*, for the space of ten Years; where I saw him, and entertained him twice in my Lodgings, at a certain Village within the Bi-

Bishoprick of Cordova, where I then lived, and where he related to me many of those things which are here recounted. After so long a time he obtained leave from the Supreme Council of the Indies to return to Peru, and had three years given him to dispatch his Business there, and remit his effects into Spain, where he was afterwards obliged to live and finish his days. Being on his departure, he with his Wife whom he had married at Madrid passed by the place where I lived, and desired me to help him to some Furniture for his House, for that he returned to his own Country poor, and in want of all things: I presently gave him all the Linnen I had, with some pieces of Taffety, which I had made up after the Souldiers fashion, intending them for Colours, or Ensigns for a Foot Company. The year before I had sent him to the Court a very good Horse, which he desired of me, which together with the other things I gave him might be worth 500 Ducats; which he took so kindly, that he said to me, *Brother trust me herein, and when I come to my own Country I will send you 2000 pieces of Eight in payment thereof: I do not doubt but he would have been as good as his word, but my ill Fortune crossed me, for three days after he arrived at Payta (which is just on the Frontiers of Peru) he died merely by an excess of joy he conceived to see himself again in his own Country. Pardon me, Reader, this Digression which I have presumed to make solely out of respect, and affection to my School-fellow. All the others died in their Banishment, not one of them returning again to his own Country.*

CHAP. XVIII.

How all the Incas of the Blood Royal, and those of them born of Spanish Fathers and Indian Mothers were banished. The Death and End of them all. The Sentence given against the Prince, with his Answer thereunto, and how he received Holy Baptism.

ALL those Indians who were Males of the Royal Line, and nearest of the Blood, to the number of thirty six persons, were all banished to the City of Los Reyes; and there commanded to reside, and not to stir from thence without special Order obtained from the Government: With them also the two Sons and a Daughter of that poor Prince were sent, the eldest of which was not above ten years of age. The *Jesuits* being come to Rimac, otherwise called the City of Los Reyes, the Archbishop thereof, named Don Gerónimo Loaysa, out of compassion to them, took the little Girl home, with intent to educate, or breed her up in his own Family. The others looking on themselves as Exiles driven out of their Country, and Houses, and put besides their natural ways of living, took it so much to Heart, and bewail'd their condition with such grief, that in little more than the space of two years thirty five of them died, together with the two Sons. But what we may believe contributed likewise to their greater Mortality, was the heat and moisture of the Climate upon the Sea-Coast wherein they lived: For as we have said in our First Part of this History, That the Air of the Plains is so different from that of the Mountains, that those who have been bred in, and accustomed to the Hilly Countries, cannot endure the lower Airs, which are made as it were Perilential to them by the excessive heats and moistures of the Sea. This was the end of these poor Incas; and as to the three which survived, one of which was my School-fellow, named Don Carlos, the Son of Don Christoval Paula, of whom we have formerly made mention, the Lords of the Chancery, taking pity of their condition, gave them liberty to return to their Houses, and to more agreeable Air; but they were so far spent, and consumed

beyond recovery, that within a year and a half's time all the three dyed. However the whole Royal Line was not as yet totally extinct; for the said Don Carlos left a Son, who, as we have said in the last Chapter of the first Part, came into Spain with expectation to receive great Rewards and Preferments, as he was promised in Peru; but he died at Alcala de Henares, about the year 1610, by a Melancholly he conceived to see himself, upon a quarrel he had with one who was a Knight as he was, of the Order of St. James, to be shut up within the Walls of a Convent; and afterwards to be removed to another Convent; where, upon more discontent for his Imprisonment, he dyed in the space of eight Months. He left a Son of three or four Months old, which was made Legitimate, that it might be rendered thereby capable to inherit, in right of his Father, the same favour of his Majesty, which, by way of Pension, was assigned to him on the Customs of Seville: But the Child dying in a year afterwards, the Allowance ceased. And then was fulfilled the Prophecy, which the Great *Elmagana Capac* made concerning the Blood-Royal, and that Empire.

In the Kingdom of Mexico, though the Kings were very powerful in the times of their Gentilisme (as Francisco Lopez de Gomara writes in his general History of the Indies) yet no Wrong or Injury was done to them in matter of their due inheritance, or Right to the Succession; because the Kings being Elective, and chosen by the Grantees, or Great Men, according to their Vertue, or Merit to the Government. There was not the same Jealousy upon any in that Kingdom, as was of the Heirs of Peru, whom Suspicion only brought to Destruction, rather than any Faults, or Conspiracy of their own, as may appear by the Fate of this poor Prince, who was sentenced to have his Head cut off.

But that his Condemnation might appear with some colour of Justice, his Crimes were published by the Common Cryer, namely, That he intended to Rebel; and that he had drawn into the Plot with him several Indians, who were his Creatures, together with those, who were the Sons of Spaniards born of Indian Mothers, designing thereby to deprive and dispossess his Catholic Majesty, King Philip the Second, who was Emperour of the New World, of his Crown and Dignity within the Kingdom of Peru. This Sentence to have his Head cut off, was signified to the poor Prince, without telling him the Reasons, or Causes of it. To which he innocently made answer, That he knew no Fault he was guilty of, which could merit Death; but in case the Vice-King had any Jealousie of him, or his People; he might easily secure himself from those fears, by sending him under a secure Guard into Spain, where he should be very glad to kiss the hands of Don Philip, his Lord and Master. He farther argued, that it was impossible that any such imagination could enter into his Understanding; for if his Father with 200000 Souldiers could not overcome 200 Spaniards, whom they had besieged within the City of Cuzco, how then could it be imagined, that he could think to rebel with a small number, against such multitudes of Christians, who were now increased, and dispersed over all parts of the Empire. That if he had conceived, or plotted any evil design against the Spaniards, he would never have suffered himself to have been taken, but would have fled, and retired from them; but knowing himself to be innocent, and without any Guilt, he voluntarily yielded himself, and accompanied them, believing that they called him from the Mountains, to confer the same Favours and Bounty on him, as they had done on his Brother Don Diego Sayri Tupac. Wherefore he appealed to the King of Castile, his Lord, and to the Pachacamac, from this Sentence of the Vice-King, who was not content to deprive him of his Empire, with all the enjoyments therein, unless also therewith he took away his Life, without any fault, or colour of offence; so that now he could welcome Death, which was given him, as the value and price of his Empire: Besides this, he said many other things, which moved pity in the Hearts of all the standers by, as well Spaniards as Indians, who were inwardly affected with such passionate expressions.

Upon Notice of this Sentence, the Friars of the City of Cuzco flocked to the Prison, to instruct the Prince in the Christian Doctrine, and to persuade him to be Baptized, after the example of his Brother Don Diego Sayri Tupac, and his Uncle Abahualpa: The Prince readily accepted of the offer to be Baptized, and told

told them, that he was glad to obtain the benefit of the Christian Ordinances, upon the Testimony and Authority of his Grand-father *Huayna Capac*, who declared, That the Law which the Christians taught them, was better than their own; and being by Baptisme received into the Church of Christ; he would be called *Philip*, after the name; as he said, of his *Inca*, and King, *Don Philip of Spain*: But this Function was performed with as much Sadness and Sorrow, as that of his Brother's was celebrated with Joy and Triumph; as before declared.

Though this Sentence against the Prince was published every where, and that all we have said, and much more appeared, (which we for brevity sake omit) which might persuade the World, that the same would be executed: yet the *Spaniards* of the City, as well Seculars as Religious, were of Opinion that the Vice-King would not proceed to an Act so unhumane and barbarous; as to kill a poor Prince deposed, and disinherited of his Empire; which could never be pleasing and acceptable to King *Philip*, whose Clemency would rather have ordered his Transportation into *Spain*, than passed this Condemnation of him to death, which he had never deserved. But the Vice-King if he was of another Opinion, as we shall see presently in the following Chapters.

CHAP. XIX.

The Sentence is executed upon the Prince. The endeavours used to prevent it. The Vice-King refuses to hearken thereunto. With what Courage the Inca retained the Brink of Death.

THE Vice-King, resolving to execute the Sentence, which he believed to be for the safety and security of the Empire, caused a Scaffold to be raised in the chief place of the City. This was to new and strange a resolution to all People, that the Gentlemen, Priests, and other grave Persons were so concerned for it, that they met together, and drew up a Petition to the Vice-King, representing to him the Barbarity of the Fact, which would be scandalous to the World, and disapproved by his Majesty. That it would be much better to send him into *Spain*; for tho' Banishment be a lingering Torment, yet it is a token of Clemency, much rather than the Sentence of a speedy Death. A Petition being drawn up to this effect, with design to be delivered with all the supplication and intercession, in behalf of the Prince; the Vice-King, who had his spies abroad, and by them was informed of the Petition which was preparing, with the Subscription of many hands thereunto, resolving not to be troubled with such Importunities, gave Order to have the Gates of the Court shut, and no Man suffered to come to him upon pain of Death: And then immediately he issued out a Warrant to have the *Inca* brought forth, and his Head cut off without farther delay, that for the disturbance of the Town might be appeased by a speedy execution; whereas by giving time, a Combustion might be raised, and the Prince rescued out of his hands.

Accordingly the poor Prince was brought out of the Prison, and mounted on a Mule, with his hands tyed, and a Halter about his Neck, with a Cryer before him, publishing and declaring, that he was a Rebel and a Traytor against the Crown of his Catholic Majesty. The Prince not understanding the *Spanish* Language, asked of one of the Priests who went with him, what it was that the Cryer said? And when it was told him, that he proclaimed him an *Inca*, which was a Traytor, against the King his Lord; which when he heard, he caused the Cryer to be called to him, and desired him to forbear to publish such horrible Lyes, which he knew to be so, for that he never committed any act of Treason, nor ever had it in his Imaginations; as the World very well knew: But, says he, tell them, that they kill me without other cause, than only that the Vice-King will have it so; and I call God, the Pachacannac of all, to witness; that

what I say is nothing but the Truth: After which the Officers of Justice proceeded forward to the place of Execution. As they were entering into the Chief Place, they were met by great numbers of women of all Ages, amongst which were several of the Blood Royal, with the wives and daughters of the *Caciques*, who lived in places adjacent to the City; all which cried out with loud Exclamations and cries, accompanied with a flood of Tears, saying, Wherefore, *Inca*, hast thou committed to deserve this usage? Desire the Executioner to put us to Death together with thee, who are thine by Blood and Nature, and should be much more contented and happy to accompany thee into the other World, than to live here Slaves and Servants to the Will and Lust of thy Murderers. The noise and outcry was so great, that it was feared lest some Insurrection and out-rage should ensue, amongst such a Multitude of People then gathered together; which was so great, that with those who filled the two Places, and the Streets leading thereunto, and who were in Balconies, and looking out at Windows, they could not be counted for less than 300 thousand Souls. This Combustion caused the Officers to hasten their way unto the Scaffold; where being come, the Prince walked up the Stairs, with the Priests who assisted at his Death, and followed by the Executioner with his Faulchion or broad Sword drawn in his hand. And now the *Indians* seeing their Prince just upon the brink of Death, lamented with such groans and out-cries as rent the Air, and filled the place with such noise, that nothing else could be heard: Wherefore the Priests who were discoursing with the Prince, desired him that he would command the People to be silent, whereupon the *Inca* lifting up his right Arm with the Palm of his hand open, pointed it towards the place from whence the noise came, and then loured it by little and little, until he came to rest it on his right thigh: Which when the *Indians* observed, their Murmur calmed, and so great a silence ensued, as if there had not been one Soul alive within the whole City. The *Spaniards*, and the Vice-King, who was then at a Window observing these several passages, wondered much to see the obedience which the *Indians* in all their passion, shewed to their dying *Inca*, who received the stroke of death with that undaunted Courage, as the *Incas* and *Indian* Nobles did usually shew, when they fell into the hands of their Enemies, and were unhumanely butchered, and cruelly treated by them, as may appear in our History of *Florida*, and other Wars which were carried on in *Chile*, and which now the *Indian Araucos* still wage with the *Spaniards*, according as they are described in Verse by Poets who write thereof. Of which we have many other examples in *Mexico*, as well as in *Peru*, which may serve to demonstrate the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and the Constancy and Bravery of the *Incas*: Of which I could give many instances in my own time, and of my own knowledge, but I shall let them pass, rather than give offence by this History.

Thus did this poor Prince submit with great Courage to Death, yet Rich and Happy, in that he dyed a Christian; and was much lamented by those Religious Orders, which afflicted him at the Hour and in the Agony of his Death, namely those of *St. Francis*, our Lady of *Merced*, *St. Dominic*, and *Augustine*, besides a multitude of other Priests and Clergymen, who bewailed him with much grief and sorrow, and said many Masses for his Soul: Howsoever they were much comforted and edified, to see with what Patience and magnanimity he entered on the Scene of Death, and with what Acts of devotion, like a good Christian, he adored the Images of Christ Our Lord, and of the Virgin his Mother, which the Priests carried before him. Thus did this *Inca* end his days, who was the lawful Heir to that Empire, being defended by the direct Male-Line from the first *Inca* *Munco Capac*; which (as Father *Blas Valera* saith) had continued 500, or near 600 years. This Compassion and Sorrow was the general sense at that time of all the Country, as well of *Spaniards* as *Indians*: And tho' we may believe that the Vice-King might also be in some measure affected with this Passion, yet he might have other Reasons of State, sufficient, if known, to justify this Action.

The aforesaid Sentence executed on the good Prince, was seconded by the Banishment of his Sons and Kindred, to the City of *Los Reyes*, and of those who were born of *Indian* Mothers and *Spanish* Fathers, into divers parts of the New and Old World, as before related. Which we have anticipated out of its due

due place, to make room at the end of this our Work for so sorrowful a Tragedy, which is the ultimate Scene of the second part of these our Commentaries. Praised be God for all things.

C H A P. XX.

Don Francisco de Toledo returns to Spain. His Catholic Majesty gives him a severe reprehension: His End and Death: As also of the Governour Martin Garcia Loyola.

IT is not fit to conclude our History with the Death of *Don Philip Tupac Amaru* alone, and therefore we shall accompany it with a short Relation of the Death, and End of the Vice-King *Don Francisco de Toledo*: Who after he had completed the time of his Government, which was very long, and as some say 16 years, he returned into *Spain* with great Riches and Prosperity, being reported by common Fame to have brought with him above the value of 500 thousand pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver: Upon the Reputation of which, he procured admittance into the Court, and expected to be made one of the great Ministers of State, in reward of the special Services he had done in cutting off, and extirpating the Royal Line of the *Incas*, by which a way was made to the Kings of *Spain* to claim a Right of Inheritance to the Empire of *Peru*, without other Competitor. He also imagined, that he had highly merited of his Majesty by the many good Laws, and Rules he had Established in those Kingdoms, whereby his Majesties Revenue was improved, and the Mines of Plate, and Quicksilver, well governed, by the orderly Regulations he had made therein; having ordained and directed that the *Indians* of several Provinces, should by their turns come in, and work in those Mines, with the same pay for a days labour, as the *Spaniards* who are Planters in those Countries are by late Laws obliged to pay them for their work. And moreover that the *Indians* being employed in Gardning, or doing any thing for the pleasure, or benefit of the Owner, shall receive a pay proportionable to the value of the thing: The which Regulations and Rules being many and long, we shall omit to rehearse the particulars of them.

Upon such grounds, and with such expectations as these, *Don Francisco de Toledo* obtained admittance to the Presence of King *Philip* the Second, and to kiss his Royal Hand: But his Catholic Majesty having been duly informed of all Matters which had succeeded in that Empire, and particularly of the Death of the *Inca Tupac Amaru*, and of the Banishment of his nearest Relations and Kindred, to a place where they all perished, did not shew that kind and gracious acceptance of his Person, as he expected; but told him in short, That he should go home to his own house; for that the King had not sent him to kill Kings, but to serve them: With which Reproof he went home much dejected, and under that Cloud of disfavour which he never expected. In this disgrace, (as it is usual for men who are going down the Hill, to be helped forward in their way) so certain Informers brought an accusation against him: That he ordered the Salaries of his Servants and Officers to be paid in Pieces of Eight, instead of Ducats, so that for every 40 thousand Ducats 40 thousand pieces of Eight were made good, which was an injury and damage to the Royal Treasury, during the time he assisted in the Government which amounted to the value of 120000 ducats: To make which good, an Order was sent from the Council of State to lay a Sequestration upon all the Gold and Silver he had brought from *Peru*, and to remain in such manner secured, until the account was audited and cleared, how much was owing on that score to the Royal Exchequer: *Don Francisco de Toledo* being a man of a haughty Spirit, was not able to resist this second blow of his Majesties disfavour, but

but therewith fell into such a Sadness and Melancholly, as broke his Heart in a few days.

We have only now to relate the End of Captain *Martin Garcia Loyola*, whom, in reward of having taken the *Inca* Prisoner, and many other Services which he performed to the Court of *Spain*, they married to the *Infanta*, who was Niece to the last Prince, and Daughter to his Brother *Sayri Tupac*: whereby he came to inherit that Estate which this Prince received from her Father; and for his greater Honour and Advancement, and better Service of his Majesty, he was preferred to be Governour, and Captain General of the Kingdom of *Chile*, where he had a great party of Horse, with a good force of *Spanish* Infantry under his Command. It was his Fortune to govern this Kingdom for several years, and some Months, with great Prudence and Discretion, and to the contentment also and satisfaction of his Companions; howsoever he was engaged in continual Labours and Embroyls, caused by the Wars which were waged against the *Indians*; and which are not yet at an end, in this year 1613, having ever since 1553, when the *Indians* began first to rebel, been constantly carried on without Truce or Intermision during all that time, as we have intimated before in several Places. Whilst this Governour employed himself in the exercises of War, he went one day (according to his usual custom) to visit the several Forts which were raised on the Frontiers, to curb the Enemy, and keep them from making incurfions and depredations on those *Indians*, who had submitted, and were become Servants to the *Spaniards*: And having supplied all those Garrisons with Ammunition and Provisions, he returned to those Cities within the Kingdom which were settled and in peace: And being without the Limits of the Enemies quarters (as indeed he was) and as he believed out of danger, he dismissed 200 of his Souldiers, (which were then of his Guard,) and dispersed them away to their respective quarters: Leaving himself only with about thirty Companions, amongst which were several Captains, and old veterane Souldiers, who had served many years in the Wars: And being come into a very pleasant Plain, they pitched their Tents, intending to repose and solace themselves that Night and several Nights afterwards, that they might recover the Sleep they had lost, by their continual watchings; for whilst they were on the Frontiers, taking care to secure the Garrisons, they were so continually allarm'd by the Enemy, that they had not time to Rest, Eat, or Sleep.

The *Araucos* and *Indians* of other Provinces, Neighbouring on these who had rebelled, sent their Spies by Night to discover the condition of the *Spaniards*; and finding them without Centinels, and in all security fast asleep, and as safe as their Enemies could desire, they whistled to each other with Bird-Calls, and gave notice by such kind of barking and howlings which *Giacalls* or Wolves use in the Night, which were the signals agreed upon amongst them. At these noises great numbers of *Indians* came flocking together, and with all the silence possible, went softly to the *Spaniards* Tents, where finding them asleep, and in their Shirts in Bed, they cut the Throats of every one of them; and carrying away with them their Horses, Arms, and all the Spoil which belonged to the *Spaniards*.

This was the end of the Governour *Martin Garcia Loyola*, which was much lamented over all the Kingdom of *Chile* and *Peru*; but as often as that Discourse was moved, either amongst *Indians* or *Spaniards*, it was confessed, that Providence had so ordered those matters, that the death of the late *Inca* should in this manner be revenged on the *Spaniards* by the Hands of his own Vassals. And herein it was more plainly evidenced by an Infatuation which possessed the Minds of such Captains, and Veterane Souldiers practised in the Wars of that Country, who knowing that they were near an Enemy incensed and enraged against them, and thirsting after the Blood of the *Spaniards*, should yet with so much security compose themselves to a sleep from which they did never afterwards awake.

This Governour *Martin Garcia Loyola* left one Daughter, which he had by his Wife the *Infanta*, Daughter of the Prince *Don Diego Sayri Tupac*, the which Daughter was transported into *Spain*, and there married to a Gentleman of Quality, called *Don John Enriquez de Boria*. His Catholic Majesty, besides the Estate which she inherited from her Father in *Peru*, was pleased

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(as they wrote to me from the Court) to confer upon her the Title of *Marquesa de Oropeja*; which is a Colony founded by the Vice-King, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, in *Peru*, and called *Oropeja* by him, in memory of his Ancestors, which he desired might be continued in the new World; besides which Title and Favour, I am informed, that a Consultation hath been held amongst the illustrious Presidents and Lords of the Royal Council of *Casile*, and the *Indies*, at which also his Majesty's Counsellor was present, with two other Advocates belonging to the Council of the *Indies*, to consider what farther Gratifications could be made, in reward of the many Services which her Father had done, according to his Duty towards his Majesty, and as a Compensation for her Patrimonial Inheritance. Towards which (as I am informed) the Relation I have given in the first part of these Commentaries hath, in some manner, contributed: Which if so, I shall esteem my self sufficiently rewarded for the labour and pains I have taken to write this History, though no other benefit or satisfaction accrues thereby unto my self.

CHAP. XXI.

The Conclusion of this Eighth Book, and last of this History.

HAVING, in the beginning of this History, shewed the Original of the *Incas*, who were Kings of *Peru*, and described their Increase, and Conquests, and all their generous Exploits, together with the manner of their Government, both in War and Peace, and thereunto added their Religion and Idolatry practised in the times of their Gentillime: All which, by the Divine favour and assistance, we have largely handled in the first part these Commentaries; and by which I have complied with the duty I owe to my Country and Kindred by my Mothers side. In this second part we have at large related all those brave Acts, and gallant Exploits performed by the *Spaniards*, in the Conquest of this rich Empire, in which I have complied (tho' not fully) with the Duty and Obligation I owe to my Father, and to his illustrious and Generous Companions. So that now it may be time to conclude this Work, and put an end to this Labour, with the ultimate Reign and Succession of the *Incas*, who, with this Labour, with the ultimate Reign and Succession of the *Incas*, who, with that unhappy *Huascar*, were 13 in number, who possessed the Throne of that Empire, until the Invasion of the *Spaniards*. But as to the other five, which succeeded afterwards, that is *Manco Inca*, and his two Sons *Don Diego*, and *Don Philippe*, and his two Nephews, we do not insert them in the Line of Kings, for tho' they had a right to the Inheritance, yet they never had possession of the Government; but if we should reckon them in that number, we might then account 18, who descended by the direct Male-line from the first *Inca Manco Capac*, to the last of those Children, whose Names I do not know. The *Indians* do not reckon *Achhuallpa* in the number of their Kings, being, as they call him, an *Auca*, that is a Traytor.

THO' in the last Chapter of the first Part of these Commentaries, we have given an account of all the Sons, which in an oblique Line descended from the several Kings; of which (as we have there affirmed) a true, and an authentick List was sent me; with Power and Authority directed to *Don Melchior Carlos*, *Don Alonso de Mesa*, and my self, that we jointly, or any one of us, should lay it before his Catholick Majesty, and before his Supream and Royal Council of the *Indies*; to the intent and purpose, that they might be freed from those Taxes and Impositions which they sustained: Which Papers and Memorials, as they came directed unto me, I dispatched to the said *Don Melchior Carlos*, and *Don Alonso de Mesa*. But the said *Don Melchior*, having Pretensions of his own, would not weaken his own Interest, by giving Countenance to their demands; nor would he present their Papers, that it might not be known thereby, how many of the Royal Line were still surviving; fearing lest his Interest should be

vided, and the benefit which he expected to himself alone, might be imparted unto them all together: So at the Conclusion of all, he neither did good to them, nor to himself. I have thought fit, for my own Discharge, to give a Narrative hereof, that my Relations of those parts, may not accuse me either of unkindness, or negligence, in not performing what they have desired of me, and entrusted me in. I should have been very glad, if I could have performed this Service for them with the hazard of my Life; but it was impossible for me, to have done any thing in this matter; not being able to contribute more thereunto, than only by writing this History, in which I hope I have as well done Justice, and Right to the *Spaniards*, who have Conquered this Empire, as to the *Incas*, who were the true Lords, and Possessors of it.

To the Divine Majesty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one true God, be Praise for Ever and Ever, who have been pleased to grant me Grace, and assistance, to arrive at the Ultimate End and Conclusion of this History. May it be to the Honour and Glory of his Divine Name: By whose infinite mercy, through the Blood and Merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and by the Intercession of the ever Blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the Court of Heaven, I beg Favour, and Protection, now, and in the Hour of Death. Amen sweet Jesus, a hundred thousand times Jesus. Amen.

Praised be God.

FINIS.